Russell Middleton

History of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

Volume 2: Students, Personnel, and Programs



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Russell Middleton
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This is a continuation of Volume 1 of the History of Sociology at UW-Madison. Volume 1 contains:

- The story of John Bascom, President of UW, 1874-1887, progenitor of "The Wisconsin Idea, and first person to teach sociology at UW
- Richard T. Ely, economist-sociologist who built UW as a leading center for social science at the turn of the 20th century. His "heresy trial" led to the Regents' "sifting & winnowing" declaration.
- John R. Commons, a sociologist who became the leader of the institutional economists at UW—but tainted by racism, like many progressives of the period
- E. A. Ross, a progressive economist who shifted to sociology after being fired at Stanford. A pioneer in social psychology and social control. A crusader for academic freedom and a fearless public intellectual who was probably the world's most famous sociologist between 1900 and 1930. Also tainted by racism in his early years.
- Other famous early sociologists, including John L. Gillin, Kimball Young, and Samuel Stouffer
- C. J. Galpin, the chief founder of rural sociology, human ecology, and empirical research at UW, and John H. Kolb, the founder of the Department of Rural Sociology
- Anthropology in the department in the 1930's: Ralph Linton and Charlotte Gower
- The intersecting lives and conflicts of C. Wright Mills, Don Martindale, Hans Gerth, and Howard P. Becker
- The enigmatic personalities of Hans Gerth and Howard P. Becker, and the latter's disruptive influence in the department
- The movement toward interdisciplinary research organizations in America, and Wisconsin's failed efforts to create such units and attract foundation funding
- The declining reputation of UW Sociology in the 1930s to 1950s, and the lack of research funding for the social sciences by the UW administration, government agencies, and private foundations.
- Wisconsin Sociology's turnaround between 1958 and 1980, initiated by William H. Sewell and carried forward by many others
- Rural Sociology's growth, reorientation, and renaming as Community and Environmental Sociology
- Attacks on civil liberties and academic freedom
- Wisconsin student protests and demonstrations, 1960-1974
- Political threats to UW and Wisconsin unions, 2010-2016

CHAPTER 1

Graduate Education

PhDs and Master's Degrees Granted

Wisconsin sociologists have contributed greatly to the discipline of sociology, not just through their research and publications, but through the education and training of new professional sociologists. Since the first graduate degree in sociology was granted in 1909, 1133 persons have earned PhDs and 1595 have completed master's degrees. (See Table 8.) The University of Wisconsin has had one of the larger programs since the early days of the discipline, and its graduates are widely spread throughout the land and abroad in universities and government agencies.

Table 8. PhDs and Master's Degrees Granted, 1909-2014

Years	PhDs	Master's Degrees
1909-1919	7	20
1920-1929	28	25
1930-1939	35	72
1940-1949	46	62
1950-1959	67	102
1960-1969	79	242
1970-1979	218	296
1980-1989	180	260
1990-1999	168	249
2000-2009	155	173
2010-2016	150	94
Total Years	1133	1595

SOURCES: GILLIN, N.D., "HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY," (UW ARCHIVES 7/33/4, BOX 18); UW SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT FILES.

Ross and Gillin were the principal self-identified sociologists in the department during the early years when the Department of Political Economy started offering PhDs and master's degrees in sociology, though Ely and Commons also played important roles and sometimes asserted their identity as sociologists. During the first eleven years between 1909 and 1919, only seven PhDs and 20 master's degrees were granted in sociology, but during the 1920s the production of PhDs quadrupled. They increased another 25 percent in the 1930s and reached a new high of seven per year in 1940 and 1941. Then with the start of World War II the numbers fell sharply while many young men were in the armed forces, but they recovered in the late 1940s and averaged about six per year in the 1950s and early 1960s.

There was a sharp turn upward starting in 1966, when 13 PhDs were granted, and the number has been in double figures every year since then. I suspect that the explosion in numbers in the late 1960s and 1970s was a response to the social activism of the 1960s—the Civil Rights Movement, the Peace Movement, the Women's Rights Movement, the Environmental Movement, and movements for the rights of various minority groups. There was a spirit of idealism that led many college students to turn to sociology as a vocation that might also permit them to address their social concerns in some way. Because there is a lag of several years between entering a graduate program and completing a degree, the peak year for sociology PhDs at Wisconsin was 1973 when 30 were granted, and for master's degrees 1970, when 51 were completed. Though the University of Wisconsin was one of the centers of activism in the 1960s and had a reputation as a liberal campus, similar things were happening across the nation. The 1970s represented a high-water mark for the granting of PhDs in sociology nationally, with 1975-76 representing the peak with 729 granted (National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, Table 325.92). The number of PhDs and master's degrees declined somewhat at Wisconsin in the 1980s and a little more in the 1990s, then nosed down sharply in the 2000s. The yearly production of PhDs has increased sharply again since 2010, but master's degrees have continued to decline slightly.

The 1130 PhDs awarded by the University of Wisconsin in sociology no doubt constitutes a significant portion of the total number of sociology PhDs produced by American universities. How does the Wisconsin department compare with other leading departments? The National Science Foundation has done annual surveys of sociology PhDs awarded in the United States since 1966. I am not aware of any studies of the accuracy of the surveys, which, like all similar surveys, depend on the record-keeping, cooperation, and diligence of personnel at a great many reporting units. Their figures by department have not yet been published, but with the help of Michael Kisielewski and the research staff at the American Sociological Association,

I have been able to download the relevant data from the WebCASPAR database. The NSF sociology data by department for the period 1966 to 2011 are shown for the forty largest programs in Table 9. During this period 182 different American universities granted at least one PhD in sociology, but the 55 smallest programs produced only 148—less than ten each—constituting only 0.6 percent of the total. Even the smallest 100 programs produced only 3188—less than 130 each—and made up only 12 percent of the total. The forty largest programs produced 15,344 PhDs, representing 60 percent of the total of 25,710. In the first ten-year period of the NSF surveys, they produced 70 percent, but the figure has fallen to 54 percent since 1996.

Table 9. Sociology PhDs Produced, by Forty Largest University Programs, 1966-2011

University	1966-1975	1976-1985	1986-1995	1996-2005	2006-2011	Total, 1966-2011
University of Wisconsin-Madison	171	196	168	171	105	811
University of Chicago	184	209	109	151	80	733
University of California-Berkeley	177	163	153	138	97	728
University of Michigan at Ann Arbor	131	163	121	145	68	628
Cornell University, All Campuses	148	151	102	81	62	544
Ohio State University, Main Campus	133	130	85	88	95	531
University of Texas at Austin	82	105	105	150	87	529
University of California-Los Angeles	134	91	87	133	79	524
Columbia University, City of NY	165	125	60	81	62	493
University of Pennsylvania	70	113	115	114	68	480
CUNY Graduate Sch. & Univ. Center	11	122	119	121	76	449
Harvard University	99	110	78	2	61	420

Michigan State University	115	102	85	73	33	408
University of Minnesota-Twin Cities	133	82	61	64	49	389
Northwestern University	104	74	70	79	49	376
Univ. of North Carolina-Chapel Hill	81	87	75	72	54	369
New York University	98	101	47	47	55	348
Stanford University	63	71	79	75	54	342
Pennsylvania State Univ. Main Campus	61	60	62	84	68	335
University of Southern California	78	83	67	70	37	335
Washington State University	80	110	54	53	33	330
Indiana University at Bloomington	72	67	51	84	51	325
University of Washington-Seattle	74	65	59	71	46	315
Iowa State University	69	59	92	60	29	309
Brown University	50	83	71	68	33	305
University of Colorado at Boulder	62	85	37	70	33	287
New School for Social Research	64	53	44	73	51	285
Univ. of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign	83	64	53	49	33	282
Johns Hopkins University	58	58	64	71	30	281
Yale University	70	74	59	43	32	278
University of Missouri, Columbia	80	66	41	50	39	276
Florida State University	106	62	33	34	34	269
Boston University	51	89	66	34	27	267

Purdue University, Main Campus	70	55	53	51	29	258
University of Oregon	85	6	44	40	32	257
Rutgers, State U. NJ, New Brunswick	27	110	43	48	28	256
Princeton University	51	42	51	53	55	252
Univ. of Maryland, College Park	32	47	51	67	54	251
Univ. of California-Santa Barbara	32	60	44	59	52	247
Brandeis University	53	78	48	45	18	242
Total for 40 Largest Programs	3507	3721	2906	3132	2078	15344
40 Largest Programs as % of Total	70%	62%	58%	54%	54%	60%
Total for all 182 Programs	5029	6045	4972	5829	3835	25710

SOURCE: NSF SURVEYS OF EARNED DOCTORATES, 1966-2011, NATIONAL CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING STATISTICS, DATA DOWNLOADED FROM THE WEBCASPAR DATABASE, COURTESY OF THE ASA

During the 1966-1975 decade the University of Chicago and the University of California-Berkeley granted more sociology PhDs than Wisconsin, but the Wisconsin program was growing rapidly. The Chicago program reached a peak during the next decade and was still larger than the Wisconsin program, but after that the Chicago program and most of the other departments with high prestige rankings began to decline in PhDs granted, while the Wisconsin production has remained stable at a high level since 1986.

Though Wisconsin has granted the most PhDs in sociology since 1966, it is well known that the University of Chicago and Columbia University, where the first two departments were founded, were dominant in the discipline during its early days. If Columbia was playing second fiddle to Chicago, Wisconsin was at best a "third fiddle." Published figures for sociology PhDs by department tend to be absent or fragmentary for the early decades of the discipline. In 1932, however, the Association of Research Libraries was founded by 42 major university and research libraries, and it began to publish an annual series of *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities*, with authors' names, titles, fields, and university affiliations. It compiled information going back to 1925, and its figures were republished

periodically in the American Council on Education's volumes, *American Universities and Colleges*, beginning with its third edition in 1936. Assembling parts of tables from the third to the tenth editions yields information about the granting of sociology PhDs from 1925 to 1966, which links closely with the NSF series starting in 1966. The ACE tables have some overlapping years, but the annual volumes published by the Association of Research Libraries can be used to eliminate the overlaps except for the last period, 1957-1966. The years 1957, 1958, and 1966 are double-counted, thus inflating the figures for the last period. The ACE-ARL figures for the 20 largest programs in the NSF surveys, plus Yale, which played a substantial role in the earlier decades, are shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Sociology PhDs Granted by Selected Universities, ACE-ARL Statistics, 1925-1966

University	PhDs Granted, ACE-ARL Data				
	1925-1938	1939-1948	1949-1958	1957-1966	Total 1925-1966
University of Chicago	91	80	158	122	451
University of Wisconsin-Madison	44	50	48	52	194
Univ. of Calif.-Berkeley	5	7	24	42	78
University of Michigan	25	17	31	32	105
Columbia University	62	61	89	17	229
Ohio State University	22	26	53	70	171
Cornell University	21	26	54	40	141
Harvard Univ. & Radcliffe	43	38	30	54	165
University of Pennsylvania	23	17	28	33	101
University of Texas	1	5	10	22	38
Univ. of Calif.—Los Angeles	0	0	0	27	27
Univ. of North Carolina	24	21	74	54	173
Michigan State University	4	1	43	62	110
University of Minnesota	24	11	27	62	124
New York University	14	49	35	60	158
Univ. of Southern California	22	25	42	48	137
CUNY Graduate School	0	0	0	0	0
Northwestern University	10	11	15	23	59

Yale University	37	24	47	42	150
Stanford University	4	11	5	24	44
Pennsylvania State Univ.	1	1	21	22	45
Total sociology PhDs granted by all universities	613	634	1358	1839	4444

SOURCES: AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, *AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES & COLLEGES*, EDITIONS 3, 4, 6, 8, 10; ASSOC. OF RESEARCH LIBRARIES, DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ACCEPTED BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, 1948, 1949

As expected, Chicago awarded the most sociology PhDs throughout the 1925-1966 period—almost twice as many as any other university. Columbia produced the second most PhDs, reaching a peak in the 1949-1958 period. Wisconsin was in third place for the period as a whole, though it was slightly behind Cornell in 1949-1958 and Harvard in 1957-66. Chicago, Columbia, and Wisconsin were trailed by several universities grouped closely together between 150 and 173 PhDs: North Carolina, Ohio State, Harvard-Radcliffe, New York University, and Yale. Michigan State, Berkeley, Penn State, Stanford, Texas, and UCLA produced relatively few PhDs before the 1960s, and the CUNY Graduate School produced none.

The data from the Association of Research Libraries did not cover the first four decades of the discipline, but I found one source that purported to cover the entire period between 1893 and 1965. Lunday (1969) compiled a bibliography of 3993 sociology dissertations, which he claimed represented all of the sociology dissertations completed in the United States between the first one in 1893 (at the University of Chicago) and 1966. He compiled the list from numerous indexes and bibliographic sources and sent his tentative list to each of the granting departments for verification and corrections. I tabulated the number of dissertations listed in the bibliography for a number of the larger programs. In checking his listings against the University of Wisconsin records, I found them to be quite accurate for the years between 1934 and 1965, a period when the Association of Research Libraries was compiling information about dissertations, but the bibliography was highly inaccurate for the earlier period. He missed all 14 of the sociology dissertations completed at Wisconsin between 1909 and 1922, and 29 out of the first 52 dissertations written by 1933. The bibliography appeared to be inaccurate for the other universities as well and actually showed a smaller number of dissertations produced for the entire 1893-1965 period than did the ACE-ARL records just for the 1925-1966 period for some of the universities. I have not been able to locate accurate figures for the period from 1893 to 1925—the period when Chicago and Columbia were most dominant in the field.

Combined ACE-ARL and NSF data are presented for the entire 1925-2011 period in the last column of Table 11. One must keep in mind, however, that the ACE-ARL figures are somewhat inflated by three overlapping years, and the years from 1893 through 1924 are totally missing. Wisconsin granted 18 sociology PhDs before 1925, and Chicago and Columbia almost certainly produced a great many more, though I have not found an accurate record for them. The totals in the last column still show Chicago as the leader in the production of sociology PhDs, and its lead would probably be even more pronounced if figures for the period before 1925 were available. Wisconsin is in second place because of its greater production from 1966 to 2011.

Berkeley started slowly, but it added many distinguished senior professors in the 1950s and 1960s and became a major center for graduate education in sociology. The Berkeley and Michigan programs both grew robustly and now are in third and fourth place, ahead of Columbia. Columbia's production has diminished since the 1980s, but its numbers would certainly be higher if one included PhDs awarded before 1925. Ohio State and Cornell have been consistent granters of PhDs and are in sixth and seventh place, just ahead of Harvard, which has also tailed off in recent decades.

Table 11. Sociology PhDs Granted by Selected Universities, ACE-ARL Statistics, 1925-1966, and NSF Surveys 1966-2011

	ACE-ARL Data 1925-1966	NSF Data 1966-2011	Grand Total 1925-2011
University of Chicago	451	733	1184
University of Wisconsin	194	811	1005
Univ. of Calif.-Berkeley	78	728	806
University of Michigan	105	628	733
Columbia University	229	493	722
Ohio State University	171	531	702
Cornell University	141	544	685
Harvard Univ. & Radcliffe	165	420	585
University of Pennsylvania	101	480	581
University of Texas	38	529	567
Univ. of Calif.—Los Angeles	27	524	551
Univ. of North Carolina	173	369	542

Michigan State University	110	408	518
University of Minnesota	124	389	513
New York University	158	348	506
Univ. of Southern California	137	335	472
CUNY Graduate School	0	449	449
Northwestern University	59	376	435
Yale University	150	278	428
Stanford University	44	342	386
Pennsylvania State Univ.	45	335	380
Total sociology PhDs granted by all universities	4444	25710	30154

SOURCES: AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, *AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES & COLLEGES*, EDITIONS 3, 4, 6, 8, 10; ASSOC. OF RESEARCH LIBRARIES, DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ACCEPTED BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, 1948, 1949; AND WEBCASPAR DATABASE

The peak of PhD production at UW-Madison occurred in 1976-1985, at a time when little consideration was given to whether immediate funding of admitted graduate students was available. Since then the numbers of students admitted and completing the PhD program have declined, as they have at most other universities in the country. In recent years there has been a growing concern about the increasing cost of higher education and the growing debt burden of graduates. A tightening job market for new sociology PhDs has also led many to believe that there is an overproduction of new PhDs. The Wisconsin sociology faculty debated whether they should admit only those students for whom they could guarantee funding for five years through traineeships, fellowships, and assistantships. They voted to do so in 2012, and the entering cohort of graduate students in Fall, 2012, numbered only fourteen.

Some have raised questions about the policy, pointing out that a large number of very able students had been admitted in the past without immediate or guaranteed funding, and they believed that the new policy was excessively paternalistic in denying able students the choice of coming with self-funding, taking on substantial debt, or taking a chance on getting funding later in the program. Reducing the number of enrolled students also affects the department's share of state funding according to the state funding formula, resulting ultimately in a reduction in faculty size. It is also difficult to estimate the acceptance rate of those who are admitted, and there is always the danger that too few students will be admitted to fill vacant

teaching assistant slots or sufficient enrollment for seminars in some fields. The number of entering graduate students increased from 14 in 2012 to 19 in 2013 and 23 in 2014, but in 2015 it fell to 13. Regardless of what target is set, the outcome is always unpredictable. The top sociology departments are all competing for the most promising students, so most of the highly qualified applicants have multiple offers from which to choose. Even with a guarantee of five years of funding, in 2015 three out of four of those admitted to the Wisconsin sociology program rejected the offer. In 2016 there were 263 applicants and the admissions committee admitted 67, anticipating that there would probably be about 18 acceptances. The acceptance rate for 2016, however, turned out to be 53 percent, more than double the acceptance rate of the previous year. Thus, 36 students joined the 2016 cohort—double the intended target of 18. In 2017 the number of applicants increased to 280, but because of the 2016 overshoot, the admissions committee set a target of 10 for the 2017 cohort and initially admitted 24—20 from the U.S. and one each from the United Kingdom, Germany, China, and Korea.

First Sociology PhDs

Theresa Schmid McMahon

The very first PhD in sociology at the University of Wisconsin was awarded in 1909 to Theresa Schmid McMahon (1878-1961), an outspoken feminist and labor activist student of John R. Commons. There is little published information about most of the early students, but we are fortunate to have a 61-page autobiography entitled *My Story* that McMahon wrote in 1958, twenty-one years after her retirement from teaching at the University of Washington (McMahon, 1958). She was asked by Henry Schmitz, President of the university from 1952 to 1958, to write a history of her experiences with the university as a student and a professor. She commented, "Perhaps Dr. Schmitz had the idea that if I wrote of my experiences there might be written a real history of the University. I am not sure, because I think every history is largely a biography of the writer" (*Ibid*., p. 1). She was then 80 years old, blind, and in failing health from crippling arthritis. She had no access to any written records, but she recounted her memories into a Dictaphone and copies of the transcript were made with a spirit duplicator. She said that she did not expect her recollections to be published or circulated beyond her former students, and she did not hesitate to "wash the university's dirty linen" in her account. Original dittoed copies can be found in the University of Wisconsin Memorial Library collection and in the University of Washington archives. Later Howe published the entire autobiography in *Lone Voyagers* (Florence Howe, 1989, pp. 238-280).

Theresa Schmid was born in Tacoma, Washington, in 1878 but grew up on Mercer Island, at that time a largely unpopulated island just offshore from Seattle in Lake Washington. Her father homesteaded there when there were few people, but today it is largely urbanized. According to the 1930 U.S. Census, her father was born in Germany, but her mother was American. She had relatively few friends her own age, and her mother died when she was twelve, so she did not have a traditional feminine upbringing. In her autobiography she mused,

> . . . About the only outstanding characteristic I really possessed, and it was one that remained with me all the rest of my life, was an absence of fear—people having interpreted it as courage. I didn't have courage; I simply didn't know what fear was. I wasn't afraid of the lake; I wasn't afraid to ride bareback through the woods on cowtrails. . . . I never was one to follow the beaten path, even as a child. My brother once said to me, "You think So-and-So is a queer girl?" "Yes." "Do you realize you are a freak?" I was a freak. I was different from other women, but when you realize that I had none of the feminine background or training, that I just grew up like Topsy, it is easily understood why I was a rebel and still am (McMahon, 1958, pp. 1-2. 51).

Theresa attended only an ungraded school on the island and had no high school education. Nevertheless, she entered the University of Washington's sub-freshman class in 1894 at the age of 16 and graduated in 1898. Though she majored in English and took a master's degree in English, she discovered social science when the economist J. Allen Smith joined the faculty in 1897. Smith had been trained at the University of Michigan by Henry C. Adams, who had been a student of Richard T. Ely at Johns Hopkins and had imbibed heterodox economic ideas from him. Under Smith's influence McMahon began to concentrate almost entirely on the social sciences, particularly sociology. She recalled, "I don't think that I had any special inclination or leaning toward economics or political science, but I did towards sociology" (McMahon, 1958, p. 9). This is remarkable, since there was no sociology department or any formally trained sociologist at the University of Washington at that time.

McMahon was greatly influenced by Herbert Spencer's ideas about evolution, but perhaps even more by the work of the pioneer American sociologist Lester F. Ward. Dimand (2000, p. 304) says that McMahon was also influenced by the feminist writings of Charlotte Perkins Gilman, though she did not accept Gilman's racist and nativist ideas. Perhaps she was influenced later in her career, but her own dissertation was written three years before Gilman published *The Man-made World, or Our Androcentric*

Culture (1911), which expressed ideas similar to those of McMahon. Three of Ward's books appear in McMahon's references in her dissertation, but Gilman is nowhere mentioned. Actually, Ward's "Gynaecocentric Theory" arguing the primacy of the role of women in evolution was probably a major influence on both. Ward wrote that "the female sex is primary and the male secondary" in both biological and social evolution. In the early development of human society females ruled, but gynaecocracy was eventually succeeded by a stage of androcracy and the complete subjection of women:

> Throughout all human history woman has been powerfully discriminated against and held down by custom, law, literature, and public opinion. All opportunity has been denied her to make any trial of her powers in any direction (Ward, 1903, p. 377).

Ward was virtually alone among male social scientists in advancing these views, and it is not surprising that his theories struck a responsive chord in both McMahon and Gilman. Gilman dedicated one of her books to Ward in perhaps the most effusive, hyperbolic dedications ever written in the social sciences:

> This book is dedicated with reverent love and gratitude to Lester F. Ward, Sociologist and Humanitarian, one of the world's great men; a creative thinker to whose wide knowledge and power of vision we are indebted for a new grasp of the nature and processes of Society, and to whom all women are especially bound in honor and gratitude for his Gynaecocentric Theory of Life, than which nothing so important to humanity has been advanced since the Theory of Evolution, and nothing so important to women has ever been given to the world (Gilman, 1911, p. 2).

The person who played the greatest role in helping McMahon to find her radical political philosophy and turn her into a crusader against economic injustice was J. Allen Smith while she was still a student at the University of Washington.

> I worked with J. Allen Smith for two years and at the end of that time I not only understood monopolies but I hated them. I hated the injustice that occurred in the industrial fields: the exploitation of common resources by the few and the exploitation of the workers, many of whom were ignorant foreigners too helpless to remedy their lot. It was a foregone conclusion that the men of wealth accepted their financial status as due wholly to their ability, with perhaps a little assistance from the Almighty (McMahon, 1958, p. 10).

Smith himself and two colleagues had been fired at Marietta College in Ohio by a conservative board dominated by Charles G. Dawes for supporting William Jennings Bryan and free silver in the election of 1896. It was similar to what happened to E. A. Ross at Stanford. Smith was about to be hired by Thomas E. Will, the Populist president of Kansas State College, but Will also wanted to give jobs to Edward Bemis and Frank Parsons, two other academic political refugees. He only had two positions, so he recommended Smith for a post at the University of Washington, where support for Populist causes did not make one a pariah. Smith's Michigan credentials appealed to Washington's President Mark Walrod Harrington, who was also a Michigan alumnus, and in 1897 Smith joined the faculty at Washington. He remained there for the next twenty-four years, even though Richard T. Ely repeatedly tried to recruit him to Wisconsin (Goldman, 1944; Metzger, 1955, pp. 149-150).

Theresa Schmid married her classmate Edward McMahon, a history student, on July 4, 1900, when she was 22 and he was 27. They did a year of graduate study in California, then returned to Seattle to teach in a high school until 2006. In that year they entered the University of Wisconsin, where Edward did graduate work and earned a master's degree in history. He then returned to Seattle to teach in high school once more, but joined the faculty of the University of Washington in 1908. Theresa stayed on in Madison to complete both a master's and PhD in sociology, studying primarily with John R. Commons. Commons was as much a sociologist as an economist, and there was no sharp boundary between the two fields in the Department of Political Economy then. In later years in Washington Theresa Schmid McMahon was thought of as an economist, largely because she spent most of her career teaching in an economics department. Her 1909 feminist dissertation, "Women and Economic Evolution or the Effects of Industrial Changes Upon the Status of Women," was decidedly sociological and had little resemblance to an economics monograph of the time (McMahon, 1912). She was also regarded within the department as a sociologist. When John L. Gillin compiled information for Curti and Carsten's history of the university, he listed Theresa Schmid McMahon as the first person to receive a PhD in sociology at the university in 1909 (UW Archives 7/33/4, Box 18).

In her dissertation McMahon sought to analyze the relationship between economics and the status of women—a pioneering effort that stood almost alone for four decades until the topic became popular in the 1960s and 1970s (McMahon, 1912). McMahon argued that originally men and women were equal in innate intellectual capacity, but in primitive times men, because of their greater strength, became specialized in hunting and warfare, whereas women became specialists in child care and in economic activities close

to home. A man maximized his welfare by marrying a woman who could produce the services and goods that he needed. A woman maximized her economic chances by marrying a man who was a good provider and who was unlikely to divorce her. Over time this division of labor became hardened in custom and tradition, and it gave rise to an ethos of man's superiority over woman. The industrial revolution, she argued, radically changed the situation. New technologies produced high quality inexpensive goods that wives working at home could not compete with. In economic terms it was no longer efficient for most men to marry unless their wives worked outside the home. Women living with low-income men would have to take paid jobs outside the home. Women married to high status men could continue to be housewives or be at leisure if they had servants. Only women living with men earning middle class salaries might have a choice. But even women who sought a college education were directed more often toward studies considered by society to be edifying or cultural rather than toward studies that led to careers—an exception being primary and secondary teaching (p. 61).

McMahon argued further that these economic changes would lead men to marry later in life and for women to support themselves for a significant period. This in turn would increase the sense of independence and self-worth of women and bring about an increase in the divorce rate (p. 91). She also suggested that as women's participation in the labor force increased, the birth rate would decline (pp. 86-87).

McMahon's work was largely ignored or quickly forgotten. In 1976, however, Alfred N. Page, an economist at the University of Washington, ran across her dissertation and wrote a "retrospective review" of it. He wrote, ". . . Her work was far ahead of its time. Surely she deserves the recognition of being a major predecessor of modern attempts to extend the field of economics into such areas as sex discrimination, marriage, and fertility" (Page, 1976, p. 65).

At Wisconsin Theresa McMahon was awarded a fellowship, even though it was rare for a woman to receive a fellowship in the Department of Political Economy. When she asked why they had deviated from the general rule, she was told, "You have been married a number of years and you haven't any children, so you probably will stay in a profession and will be a credit to the University of Wisconsin." Though she was a committed feminist, she did not think of this as "sex discrimination." She thought it made good sense, and she adopted the same practice in her own teaching career: "I never helped to finance a girl student to do graduate work. Why? Whenever I encouraged her it wasn't long before she said, 'I am sorry, Mrs. McMahon, but I am to be married,' And that was that" (McMahon, 1958, p. 29). She apparently did not recognize the contradiction between her general feminist views and her

acceptance of society's pressures for middle class married women to leave the labor force. She and her husband had no children, so she was not faced with the difficulties of balancing her domestic and family life. She became more sensitive to the issue near the end of her teaching career, when she herself was almost forced out of her job because she was married to another faculty member.

Theresa McMahon became an even more ardent champion of labor under Commons' tutelage. She was devoted to Commons and had a wholly positive experience with him, unlike some later students:

> Commons was a kindly, sweet, gentle sort of a man, a man you just loved; he possessed a most attractive smile, was soft-spoken, and looked as if he suffered from chronic ill-health. You never criticized or fought with him, you might say. I don't believe the man ever had an enemy. Before he quit teaching one of the big industrialists in Chicago paid his secretary so that he had the services of a secretary at his command. It was he who believed that Emma Goldman should have her say, as well as any other radical who came to the campus (McMahon, 1958, p. 13).

After receiving her PhD, Theresa McMahon took a job with Jane Addams at Hull House on Halstead Street in the midst of the Chicago slum district. Her chief duty was to compile statistics on the mortality of children under three years of age for Associated Charities of Chicago, but she also went out into the field to investigate the needs of the poor. This was her first introduction to slum conditions, and she was shaken by what she saw:

> The poverty, the unsanitary conditions of the streets, the poor housing facilities, the high rents, and the ruthlessness of the landlords, all these were shocking to me. Chicago made a great impression on me. It taught me to hate the exploiting employer, to hate people whose only value in life seemed to be monetary value, irrespective of how the money was procured. . . . I hated Chicago! Chicago has always meant and still means to me slums, racketeering, all the unsocial elements that one can think of (McMahon, 1958, pp. 14, 18).

McMahon had a great admiration for Jane Addams, particularly since she had certain qualities of character that McMahon lacked:

> She reminded me of John R. Commons in many ways. She had a sad face—a sadness that comes not from personal afflictions but from grief, from the sorrows and the sufferings she saw in the world; it was a kindly face, a gentle face. She, like Professor Commons, assumed that there

> was good in the worst of us and she always reached out for the good. This was rather difficult for me to understand as I was still young. I was about thirty-one years of age; I believed in swatting the exploiters. She believed in winning them over to her cause, and so did John R. Commons (McMahon, 1958, p. 15).

In 1910 McMahon was invited to join her husband on the faculty of the University of Washington, and she was happy to leave Chicago. Her old mentor, J. Allen Smith, wanted her to join the economics faculty, but she did not get the appointment that year. President Thomas Franklin Kane wanted instead to bring in Walter G. Beach to teach sociology and offered him a position as Professor of Social Science even though he had only a master's degree from Harvard. Smith did not object, for Beach was an old friend from the days when they taught together at Marietta College. With this unexpected development McMahon was made only a graduate assistant in Political Science, even though she had a PhD and had taken only one elementary course in political science in her entire educational career. She commented,

> Beach was a very able man, and I have an idea that President Kane suggested that they bring Beach in instead of bringing me in, knowing that there would be some opposition to my appointment just because I was a liberal, and secondly, or perhaps primarily, because I was a woman. Women at that time were not appointed to positions in the economics department; they still are rarely found there. Our universities are the most conservative institutions in the country when it comes to the question of recognizing women on the intellectual level with men (McMahon, 1958, p. 19).

Beach remained at the University of Washington only until 1917, when he became Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Washington State College, but a short time later he moved to Stanford University and remained there teaching sociology until his retirement in 1934.

McMahon was not formally appointed to the rank of Instructor until 1911 in the Department of Political and Social Science. She was promoted to Assistant Professor in 1914, and when the department was split into three departments in 1916, she went with the economists, and Walter Beach became head of a new sociology department (Florence Howe, 1989, p. 228). After sixteen years on the faculty, however, she had still not been promoted to Associate Professor, and her salary was significantly lower than that of male professors of equivalent seniority.

McMahon was finally promoted to Associate Professor in 1926, after

her book on *Social and Economic Standards of Living* was published. Even then the promotion was given grudgingly by President Henry Suzzallo. McMahon believed that Suzzallo was actually quite liberal and a very bright man, but in her judgment he lacked integrity and readily yielded to outside pressures from business interests. He did bring a number of liberals on to the faculty, but he rarely stood up for the principle of academic freedom. He once chastised J. Allen Smith for criticizing business in his classes and angering members of the Chamber of Commerce. Smith had answered, "President Suzzallo I've been teaching under four or five different presidents, and I'll still be here when you've gone!" (McMahon, 1958, p. 43). His prediction was correct, but not before Suzzallo removed Smith as Chair of the Department of Political Science, Economics, and Sociology (p. 36).

According to McMahon, it was Karl Greenwood Miller, a psychologist who was the Director of Admissions and later Dean of the College of Liberal Arts for Women, who insisted that she be promoted, in spite of Suzzallo's misgivings:

> . . . When Miller was Dean, he went to Suzzallo and said, "We've got to promote that woman. The students have her on a pedestal; they say she's the only one who has the courage to say what she thinks, and all the others are cowtowing to authority. We've got to do something about this!" Suzzallo was reported to me as saying, "We'll wait until summer when nobody is paying any attention, and we'll promote her then." Before the summer was over he had appointed a committee of faculty people to pass on promotions so that the responsibility was out of Suzzallo's hands. It was then that I was appointed to a full professorship (McMahon, 1958, p. 50)

McMahon's memory was not quite accurate here. Miller was Director of Admissions then, and it was actually her promotion to associate professor. Suzzallo was forced out of the presidency in 1926, the year she received the promotion to associate professor. She had to wait until 1929 to be promoted to full professor (Florence Howe, 1989, p. 227).

McMahon spent her entire university career at the University of Washington, except for one year when she went on leave to do research in New York. She was attempting to avoid the harassment that many German Americans experienced during a witch-hunting period during World War I (Florence Howe, 1989, p. 232). She taught a variety of courses on general economics, the economic position of women, and labor economics. Drawing on her own research she pioneered innovative courses on women in the economy: Women in Industry, Vocational Opportunities for Women in the Pacific Northwest, Economics of Consumption, and Social and Economic

Standards of Living. Most of her courses, however, were in the field of labor economics: History of the American Labor Movement, Modern Labor Problems, Immigration and Labor, European Labor Problems, Labor Legislation, American Labor Problems, Labor in Industry, and Seminar in Labor (Florence Howe, 1989, p. 229).

The McMahons copied Commons' "Friday Niter" practice of having an open-house for students on Friday evenings. She recalled,

> My work was very pleasant. Some of my former students come to see me occasionally; they are now grandfathers. What was the outstanding thing about their University career? To my surprise, they say, "The Friday nights at the McMahon home.". . . The students sat on the floor around the fireplace. I prepared chocolate and cookies, and we talked about the current topics of the day (McMahon, 1958, p. 20).

Edward McMahon was regarded as a fine public speaker and teacher, and was one of the few faculty members to attain full professor rank without having a PhD. One of his university obituaries noted that he was "known to faculty and students as a teacher who presented his subject in the vernacular, disregarding unwarranted but popular conceptions of history" (Florence Howe, 1989, p. 225). Students and colleagues spoke of the couple affectionately as Mac and Mrs. Mac. Theresa did not consider herself a gifted lecturer like her husband and believed her forte was serving as an individual advisor to students. She sometimes loaned or gave money to students and pleaded before university committees that failing students be given another chance. She also advised students to make their own vocational choices and not simply accept the wishes of their parents (Florence Howe, 1989, p. 232). The admiration of students was well expressed by a student who used the name MUM in a column in the *Washington Daily* on April 27, 1920:

> Younger students slip into her classes because she is known to have a big heart and give a square deal. Older students seek her out because she's an inspiration. They regard with a kind of fierce hope, her healthy, sparkling face. Into the pocket of economics she puts a heart, a soul. Her brain is keen and her lips are tender. To us students, Mrs. McMahon stands splendidly defiant—an advocate of justice and individualism. She is burdened with more grey matter than most humans, but her humor is democratic. She is very practical, but her eyes are kind. Her classes are hotbeds of crisscross opinions. They are vital, enthusiastic gatherings brought down to earth, discussions of the very wolf at the door (Florence Howe, 1989, p. 234).

Ewan Clague, who became Commissioner for Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor from 1946 to 1965, credited Theresa McMahon with being primarily responsible for his career development and success. Writing in 1957, he told her,

> It was you who started me on the road I finally took. . . . It was you who wrote back to John R. Commons at the University of Wisconsin and obtained the fellowship which made it possible for me to go there. It was you who advanced the money which I needed in order to get through that first year. And it was you who put me firmly over into the field of labor economics, which is where I really belonged. I have always considered that this was the real turning point in my career (Florence Howe, 1989, p. 231).

Mrs. Mac remained a feminist throughout her life, and was outspoken in efforts to obtain workplace rights for women. She was, however, primarily a passionate defender of all working class people, both men and women. She was a tireless advocate for labor unions, for decent wages, for unemployment insurance, and for old age assistance. She played a key role in getting a state minimum wage law passed, and she served for a term as the most influential member on the state minimum wage board. She was widely regarded as a radical and a socialist (she accepted the former but not the latter designation), and she described herself as "a black sheep" and "social economist" in a department of conventional male economists, only two of whom she considered liberal. No doubt this and her gender were the reasons for her slow rate of promotion and her low salaries. Because of her outspoken pro-labor activism, the university regents wanted the president to fire her. She wrote in her autobiography that she had gone down to Olympia to testify against amending the eight-hour work day law in such a way as to make it ineffective. She was successful in beating back the attempt, which greatly angered the National Laundryman's Association and other business interests. She wrote,

> When I got back to campus, acting President [Henry] Landis called me to the office and said, "The Regents are going to meet this afternoon and ask me to fire you. What shall I do?" I answered him impertinently, "Tell them to do their damnedest!" (McMahon, 1958, p. 26)

McMahon had once been a student in Landis' classes and he had become a good friend, so she felt safe. She believed that no president could fire her without the recommendation of her chair, J. Allen Smith, and he had always taken the attitude, "Go to it Rosy, I'll hold your bonnet" (McMahon, 1958, p. 26).

McMahon was fearless and stood up to all efforts at intimidation throughout her career. She turned down an offer to move to the University of Chicago to stay at Washington. Remarkably she was able to keep her position at Washington until her retirement in 1937. She was told once by James Duncan, who had been Secretary of the Central Labor Council, that the reason she was not fired was because of the support she had from the Council.

> He said that he and several of the labor officials went up to President Suzzallo and said, "If you fire the McMahons or J. Allen Smith you won't last long as president, nor will [Roland H.] Hartley remain very long as governor of the state!" At that time I was really proud of my enemies, and I think J. Allen Smith was proud of his (McMahon, 1958, p. 33).

McMahon had a close call, however, the year before she retired. In the midst of the Great Depression the University of Washington, like many universities and government bodies across the nation, sought to open up more jobs for unemployed males by prohibiting married couples from being on the same payroll. The Regents adopted what was ostensibly an "anti-nepotism" policy in January, 1936: "In the future husband and wife shall not both be employed by the University if either one occupies a regular full time position on the academic teaching staff above the rank of assistant" (Palay, n.d.) In practice this meant that the wife in the case of a couple employed in the same place would be discharged. Though the political pressure came from Governor Clarence Martin and the legislature, President Lee Paul Sieg supported the policy and sought to implement it. Actually, the Board of Regents had ruled as early as 1928, long before unemployment became a critical problem in the Great Depression, that "no more wives of faculty men should be added to the faculty or office forces. In 1934 the newly appointed President Sieg determined to dismiss all female faculty members whose husbands were on the faculty (Edwards, n.d.). McMahon believed that Sieg was prejudiced against women faculty and used the unemployment issue as an excuse to get rid of as many as he could:

> . . . He didn't have any use for women teachers. It was all right for them to teach home economics, or perhaps music, or physical education, but they had no place in other departments. These departments were exclusively for the superior sex. All during his administration [1934-1946] I don't think a woman ever got a promotion outside of the home economics department (McMahon, 1958, pp. 45-46).

At first Sieg did not try to apply the rule retroactively to the four married couples already on the faculty, including the McMahons. McMahon later told a reporter from the *Seattle Post Intelligencer*,

> About two years ago President Sieg had Mr. McMahon in his office and told him how the governor was bringing pressure to bear to remove one member of the family if two were on the payroll. He reassured Mr. McMahon that the ruling would not be retroactive but he made it clear that my resignation would be welcome. I have always been discriminated against in my salary. Whether it was because I was a progressive or because both of us were working, I do not know. If it is because I am a progressive my academic freedom has been worth whatever financial price I have had to pay (quoted in Florence Howe, 1989, p. 233).

She did decide to retire at that point, partly because she was disillusioned with the Dean and with the President, but also because of failing health and a desire to retire to some beautiful acreage the McMahons had purchased on her beloved Mercer Island.

A year after McMahon's retirement, however, the university did make the rule retroactive. Sieg tried to avoid publicity and keep the new policy secret, so he advised only the chairs of the departments of the rule change. The news broke, however, when Lea Puymbroek Miller, who had taught in the Fine Arts Department since 1930, was given notice of her dismissal in the fall of 1937 because of her marriage to Robert C. Miller, a professor in the Zoology Department. Lea Miller had spent the previous fifteen months studying in Europe and had married Robert Miller in Europe unaware of the new rule (Palay, n.d.). She consulted with Theresa McMahon on what to do and protested vigorously against her dismissal, which constituted a violation of her written contract to teach the next year and was carried out without the faculty participation required in dismissal proceedings by university rules. McMahon reported her case to the American Association of University Professors, and the head of the organization promised to send an investigatory team to the campus if Lea Miller would file a complaint. They had earlier tangled with Sieg when he was a dean at the University of Pennsylvania and had fired a young professor who was a follower of Thorstein Veblen, probably because his views had offended some financial interests and some society women in the community. Sieg had admitted to the AAUP that the man had been an excellent teacher but was dismissed because of his liberalism, but he later retracted his statement and maintained that he was dismissed for poor teaching—a case reminiscent of the Edward Bemis affair at Chicago (McMahon, 1958, pp. 48-49).

Because of the university's attempts to cloak the news in secrecy, the

Seattle Post Intelligencer sent a reporter out to interview Theresa McMahon, knowing that she would not be afraid to tell the truth about what was happening. The sympathetic editors even printed a picture of McMahon seated in front of a wall of books to add academic credibility to her comments. In her usual forthright manner, she did describe what was going on and denounced the university's action. There was an explosion of controversy over the issue, not only in Washington but across the nation. Walter Isaacs, Miller's direct supervisor appealed to the administration for reconsideration on the grounds that she was a highly regarded and established teacher, and moreover her salary was significantly lower than a male professor of her caliber would command if he replaced her. In the end the Board of Regents unanimously rejected Lea Miller's appeal and reaffirmed her dismissal (Edwards, n.d.). She did not, however, file a complaint with the AAUP for fear that it might jeopardize her husband's job. Shortly thereafter both of the Millers were offered better jobs at the University of California in Berkeley, so their own careers did not actually suffer.

The Miller dismissal became a *cause célèbre* and the firing was denounced by numerous women's advocacy groups, but there was also widespread public support for a "spread the jobs" policy. The University of Washington's "anti-nepotism" policy remained in place until 1971, and several other women were dismissed from their faculty positions for marrying another member of the faculty (Palay, n.d.). Moreover, in December, 1937, the state of Washington also adopted an "anti-nepotism" policy "to spread employment" that led to a purging of most married women from the state employment rolls. Even women in federal jobs were placed at risk by the 1932 Federal Economy Act, which provided that married couples holding dual jobs should be first in line if staff reductions were necessary (Edwards, n.d.).



THERESA SCHMID MCMAHON AT SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER INTERVIEW IN 1938 (POST-INTELLIGENCER COLLECTION, MUSEUM OF HISTORY & INDUSTRY, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON)

Kessler-Harris has argued that the widespread adoption of these measures was prompted less by the economic pressures of the depression than by hostility to the liberation of women and the fear that traditional family values were being undermined as women found employment opportunities outside the home (Kessler-Harris, 1982, p. 256). In the year 1939 legislation was

introduced in 21 state legislatures to discriminate against married women in employment. A bill in California would have even made illegal the employment of married women in private business as well as public agencies. The liberal journalist Norman Cousins lampooned the argument of those supporting the restrictions on married women in this way:

> Here is the latest depression cure-all, results guaranteed by its supporters: "There are approximately 10,000,000 people out of work in the United States today. There are also 10,000,000 or more women, married and single, who are job-holders. Simply fire the women, who shouldn't be working anyway, and hire the men. Presto! No unemployment. No relief rolls. No depression" (Cousins, 1939, p. 14).

Cousins even hinted at Kessler-Harris' later argument that the underlying motive was to keep women home-bound and thwart women's liberation. Leaders in the women's rights movement were quite aware of the stakes and vigorously denounced the movement. Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor, who was the "soul of the New Deal," said, "This is a wholly unsound, unrealistic, and unfortunate approach to our unemployment problems. Moreover, it is un-American." Eleanor Roosevelt said "It is the basic right of any human being to work. . . . It is far more important for us to think about creating more jobs than it is for us to worry about how we are going to keep any groups from seeking work" (Cousins, 1939, pp. 17, 62).

Nevertheless, a majority of the public was unsympathetic to the idea of married women working outside the home if it were not an economic necessity. A national poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion in December, 1938, asked, "Do you approve of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?" Some 81 percent of the men and 75 percent of the women said no. Even after many women had entered the labor force during World War II, an October, 1945, survey found that 86 percent of all adults said that they disapproved of a married woman holding a job in business or industry if there was a limited number of jobs and her husband was able to support her (Cantril and Strunk, 1951, pp. 1044, 1047).

Theresa McMahon died in 1961, eleven years after her husband (McMahon, 1958, pp. 23-26; "Dr. Theresa S. McMahon," 1961). She was cremated and her ashes were interred by her husband in Lake View Cemetery in Seattle. She was a forceful and influential ambassador of Wisconsin Progressivism to the Pacific Northwest—more so as a staunch defender of the working class than as a feminist leader. In response to former students' comments that they wanted to erect a monument to her when she was gone, she said, ". . . the only monument either Edward McMahon or I wanted erected in

our honor when gone was intellectual integrity. Pass it on to their children: that was the most valuable asset that we could give them" (Florence Howe, 1989, p. 231). On the University of Washington campus today McMahon Hall is named in their memory—an 11-story thousand-student undergraduate dormitory that looks out over Lake Washington. Over three cubic feet of Theresa's papers, including speeches, notes, correspondence, and other writings are held in the University of Washington Suzzallo and Allen Libraries Special Collections.

Thomas Woodside Bentley Crafer

The second person to earn a sociology PhD at Wisconsin was Thomas Woodside Bentley Crafer (1872-1962) in 1910. He was not as colorful as McMahon, but he also had a very substantial academic career. He was a Canadian born on Prince Edward Island, but immigrated to the United States with his parents as a young child in 1879. After graduating from Mayville Normal School in North Dakota, he got a law degree from Boston University in 1899. He then earned a B.A. from the University of North Dakota in 1906, an M.A. from the University of Wisconsin in 1907, and then another M.A. from Harvard University in 1909. He returned to the University of Wisconsin to complete a PhD in the Department of Political Economy in 1910. He was the first sociology doctoral student of E. A. Ross at Wisconsin and wrote his dissertation on "The Administration of Public Poor Relief in Wisconsin and Minnesota: A Comparative Study" ("Seventh List of Doctoral Dissertations. . ." 1910, p. 19). Richard T. Ely, who had an interest in poor relief, also signed the title page and gave his approval. Crafer's earlier master's thesis dealt with the administration of poor relief in Wisconsin, and he expanded it into a comparative study by adding the poor relief system of Minnesota for his dissertation. There is no question that he was regarded as a sociologist within the department, but like Theresa McMahon, he must have found it difficult to find a position teaching sociology in the 1910s, even with his impressive collection of degrees.

Crafer taught initially for a year at Middlebury College, then for two years at the University of Pittsburgh, and then at Lawrence College from 1913 to 1920 as Chair of Economics. In 1917 he became a naturalized U.S. citizen at the age of 45. Finally, in 1920 he moved to Syracuse University as Chair of its Department of Economics, which had only one other member when he arrived. During the next twenty years the department expanded to nine faculty members. On his 20th anniversary at Syracuse the faculty and several former students honored him with a dinner party at which he was presented with a portrait of himself painted by Robert Goodnough to be donated to the university. Goodnough was a graduating art student at

Syracuse at the time and went on to have a celebrated career as an abstract expressionist painter, like his friends Mark Rothko and Willem de Kooning. The Thomas W. B. Crafer Scholarship Fund was also established to aid economics students at the university. He retired from teaching in 1942 and died on Christmas Day in 1962 at the age of 90. He was buried in Oakwood Cemetery in Syracuse. His wife Nellie died in 1967 and was also buried in Oakwood Cemetery. Three boxes of notebooks, lecture notes, photographs, postcards, correspondence, and other papers are in the Syracuse University Archives (Thomas Woodside Bentley Crafer Papers.
(http://archives.syr.edu/collections/fac_staff/sua_crafer_twb.htm)

Axel D. Johnson

The third Wisconsin PhD in sociology was granted to Axel D. Johnson (1874-1951) in 1911, with a dissertation on "The Social and Economic Losses from Unemployment in Milwaukee." He was born in Saline County, Kansas—most likely in Falun Township—in 1874 to a father who had emigrated from Sweden and a mother who was variously reported as born in Norway and Sweden. He received a bachelor's degree in 1903 from Bethany College in nearby Lindsborg, Kansas, a small town originally settled by Swedish immigrants. He earned a master's degree at the University of Kansas in 1908 before going on to the University of Wisconsin for doctoral study ("Seventh List of Doctoral Dissertations. . ." 1910, p. 19). After receiving his PhD in 1911, he returned to Kansas to Alta Vista, a small village of less than 500 people about 26 miles south of Manhattan. He listed his occupation as "social worker," but it is unlikely that he was actually working as a social worker while living in an isolated rural village. He left few records, but I was able to trace his life through State and Federal census records. By 1915 he was a "U.S. employee" in Garfield, a tiny village in Pawnee County near Dodge City, Kansas. When he registered for the draft in 1917, though, he was living in Kansas City, Missouri, and working as a coffee blender at Ridenour-Baker Grocery Company, "the largest wholesale house west of the Mississippi River." In 1920 he was the Superintendent of the Southern Ute Indian Reservation headquartered in Montezuma, Colorado—apparently the only substantial job in his career that made any use of his training as a sociologist. He married for the first time at age 52 in 1926 to Bertha U. Johnson and by 1930 was back at Ridenour-Baker working again as a coffee blender. The wholesale grocery business in Kansas City began to decline after World War I, however, in the face of competition from other cities such as Omaha and the increasing prominence of franchise chain stores and manufacturers' agents who arranged sales directly with retail stores. The company dissolved in 1936 in the depths of the Great Depression. The 1940 Census lists Johnson

merely as a "laborer" on a government sewer project in Kansas City with an annual income of $500. He died in 1951 and was buried in Sharon Cemetery near the village of Drexel, Missouri, about fifty miles south of Kansas City. His wife died in 1962 and was also buried there.

Axel Smith was the first Wisconsin sociology PhD—but hardly the last—to experience difficulty in finding a suitable job. There were few professional sociologists in the early part of the century, but even fewer jobs for sociologists. McMahon and Crafer did have successful academic careers, but even they had to take positions as economists rather than as sociologists, their original self-identity.

Gender in Graduate Education

There were even fewer job openings for women with PhDs in sociology or the other social sciences at the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet, as we have seen, the very first person to receive a PhD in sociology at Wisconsin was a woman—Theresa Schmid McMahon—and five of the first 30 PhDs were women—17 percent. (See Table 12.) The gender balance was somewhat similar to that for the social sciences at the University of Chicago in its early days. It was rare for a woman to be admitted to a doctoral program in any American university before the 1890s, but Chicago admitted women to graduate study from the time of its founding in 1892. By 1894 23 percent of the graduate students in political economy, political science, and sociology at Chicago were women, and in 1903 it was still at 19 percent (Fitzpatrick, 1990, p. 29). Fitzpatrick wryly commented, "The great contradiction of the revolution in women's higher education was that it prepared the first college graduates for a world of opportunities that did not really exist" (p. 8). The first generation of women graduate students were intrepidly ambitious, but over time fewer women were willing to pursue an arduous program of studies over a period of years with an uncertain employment future. There was also a decline at Chicago. In fact, no woman received a PhD in anthropology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Chicago until 1928, when Charlotte Day Gower earned the degree. As reported in Chapter 11, vol. 1, Gower had difficulty finding a university teaching position until she finally caught on at Wisconsin, and she never was granted tenure there, even though she was a person of exceptional ability.

The percent of sociology PhDs earned by women at Wisconsin fell in each ten-year period after the initial phase, reaching a low point of 4 percent in the 1960s. When I arrived in the department in 1963 there were very few women graduate students, and during the next five years there was only one woman who received a PhD out of a total of 37—less than 3 percent.

Table 12 Graduate Degrees in Sociology at UW-Madison,1909-2016						
Years	PhDs			Master's Degrees		
	Men	Women	Percent Women	Men	Women	Percent Women
1909-1919	5	2	29	11	9	45
1920-1929	25	3	11	15	10	40
1930-1939	32	3	9	54	18	25
1940-1949	43	3	7	45	17	27
1950-1959	63	4	6	89	13	13
1960-1969	76	3	4	161	81	33
1970-1979	171	47	22	195	101	34
1980-1989	125	55	31	139	121	47
1990-1999	91	77	46	130	119	48
2000-2009	74	81	52	68	105	61
2010-2014	63	87	58	30	64	68
Total Years	68	65	37	937	658	41

SOURCES: GILLIN, N.D., "HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY," (UW ARCHIVES 7/33/4, BOX 18); UW SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT FILES.

Women made up a substantially larger percentage of those receiving master's degrees throughout the twentieth century, though they were still outnumbered by men. This probably reflects the greater employment opportunities for women in the fields of social work and social welfare, which generally did not require a PhD degree. In the 1910s 45 percent of the master's degrees were earned by women and by the 1940s it was still 27 percent. The percentage dropped further in the 1950s after a separate Department of Social Work was established, but the percent started rising again in the 1960s. By this time the department was emphasizing its PhD program and discouraging those who sought only a master's degree. A master's degree was a prerequisite for the PhD program, so the increasing percentage of women was basically a reflection of the increase of women in the doctoral program.

More women entered the graduate sociology program in the late 1960s, and by the 1970s the percent of women earning PhDs and master's degrees began to increase. By 2000-2009 some 75 percent of PhDs and 61 percent of master's degrees were earned by women. Since 2010 the figures are 63 and 68 percent. This is a reflection of the changing gender composition of entering cohorts of new graduate students. Between 2006 and 2013 94 of the 170 entering sociology graduate students have been women—55 percent

of the total. In the entering cohort of 36 new graduate students in 2016-2017, 22 are women and 14 are men—that is 61 percent women. The changes in gender composition are not unique to Wisconsin. They are occurring in graduate sociology programs across the country.

Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Graduate Education

I believe Preston Valien was the first African American to receive a PhD in sociology at Wisconsin. He and his wife, Bonita H. Valien, were both graduate students and holders of fellowships in sociology from 1937 to 1940. Preston received his PhD in 1947, but Bonita never finished her degree. Nevertheless, they formed an eminent husband-wife team teaching sociology at Fisk University and published many notable works in the field of minority group relations. It was not until 1968 that the next African Americans received PhDs—Cora Bagley Marrett and Ozzie Lee Edwards. Marrett has had a brilliant career as a Professor in the Wisconsin Sociology Department, as Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs for the University of Wisconsin System, and as Deputy Director and Acting Director of the National Science Foundation. Edwards went on to the University of Michigan, where he was an Associate Professor and Director of African and African American Studies. Graduate students from racial and ethnic minorities have become considerably more common since then but have continued to be underrepresented—an issue that has been a matter of chronic concern.

Table 13. Sociology Graduate Majors, by Race and Ethnic Status, Fall Semester, 1984-2013 (Unknown Excluded)

Department and Year	White American	African American	Hispanic American	Asian American	Native American	International
Sociology						
2013	71	12	8	10	5	32
2003	119	4	8	4		43
1993	123	9	11	5	3	68
1984*	104		5	3		75
Comm. & Env/Rur Sociology						
2013						
2003	5					2

1993*	3		1	1		
1984*	5	1				12

*FTE

The two departments have always maintained a joint graduate program, and most students are officially registered as Sociology graduate majors, but in the past a few were officially registered as Rural Sociology graduate majors.

Source: Semester Enrollments by Diversity, Registrar, UW-Madison

Figures on the ethnic status of graduate students by department are available from the Registrar's Office only since 1984. Selected years are shown in Table 13 by department. The figures for Community and Environmental Sociology/Rural Sociology are misleading, for the graduate program is actually joint between the two departments, and most students register officially in Sociology.

Since 1984 there have been more Hispanic American sociology graduate students than representatives from the other minority groups. African Americans and Asian Americans have been increasing, however, and by 2013 outnumbered the Hispanic Americans. The smallest group is Native American. There is a substantial Native American population in the state of Wisconsin, but a lack of economic opportunities has limited their educational attainments. Currently, the African American group is largest, numbering twelve.

Sociology graduate students from American minority groups have always been greatly outnumbered by international students. Relying on personal knowledge, information from present and former colleagues and students, and internet searches, I have tried to classify students receiving PhDs by nationality. I did not attempt to identify those from Europe or Canada—a daunting task—but they would not constitute one of the larger groups. Most of the international students are from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and their numbers, by decade, are displayed in Table 14. I believe my identifications are basically accurate, but I have grouped together some nations—Africa South of the Sahara; China and Taiwan; Hispanic Caribbean, Central, and South America; and North Africa and Arab Asia.

There were only six graduate students from Asia, Latin America, and Africa who received sociology PhDs at Wisconsin during the first fifty years after the first one was granted in 1909. The very first were Serafin Egmidio Macaraig from the Philippines and Ryozo Matsumoto from Japan in 1928, followed by Haridas Thakordas Muzumdar from India in 1929. Then there was a gap of seventeen years until Hsi K. Chang from China received his degree in 1946. He was followed by Pablo Bernardino Vazquez-Calcerrada from Puerto Rico in 1950 and Malak Guirguis from Egypt in 1951. It was not

until the 1960s that international students began to come in greater numbers, particularly from Brazil and India. The influx was prompted in part by William H. Sewell's visiting professorship at Indian universities in the late 1950s and John Kolb's activities in Brazil in 1953-54 and 1960-61. Haller also did some work in Brazil in the early 1960s, and after he returned to Wisconsin as a faculty member in 1965, the flow of Brazilian students increased.

Table 14. Wisconsin Sociology PhDs Granted to Students from Africa, Asia, and Latin America,1909—2016

Geographic Area	1909-1959	1960-1979	1980-1999	2000-2016	Total
Africa South of the Sahara		6	15	3	24
Brazil		7	10	4	21
China & Taiwan	1	2	21	19	39
Hispanic Caribbean, Cen. & S. America	1	11	11	10	33
India	1	7		5	19
Indonesia			2		2
Iran		1	5		6
Turkey				3	3
Israel		4	5	1	10
Japan	1		9	2	12
Korea			25	15	40
Malaysia & Singapore			2		2
Nepal			1		1
North Africa & Arab Asia	1	4	3	2	10
Philippines	1		2	1	4
Thailand			3		3
Burma				1	1
Vietnam			1	1	2
Total	6	42	121	67	232

In the 1970s the number of students from Africa, Asia, and Latin America tripled, and the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology began to

take a special pride in their mission of educating young people who would assume leadership positions in the development of their home countries. The largest group was from the Hispanic areas of the Caribbean, Central and South America, attracted in part by several faculty who were specialists in the region, including A. Eugene Havens, Maurice Zeitlin, David Chaplin, and J. David Stanfield. These students were also probably attracted by the anti-establishment views of many of the Wisconsin faculty involved in development studies. Brazilian students continued to come, reaching a peak in the 1980s but arriving in smaller numbers after that. Students from African countries south of the Sahara began arriving for the first time in the 1970s, generally sponsored by their governments or development agencies and attracted by the strong emphasis on development studies and African Studies at Wisconsin. This was the largest "Third World" group completing PhDs in the 1980s, but the numbers were sharply reduced in the following decade. Scholarship funds from African governments and international development agencies generally dried up in the late 1990s, and sociology graduate students from Africa have almost disappeared since 2000, except for Joseph Ewoodzie, whose family emigrated to the US from Ghana when he was thirteen.

There was a major shift in the source of international graduate students that began in the 1980s, when large numbers of Asian students began to arrive from Korea, Japan, and Taiwan, in addition to continuing modest numbers from India. By the 1990s more than half the PhDs shown in Table 13 were granted to Koreans and Chinese—the latter group composed of students from both Taiwan and China. They continued to be the largest groups in the decade of the 2000s. Since 2010 eight of the twenty-nine PhDs in the group have been earned by Korean students and seven by students from China or Taiwan.

The number of international graduate students in sociology has declined in recent years, particularly those from Africa and other low-income countries. This is so even though the number of international students in the United States is now at an all-time peak, nearly double the number twenty years ago. About 65 percent are primarily funded by themselves or their families, 19 percent are funded by an American college or university, and only 8 percent are funded mainly by a foreign government or university. In the US as a whole today about two-thirds of the international students are from Asia—primarily China and India—and only 10 percent are from Latin America and 5 percent from Africa. Chinese students in 2013-14 numbered 274,000—36 percent of all international students in the US (Schoof, 2014). This is due in large part to the growth of a modestly prosperous middle class in China, with families extremely ambitious for their children. Contrary to the popular view that the increase reflects the rise of a wealthy bureaucratic

and business class in China that has "gotten rich gloriously," I am told by my colleague Edward Friedman, the distinguished China specialist, that most of the Chinese students' parents are people of modest means who have had to scrimp and save diligently to finance their children's study abroad. The number of Chinese in the entering freshman class at Wisconsin more than doubled between 2011 and 2012. The percent of freshmen who were international students rose from 2.0 percent in 2002 to 9.7 percent in 2012—overwhelmingly Chinese students (Simmons, 2013, p. A1).

The rising costs, the drying up of scholarship money, stringent requirements of accumulated savings, and difficulties in getting visas are clearly affecting the recruitment of international graduate students in sociology at Wisconsin. The policy of admitting only those students who could be guaranteed funding has also tended to limit the admission of international students. The Fall, 2012, cohort of only fourteen new graduate students included only four international students—from Korea, Turkey, Australia, and Germany. In 2013 the entering cohort numbered nineteen, but only three were non-US citizens—two from China and one from Ecuador. The 2014 cohort of twenty-three included eight international students, with three from China, two each from Israel and the United Kingdom, and one from Iceland. For the 2015-16 class 52 persons were admitted, including 10 international students, but there were only 13 acceptances, including two international students, from Thailand and Korea. For the 2016-17 class an unexpected doubling of the acceptance rate resulted in an unusually large entering cohort of 36 students, including 12 international students—4 from Korea, 4 from China, and 1 each from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Mexico, and Colombia. In the last five entering cohorts, however, there has not been a single student from the bottom 87 countries in GDP per capita (PPP), as shown in the IMF's World Economic Outlook Database for 2015. They were all from the top 98 countries—in fact, from the top 32 richest countries, except for those from China, Thailand, Ecuador, Colombia, Mexico, and Turkey. In the 1970s to 1990s there were many sociology graduate students from the poor countries, but they have largely disappeared today. Remembering the earlier times, I personally lament the decline in the sense of mission to help further the economic and social development of the poor countries of the world.

The election of Donald Trump as President raised concerns that his campaign promise to initiate mass deportations of undocumented residents might threaten some of the international students, staff, or faculty at American university campuses. On Nov. 30, 2016, Janet Napolitano, President of the University of California and former Director of Homeland Security, announced that the university would not assist federal officials on immigration matters, that it would not turn over any confidential student records without court orders, and that it would not supply information for any

national registry based on race, national origin, or religion. She promised the university would "vigorously protect the privacy and civil rights of the undocumented members of the UC community" (Watanabe, 2016).

Sixteen days later, UW-Madison also began to address the issue of undocumented students, staff, and faculty. It issued the following statement of policies:

- All UW-Madison students are protected by the same privacy laws and University policies. The University will never voluntarily release student information that is protected by FERPA (the Federal Educational Rights and Privacy Act) unless required to do so under a subpoena or other legal process.
- UW-Madison will not provide information on immigration status of its students or staff unless required to do so under force of law.
- The UW-Madison Police Department (UWPD) will not participate in immigration enforcement actions conducted by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers (ICE). Our resources are limited and such enforcement is not part of UWPD's duties.
- U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers must use appropriate legal processes if they are on campus and wish to contact individual students about enforcement-related issues. For example, they generally cannot enter an on-campus private residence without a proper warrant.
- We will work jointly with our governance groups to establish an advisory group of faculty, staff, and students to be consulted about policy concerns related to immigration status as well as international student status (International Student Services, 2016).

PhD Student Hurdles

For most graduate students, there have been three major hurdles to clear in earning a PhD—the foreign language requirement, the prelims, and the dissertation. Most universities in the 1950s and 1960s required that PhD students in the social sciences and many other fields have a reading knowledge of French and German. This was a relic of earlier times when most scholarly literature was in those languages if not in English, and field research in countries with other languages was rare. Since most American students had inadequate linguistic training as high school and undergraduate students, this was often a requirement that caused significant delays. The rigid requirement was also frustrating to students who needed to use a foreign language other than French or German in their research. Gradually universities began to relax the rigid policy, sometimes permitting the

substitution of another language, such as Spanish, or even special competence in mathematics or quantitative methods. Finally, most universities, including UW-Madison, did away with the foreign language requirement, leaving it up to the student's advisor to determine what language competence was required to carry out research for the student's dissertation. I believe the change was gratefully welcomed by the French and German faculty, who had previously been saddled with the task of administering reading examinations for PhD students.

The most important requirement for the PhD is, of course, the dissertation. Those who wrote quantitative dissertations using already available data sets generally completed their dissertations in timely fashion. Those who had to find or create their own data for analysis usually took much longer, especially if they did field work overseas. Sometimes the research and writing might extend over several years. Studies of American PhDs show that on average it takes more than eight years after the bachelor's degree to complete a PhD, though students in the natural sciences tend to take less time.

The most angst during a student's period of study, however, was usually due to the "prelim" requirement. The preliminary examination, as it is formally designated, is in fact more of a final examination over what the student has learned in designated specialty areas. It is preliminary only in the sense that it is preliminary to writing the dissertation. Like most examination systems, however, it has an inordinate influence on how students choose their courses and direct their interests. Because the prelim requirements play such a central role in the graduate education enterprise, the faculty are concerned with the requirements as much as the students. Probably no other issue has been debated more vigorously in the joint meetings of Sociology and Rural Sociology/Community and Environmental Sociology over the years. There have been many different systems of requirements adopted, but because the faculty vary in their disciplinary specialties and their theoretical orientations, they have rarely been able to devise a system that most were happy with. The agreements were highly unstable, and it seemed that we reopened the question every four or five years and tried to find a more satisfactory formulation.

Generally written exams in at least two areas and an oral exam were required, though a paper option as a substitute for one written exam was later added. The Graduate School considered the oral prelim to be the qualifying exam to register as a dissertator, but a student could not take the oral exam until after the written exams or paper option had been passed. When I arrived in the 1960s three examination areas were given major emphasis—social organization, social psychology, and demography and ecology. The central disagreement was between the "generalists" who insisted on a major exam in "social organization"—an area whose boundaries were also a

matter of contention—and those who favored a freer choice of two or three specialty areas. I was generally on the side of the specialists, since I felt that social organization was too broad and ill-defined to be a fair examination area. I always hated to serve on the social organization prelim committee, not being sure what kinds of questions were appropriate and fair. I do recall, however, that Arne Kalleberg wrote one of the most brilliant exams in social org that I ever read, so it was not impossible to excel on the prelim in spite of its broad scope.

We never succeeded in devising a prelim system that satisfied all of the sociology faculty, or even most of them, but we were able to reach an accommodation each time that was functional, if not ideal in most people's eyes. Gradually additional prelim areas were added, and the rules were made more flexible to accommodate students with varying interests and orientations. Eventually "social organization" was dethroned as the "queen" of the prelim areas, and greater specialization was permitted. The system that evolved is in basic terms similar to what the "specialist" group in the 1960s was advocating.

The current prelim system as of 2016 divides prelims into two groups—Group I and Group II (formerly labeled A and B). Group I prelims are seen as more general or more central to the field and receive favored treatment. A student must pass at least one six-hour written exam from Group I and a second six-hour written exam from either Group I or Group II. A paper option requiring the submission of two substantial independently produced papers is available in place of a Group II exam.

Group I Examinations

- Comparative-Historical Sociology (formerly "Social Organization")
- Demography and Ecology
- Economic Change and Development
- Economic Sociology
- Gender
- Organizational and Occupational Analysis
- Political Sociology
- Race and Ethnic Studies
- Social Psychology and Micro Sociology
- Social Stratification

Group II Examinations

- AgroFood Systems
- Class Analysis and Historical Change

- Communities and Urban Sociology
- Culture
- Crime, Deviance, and Social Control
- Education
- Environmental Sociology
- Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis
- Ethnography
- Family
- General Social Theory
- Law and Society
- Medical Sociology
- Methods and Statistics
- Religion
- Science and Technology

Formerly an oral prelim was required, usually with five faculty members serving as examiners. The exam usually focused on the student's interests or proposed dissertation area, but questions could range far afield. Students often dreaded the oral prelim, partly because it was difficult to anticipate the types of questions that might be asked, but also because of the realization that questioners through a series of increasingly specific questions on a topic could easily drill down to anyone's level of ignorance. The oral prelim was also a considerable drain on faculty time on top of the essential committee service for master's orals and dissertation defenses. Eventually the oral prelim in its original form was abandoned through redefinition. The current rules specify, "After all requirements for the Ph.D. but the dissertation have been completed, the student and major professor will meet for an oral preliminary exam that shall consist of a discussion of the student's plans for a dissertation." Afterwards the Graduate School is notified that the student is eligible for dissertator status.

Prelims have always been a major source of distress for PhD students. When students complained to me about the prelim system, I sometimes told them about my own harrowing experience taking prelims at the University of Texas-Austin in 1954. I was required to pass five four-hour written exams over a week's time in the same five broad areas required of everyone. This was followed by an oral prelim over the whole field of sociology and then by a four-hour written exam in anthropology, my minor. The final requirement was to write an extended critique of a sociological classic. I chose Robert Redfield's *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* and, in my own view, did a pretty fair job of demolishing it in a hundred-page paper. The last was the only part of the prelim process that I enjoyed and benefited from professionally. The rest was academic hazing.

I believe that there is currently a growing feeling that there is too much emphasis on prelims in graduate education. It is increasingly being argued that the emphasis on exams perpetuates the same kind of paternalistic exam-centric system that is found in our high schools and undergraduate programs. The educational process becomes distorted, with students becoming focused on passing specific exams and requirements rather than exploring and developing their interests and competencies. Many have come to believe that graduate education should emphasize professional socialization, preparing students to do the kind of independent work that they will be doing after they receive their degrees. Learning to carry out a research project and produce journal-quality papers would certainly contribute more to a student's professional development than passing exams or accumulating A grades in courses. I have no doubt that changes in this direction would be rewarding to both graduate students and faculty and would create a more enjoyable and less stressful learning environment.

Sociology PhD Graduate Exit Survey

In 2016 the University of Wisconsin Graduate School initiated a set of "exit surveys" of doctoral graduates in all departments, with the intention of repeating such surveys periodically. Surveys of this sort have many problems, but they do provide an interesting view of the morale of the graduate students. The table below summarizes some of the results from the exit surveys of Sociology PhD graduates between Fall, 2012, and Summer, 2015

Exit Survey of Wisconsin Sociology PhD Graduates, from Fall, 2013, to Spring, 2015	
Survey Items	**Percent**
Financial support was excellent or very good (vs. good, fair, poor)	47
Information technology resources were excellent or very good (vs. good, fair, poor)	89
Library & electronic research resources were excellent or very good (vs. good, fair, poor)	94
Advice from dissertation advisor for selection of a dissertation topic was very helpful (vs. somewhat, not very, not at all)	44
Help and advice from dissertation advisor for your dissertation research was very helpful (vs. somewhat, not very, not at all)	52

Was a teaching assistant during graduate study	67
If was a teaching assistant, found it very helpful in professional development (vs. somewhat, not very, not at all)	44
Received training in instructional methods during graduate study	69
Was a research assistant during graduate study	70
If was a research assistant, found it very helpful in professional development (vs. somewhat, not very, not at all)	59
Gave 5 or more research or scholarly presentations on campus during graduate study	58
Gave 5 or more research or scholarly presentations at regional, national, or international meetings during graduate study	72
If made a presentation away from campus, received travel funds	94
Published one or more scholarly works while a graduate student	85
Regarded quality of the graduate curriculum as excellent or very good (vs. good, fair, poor)	81
Regarded quality of graduate level teaching of faculty as excellent or very good (vs. good, fair, poor)	75
Regarded quality of academic advising and guidance as excellent or very good (vs. good, fair, poor)	61
Regarded overall program quality as excellent or very good (vs. good, fair, poor)	75
Strongly agreed or agreed that students in my program are treated with respect by faculty (vs. ambivalent, disagree, strongly disagree)	77
Strongly agreed or agreed that the intellectual climate of my program is positive (vs. ambivalent, disagree, strongly disagree)	83
Strongly agreed or agreed students in my program are collegial (vs. ambivalent, disagree, strongly disagree)	84
Planning to take a “postdoc” or undertake further training	35
Rates my graduate program as excellent or very good (vs. good, fair, poor)	78
Rates my overall experience at this university as excellent or very good (vs. good, fair, poor)	75

If were to start graduate career again, would definitely or probably choose UW-Madison (vs. maybe, probably not, definitely not)	79
Would definitely or probably choose the same specialization again (vs. maybe, probably not, definitely not)	71
Would definitely or probably recommend UW-Madison to someone considering my field of study (vs. maybe, probably not, definitely not)	70
Would definitely or probably choose the same advisor (vs. maybe, probably not, definitely not	86

SOURCE: ("GRADUATE SCHOOL DOCTORAL EXIT SURVEY REPORT," UW-MADISON GRADUATE SCHOOL, NOV. 30, 2015)

CHAPTER 2

Graduate Student Voices

After I had written a substantial portion of this book I was struck with the thought that, with the exception of a few graduate students such as Theresa Schmid McMahon, C. Wright Mills, and Don Martindale, who were discussed extensively in earlier chapters, almost everything I had written was about the faculty. Individual graduate students were largely missing from the story. The same is true of most other academic histories I have seen. This seemed to me to be wrong, for graduate students have played a very important role in the life of the departments. They are part of our life blood. Yet, there are so many graduate students, it is hard to find a way to tell their stories. Since 1909 the Wisconsin sociology program has produced 1133 PhDs—more than any other university except Chicago—and an even larger number of master's degrees.

I decided that the best way to proceed was to invite a selection of PhD graduates distributed over the past fifty years and representing a variety of fields to write brief accounts of their experiences and memories of graduate school at Wisconsin. Abjuring my professional proclivities as a sociologist, I did not try to select a random or representative sample of graduates but rather persons I thought would be particularly interesting or who went on to outstanding careers. I knew personally a large number of the doctoral students between 1963 and 2004, and I knew many others by reputation. Still others, particularly those in more recent years, were suggested to me by colleagues. To avoid excess personal bias, I refrained from inviting any of my own PhD students. I was frustrated that I did not have space to invite all the persons I really wanted to include.

I left the suggested content of the contributions completely open and told those I invited to write whatever was important to them. I also told them that they were free to express criticisms and complaints, and I promised to keep intact all their comments. I hoped to get their true opinions, not a polite sanitized version. Nearly all of the invitees still lead very busy lives, and some were not able to find the time to write about their memories but forty-four accepted and did write short essays. They appear below in order of the year of PhD of the writer, with recent and current PhD students at the end.

Eldon Wegner, University of Hawaii at Manoa, retired (PhD, 1967)

My graduate student career began in Fall 1963. I had just completed a fine liberal arts education at the University of Redlands, which was a small college with a homogeneous, white middle class student body. I found UW Madison both intimidating and exhilarating. The mid-60's were a time of social disruption and change, and we were caught up in excitement and ideologies of the time.

I entered the program with anxiety about how well my education had prepared me for graduate work at a large research university. However, I soon realized that I would do just fine. A huge help in this transition was a cohesive and intellectually lively graduate student culture in the department. I was fortunate to develop some great friends, especially Bill Phillips and Alan Orenstein. We engaged in lively discussions and also provided emotional support to one another, and we remained lifelong close friends.

During my first year, I took a stratification course from Bill Sewell, and I eventually completed my dissertation under his supervision. A revision was published in the *American Journal of Sociology*. I continued through my career to do occasional research on related topics concerning the impacts of education, including my final 2009 publication, which looked at school climates as they impacted on adolescent violence.

Also, during my first year, I learned about the NIMH Medical Sociology Trainee program supervised by David Mechanic. I had a strong interest in this field and was fortunate in being supported by this program for the remainder of my years in graduate school. David Mechanic had a profound influence on me, leading me to focus on Social Psychology and Medical Sociology as the primary fields for my academic career. My more recent focus on Sociology of Aging grew out of these two fields.

It was after beginning my academic career that I appreciated the excellent foundation which my graduate education had provided me, with a solid grounding in social theory and quantitative methodology. Sociology as I understood it in graduate school was a coherent discipline—with a positivist scientific posture and consensus on a body of theory. Everyone read the ASR. Soon after, however, the field exploded into multiple fragments, new methodologies and theoretical orientations. Departments ever since struggle with finding a common core to the discipline, and we have all been challenged to broaden our theoretical perspectives and methodological tools.

I've always been grateful to the Sociology graduate program at Wisconsin which enabled me to have a very successful and gratifying career in Sociology at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, where I am now Professor Emeritus of Sociology.

Alejandro Portes, Princeton University (PhD, 1970)

I attended the University of Wisconsin from 1965 to 1970, when I left with a Ph.D. in Sociology. At least, I thought that I had left for, in reality, life kept bringing me back to my alma mater on repeated occasions. Those five years in Madison were very intense, full of challenges, stress, and also rewards. If I were literarily inclined, I believe I could write several novels about those years. Here are my summary impressions of the Wisconsin Sociology Department, still one of the best in the world:

— *Size matters*. The very size of the department turns it into a universe unto itself. Both faculty and students have it as a point of reference. Size fosters competition and seriousness of purpose, along with stress and sometimes loneliness.

— *The Gemeinshaft und Gesellschaft paradox*. The inevitable consequences of size were counterbalanced by the remarkable commitment to the department of a number of senior professors. Their actions turned the place into a real community, transcending the teaching of courses and the achievement of titles. A sense of belonging developed that was carried by students, even after completing their degrees and moving away. David Mechanic, Edgar Borgatta, Joseph Elder, Archibald Haller, Russ Middleton, Warren Hagstrom, and especially William Sewell were among those professors during my time.

— *An Empirical Vocation*. Post-modernists and grand theorists do not do well in Madison. The Department was and continues to be resolutely fact-driven and skeptical of unsupported generalities. I learned and carried this orientation with pride, but also had to struggle with it at times, given my own penchant for concepts and typologies. In the end, Mertonian concepts of the middle range emerged as a suitable compromise.

Receiving a doctorate *honoris causa* from my own alma mater in 1998 marked one of the high points of my career. I had the Dalai Lama at one side as another honorary doctoral recipient but, more importantly, I had William Sewell and Archie Haller on the other, mentors and friends for life—an integral part of that long-living Wisconsin tradition.

Avery (Pete) Guest, University of Washington, retired (PhD, 1970)

I was a sociology grad student (specialization in demography/ecology) at Wisconsin from 1966 to 1970. Most Oberlin graduates at the time did graduate work in sociology at Michigan, which was very strong in social psychology and organizational studies, plus quite sympathetic to positivism. However, I ended up at Wisconsin in the middle of the 65-66 academic year at a time when no other graduate program would consider me.

Wisconsin Sociology was a fascinating experience. The sociology grad program was definitely on the way up, although I did not realize it at the time. A key decision at Wisconsin was hiring Hal Winsborough from Duke to direct the population program. At the time, the only really strong population programs were at Michigan and Princeton. One of the continuing problems of most sociology programs is finding competent faculty leaders who are willing to spend the time in organizing that is necessary to have a top program. Winsborough was incredibly competent as an organizer and devoted virtually all his energies to making things happen at Wisconsin, especially in population-related studies. He was instrumental in hiring some of the top young guns who had graduated recently from Michigan, most no older than I was. A serious curriculum evolved in the demography shop, and there was extensive, positive interaction between the faculty and interested grad students. This included lively informal bag lunches that involved faculty and grad students, covering a variety of academic and non-academic issues.

This period involved major social upheavals in the United States. The Civil Rights Revolution was going full blast, LBJ was searching every corner to find more American boys who would fight in Vietnam, women were becoming non-docile, and students were talking about their rights in educational institutions. Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King were assassinated, and "Clean Gene" McCarthy (a formerly obscure Minnesota senator) was trying to unseat the acknowledged master of American politics, President LBJ. The Wisconsin National Guard was twice on the campus, randomly tossing tear gas and pointing machine guns at random students. My last year on campus, a union-organizing strike by grad teaching assistant students shut down much of the campus for multiple weeks.

All the daily news events had a major impact on the sociology graduate students. The campus was a kind of informal laboratory for the study of social relations. A number of the sociology grad students were active in campus politics, and virtually all the grad students discussed the most recent events, leading in many cases to strong friendships that were based on both formal and informal learning. Many sociology faculty were not sure what to make of the many events. On the one hand, they were like the grad students in being fascinated with everything that was happening. On the other hand, they were a bit worried about their status in the face of all the challenging of

authority that was occurring.

When I received my PhD in 1970, sociology faculty jobs were plentiful. I took a job at Dartmouth, but had to leave after two years because the provost announced publicly that all tenured positions in sociology were being held for women and minorities. On the national scene, the numerous kids from the Baby Boom years were entering college, creating a large demand for more classes. Due to the intense social events of the time, many undergraduate students thought they could figure them out by taking a sociology course. After leaving Dartmouth, I spent the rest of my career at the University of Washington.

My wife and I left Madison for good in 1970 the morning after a group of college-age people in the community had blown up the math building during the night, with one grad student being killed. I never really followed closely the Madison scene after this event, but I think it took most of the wind out of most of the Wisconsin sociology grad students. More happened, but it was never again as lively as it had been during my days there.

Edward J. Lawler, Cornell University (PhD, 1972)

I entered the program in the Fall of 1968 with a Master's degree and left in summer of 1971 (Ph.D. completed in 1972). I found the graduate program to be large, anomic, and cliquish. Nevertheless, it worked for me. My primary goal was to start a research career and get out of there as quickly as possible. I developed a strong working relationship with Andy Michener, who was a good mentor, and with whom I published several papers, and I started a research program that got my research career off to a good start. My fondest memories include Joe Elder's required theory course, Jerry Hage's theory construction course, Archie Haller's social psychology seminar, and Warren Hagstrom's interest and support though I never had a course from him. I also became friends with and developed a professional relationship with fellow student, Sam Bacharach, with whom I have published substantial work and who is a lifelong friend and now also a colleague in my current department.

Amidst graduate work, a turbulent University context made life in Madison interesting. Student anti-war protests and confrontations with police were frequent, whiffs of tear gas were common, and reports on Madison were a regular occurrence on the national news. I recall national guard troops driving around campus in jeeps with machine guns mounted; police throwing rocks at protesters (after they were thrown at them); a shortened Spring semester due to protests after Kent State killings; and the tragic bombing of the Army Math Research Center. Through this sometimes chaotic environment, "life went on" and truth be told I missed the excitement after leaving the University. The most important aspects of my graduate experience were

that I received good support from several faculty and left with excellent research training. It was not clear until later (as I became involved in faculty recruitment efforts as a faculty member) that Wisconsin PhDs had better research training than graduates from most anywhere else. The strength of the program helped to make my career, and I am very grateful for that.

Lowell Hargens, University of Washington, retired (PhD, 1971)

I did my graduate work in Madison between the autumn of 1964 and the end of the summer of 1969. Those were years of social and political transformation (the 1964 and 1968 elections, the escalation of the war in Vietnam and the anti-war movement, etc.), but also years of significant change for the sociology department. When I arrived most students were supported by teaching assistantships, although a few had research assistantships or were medical sociology trainees. At that time the main venues of social integration for entering graduate students were the two or three large rooms on the eighth floor wherein TAs and RAs had their desks, and off-campus parties. By the time I left, there were new training programs in demography, methods, law and society and social organization, and the social science building had gained a substantial addition. The new addition made it possible for each of the training programs to provide office space for their trainees, which in turn provided additional venues for graduate student socialization and integration. The new abundance of space also fostered student-faculty contact. For example, enterprising faculty members were able to appropriate "excess" rooms in the new addition for various activities (ping pong, pachinko, table-hockey) that provided opportunities for friendly competition between faculty and graduate students. I think that the additional training programs and increased opportunities for contact between faculty and graduate students fostered, at least among some, an idea that we shared a common scholarly enterprise.

The mid to late 1960s was also a great time to be on the sociological job market, and there seemed to be a constant coming and going of faculty. Some of the new arrivals that contributed to my development as a sociologist included Bert Adams, Randall Collins, Richard Hamilton, Bob Hauser, David Heise, Karen Oppenheim, Charles Perrow, Seymour Spilerman, and Hal Winsborough. There were many departures during my years at Wisconsin too, notably Don Treiman, Stan Lieberson and Norman Ryder. I was fortunate to find an inspirational mentor, Warren Hagstrom, who not only stayed at Wisconsin and remained patient and supportive during my years as a graduate student, but who proved to be a valuable colleague throughout my career.

Mary Jackman, University of California-Davis, retired (PhD, 1972)

I entered the Sociology Ph.D. program at Wisconsin in 1969 with an undistinguished undergraduate record from the University of Auckland, New Zealand. I had taken no sociology courses (none were available in New Zealand at that time) and I had not taken the GRE exam because I didn't have a clue about what it was. I thought that sociology would be interesting, but I knew almost nothing about it. By some miracle I was admitted to the program. An incredible new world was opened up to me, and it changed my life. The department had embraced the scientific study of society and the atmosphere was energetic and exciting. The faculty was uniformly kind and supportive, even when I stumbled or blundered.

My phobia about statistics was quickly dissolved. I was stunned by how much I learned and by the research opportunities. Numerous members of the faculty gave expert professional advice and scholarly feedback on my work, sometimes even when I wasn't officially working with them. I felt safe and protected, enveloped in a scholarly community that seemed to be invested in me. I naively thought, "Wow, this is what American universities are like!" Only after I left Wisconsin did it slowly sink in that the Sociology Department at UW was not at all typical—you should never generalize from an N of 1! Through the rest of my career, I have tried to emulate the mentoring and support that was modeled for me at Wisconsin.

Richard Tessler, University of Massachusetts-Amherst (PhD, 1972)

It was 1968, the Vietnam War was raging, my best friend was leaving for Canada, and my own undergraduate days in Madison were coming to an end. I had taken a class in social psychology with Burt Fisher, and thought maybe this could be for me. Burt encouraged me to apply to the graduate program, and David Mechanic offered me a 4-year NIMH traineeship in medical sociology and mental health. I was thrilled. But, I would soon recognize that being thrilled and being successful were two different things.

I struggled during my first semester, especially in the required statistics course. Someone suggested that statistics would come easier if I had research experience and encouraged me to contact Shalom Schwartz who had a new project on moral decision-making. I happily volunteered my time and learned so much from him. Others who made big impressions on me were Gerald Marwell, Marshal Clinard, Bill Sewell, Jim Greenley, and graduate students Sherry Guten, Marty Burt, David Jackson, Duane Alwin,

Doris Slesinger, and Bill Bogdanow. My four years seemed to go very quickly. I passed all my exams and was well into the dissertation, but did not feel ready to leave. So I stayed for another year as one of David Mechanic's first post docs. He and I did much research together, leading to publications that would be of great benefit to my career going forward. When I did leave in 1973 to take a faculty position at the University of Massachusetts, the collaboration gave me reason and opportunity to return to Madison during the summers. Wisconsin was much more than a launching pad for me. It was formative in a whole variety of ways, and I am grateful for all of it.

James J. Zuiches, North Carolina State University, retired (PhD, 1973)

When I entered graduate school as a trainee in the Department of Sociology and Center for Demography and Ecology, my long-term goal was to use sociological research to understand families, organizations, communities and society and to help improve these institutions. I expected to be a faculty member at a major university, teaching, conducting research, and providing outreach and extension to solve social problems; I did not expect to become a government, foundation and university administrator.

The professional competence to achieve such academic and eventually administrative aspirations came from the diversity, breadth and depth of my graduate student experience. Substantive training in demography, urban and rural sociology, social psychology, organizational and societal structures, statistics and methods was only the formal aspect of graduate school. The non-formal networks, working in teams, the experiential learning by writing and reviewing academic papers and research proposals, faculty mentoring, and presenting one's work to peers added key dimensions beyond the classroom. Moreover, the socialization into academic values meant that one immediately learned if a topic were worth studying and preparing a paper for class, it almost requires presentation at professional meetings and then submission to a journal.

These high expectations and success at early publications reinforced my confidence in decisions on subject matter selection, the quality of work, and the potential impact of research. The fact that faculty research addressed public policy issues transformed sociology for me from a disciplinary field to an action and policy oriented practice, completely congruent with personal values.

Much of my university research was funded by external agencies, such as USDA, ERDA, NIH, NSF and Kellogg Foundation. A consequence of such funding is often the invitation to review proposals, and I served as a panel reviewer at the National Science Foundation (NSF). I credit Wisconsin with

the breadth of training that contributed to the quality of my reviews across sociology.

From research leader to research administrator is only a small step, as every faculty member with a large research program is managing people, budgets, and program priorities. I took that step by joining NSF as a program director for Sociology; but in 1980, the value of social, behavioral, education and economic research was attacked and NSF budgets slashed. Strategies changed to advocacy, disciplinary defense and a political and organizational response. Fortunately, I had studied political movements at UW.

My political skills were honed in this era, and although I could have stayed at NSF, joining the agricultural research administration at Cornell University provided even greater opportunity to work with diverse faculty, federal and state agencies and legislators, and stakeholder and constituency groups. Later at Washington State University as the first rural sociologist in the country to serve as dean of a college of agriculture, I was able to start major programs with new funding and long-term impacts, for example, the Safe Food Initiative, for which the Washington State Legislature provided permanent funding for 20 faculty and 20 support staff in food safety, rural sociology, and sustainable agriculture research and extension.

At the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the emphasis on the use of social science research results to benefit people and places again reinforced my values. Delegating and trusting local leaders to accomplish the goals of their proposals was a core principle in funding decisions, and returning ten years later to celebrate their success remains a highlight of my administrative career.

Resource allocation and priority setting – whether in people or funds – requires a decision-maker and such decisions are often driven by the values of the administrator. I discovered early in my faculty career that I could have a real impact as an administrator and advocate for sociology. Building coalitions, creating political momentum to support policies and funding, and executing these plans served as a template for 30 years of administration as, with others, I defended and fought for structures and funding for important work across many disciplines. Similarly, hiring and funding faculty whose work is published in major journals, cited and used in policy decisions provides a sense of accomplishment through the excellent work of others. Finally, although my last position was vice chancellor at North Carolina State University, my Wisconsin academic values continued and I was able to publish on organizational accelerators of innovation, the role of seed grants, and university and community engagement – sociological topics of interest to administrative colleagues.

Samuel B. Bacharach, Cornell University (PhD, 1974)

When I showed up at the University of Wisconsin in the fall of 1968, I was a crew-cut from a working class home in New York City. This was as far West as I've ever been. I only learned what a Ph.D. was the year before from Koya Azumi, an NYU instructor who had just accepted a position as assistant professor at Madison. He not only encouraged me to get a Ph.D. in sociology but also pointed me in the direction to Wisconsin.

I found myself on the other side of the Delaware Water Gap in Madison, completely lost, having no clear understanding why I was there. In my classes, I was surrounded by brilliant, articulate people who understood the nuances of Weber and Durkheim, who internalized the most idiosyncratic aspects of Marx, and the same time, were able to do complex mobility models. It was an age dominated by Blau and Duncan, deep-thinking social theorists, elitist leftists, and a lot of academic pretense.

During the first month, my inclination was to get out of there, but then I stumbled on the kindness of Joseph Elder. While teaching us the importance of sufficient and necessary conditions and introducing us to rigorous social theory, he was able to shed a little patience and kindness to those of us who weren't quite at home.

I survived the class, taking away from it a lifelong friendship with Edward Lawler, with whom I've collaborated over the years—and we still go walking together in Ithaca and New York City. Madison, for me in those days, was not a kind place. All the social turmoil and heated debates gave many clarity and purpose, but for me, it just created confusion and ambivalence. The sociology department itself was a smorgasbord of values hidden beneath the veneer of objective, professional academia.

I remember on one occasion, a well-known social psychologist who celebrated himself as rigorous genius told me in no uncertain terms that I would never make it in academia. Wisconsin did not breed security in these years.

My career was made the day when a young associate professor had a discussion with me in an elevator, telling me about a study he was doing. On the surface, we had nothing in common. We came from completely different worlds with immeasurable differences. This conversation with Michael Aiken was the real beginning of my academic career. The next thing I knew, I was in Belgium, helping him gather data, and local Belgium governments became my dissertation topic. I wrote a draft and scheduled my defense.

By then, Ed Lawler was teaching at the University of Iowa and I spent a few days with him before my defense. I got a call from a minor member of my committee who declared that there was something wrong in my analysis, and my defense would be problematic. I took the bus back to Madison where Michael helped me re-analyze the data, and confirmed that my initial

analysis was correct. It was no mean trick in those days, with those crazy boxes of cards. Michael Aiken spent from nine in the evening to two in the morning helping me comb through my data, and the next day, I defended my dissertation.

Today, I am about to retire from Cornell, where I'm a chaired professor in the department of organizational behavior. When I look back at Wisconsin, it isn't with many fond memories, but I do remember four people: Koya Azumi, who gave me direction; Joseph Elder, who gave me early reassurance; Edward Lawler, who gave me friendship; and Michael Aiken, who gave me a career. They were my department of Sociology.

Arne L. Kalleberg, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (PhD, 1975)

The four years I spent as a graduate student in sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the early 1970s were an exciting and transformative experience. The Sociology Department then (as now) was filled with ambitious young faculty doing cutting-edge research and eager graduate students motivated to study rigorously important issues and problems. I was fortunate to arrive in Madison at the same time as Aage Sørensen, who encouraged me to pursue my scholarly interests and became my mentor, collaborator and friend for the next quarter century.

My immersion in the Methodology Training Program run by Bob Hauser and Jerry Marwell introduced me to the challenges of social research as well as gave me the opportunity to get to know the terrific graduate students in the program, many of whom would go on to become leaders in the discipline. There was a strong sense among both faculty and graduate students that UW-Madison was where "the action was" in terms of trailblazing research and thinking; this was especially true with regard to the topics about which I was especially passionate, such as those related to social stratification and inequality, and work, organizations and occupations. I was also very privileged to be given the intellectual space to pursue my specific sociological interests and urged to put together my own way of approaching them by incorporating a wide smorgasbord of theories and ideas. For years afterward—and to some extent even now—I evaluated sociology graduate programs in terms of the "way it was done at Madison."

William T. Bielby, University of Illinois-Chicago (PhD, 1976)

I arrived in Madison in 1972 with a cohort of 54 other students. A product of our times, we were mostly politically engaged, left-leaning counter-cultural types. A product of the department's admission policies, most of us had high

quantitative GRE scores, many of us were refugees from the hard sciences, and almost all of us were white men. Just about everyone was there on a "full ride," most with generous support from one of the NIMH-funded training programs. My crowd, from my cohort and adjacent ones, included Arne Kalleberg, Jim Kluegel, Paul Allison, Alex Hicks, Steve Gortmaker, Randy Hodson, Bob Kaufmann, Neil Fligstein, Gøsta Esping-Andersen, Blair Wheaton, and Roger Friedland.

We found our intellectual home in Aiken and Alford's social organization seminar and developed our quantitative skills in Hauser and Marwell's methods seminar. Structural equation modeling seemed to offer just what we were looking for — a tool to reveal the true underlying structures that generate observable patterns of association in the empirical world. The more we learned, the more optimistic we became that we could build scientifically valid and theoretically compelling quantitative representations of the social, economic, and political forces that shaped the lives of men (and maybe women) in advanced industrial society. Our mentors pushed us hard to go all out for it, though fortunately they also provided blistering critical commentary that tempered our arrogance and conceit. As a result, we did mostly first-rate scholarship that has held up well over the years.

Four decades later we are more humble about our claims to scientific truth-telling and more appreciative of theoretical traditions and methodological approaches that were not well-represented at Wisconsin in the 1970s. As the troubadour from the North Country sang, "I was so much older then; I'm younger than that now."

Paul D. Allison, University of Pennsylvania (PhD, 1976)

Wisconsin was not my first choice. I desperately wanted to go to Columbia and study sociology of science with my hero, Robert Merton. But Columbia didn't admit me in 1970, so I reluctantly headed off to UW. I applied to Columbia again the following year and got admitted—but the stipend was so small that I was afraid I would starve in New York. And by that time, UW had begun to feel like a pretty tolerable place.

I entered the program wanting to be a theorist but left five years later as more of a statistician. Courses with Bob Hauser, Hal Winsborough, Tom Heberlein, Sy Spilerman, and Aage Sørensen all pushed me in that direction. But what really topped it off was the two-semester course in econometrics that I took with Art Goldberger, who has been my greatest inspiration and role model ever since.

What struck me most about UW in general and the sociology grad program in particular was its size. I still have the directory of graduate students from 1972 and the list numbers over 200 people. There were many in my

cohort that I never even met. What made that workable was the division into training programs. I was a social org trainee, although I probably would have been a better fit for the methods program, whose seminars I often attended. The intellectual excitement of that period was palpable. Many of us were convinced that our professors were the best in the world, and that the application of quantitative methods would, sooner or later, yield dramatic breakthroughs.

Coincidentally, I'm in the process of re-reading a diary that I kept from 1973 to 1975. It's hard to believe that my work habits were so bad. I rarely got up before 9 am, frequently skipped classes, was always late with papers, and had numerous incompletes. My advisor, Warren Hagstrom, did a great job of running interference for me. Here's what he wrote in 1973 to the Advanced Standing and Candidacy Committee [then chaired by Russ Middleton]: "I must again appeal to the ASCC on behalf of Paul D. Allison, who entered Fall 1970 and has yet to complete his Master's thesis. I hope you'll give him another month or so to do it and let him register this semester." Somehow or other I muddled through.

Leaving for a job at Stony Brook in '75 was hard, and I probably would have been better off staying one more year to finish my dissertation. My time in Madison set the stage for almost everything I've worked on since. There I ran my first logistic regression, my first structural equation model, and even my first event history analysis—though I didn't know at the time that that's what it was. I'm really very grateful to Wisconsin for giving me that foundation.

Howard Garrison, Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology (PhD, 1976)

When I arrived in 1970, the Sociology Department was noted for its established stars. By the time I left in 1976, a whole new generation of faculty members was making its mark on the field. It was a very exciting time. Hans Gerth's lectures were inspirational as he drew upon examples from literature, music, theatre, philosophy and history to make a point about capitalism and socialism. In statistics, Hal Winsborough was a patient guide, sharing his own struggles with a particularly vexing technique. I am grateful to Joe Elder who encouraged me to press on when I had difficulty with Thomas Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Gerry Marwell taught me the value of learning by doing when he led the research practicum and later gave me the opportunity to teach a class with him. When I hesitated about pursuing a new direction, he urged me to take the plunge. Ed Silva, Cora Marrett, Burt Adams, and many others were excellent teachers.

I learned a tremendous amount from my fellow students. Shortly after I

arrived on campus, I was directed to Dick Campbell's mini-course on computing. Peter Dickinson tutored me in statistics. Harry Travis obtained Leo Goodman's contingency analysis program and showed me how to use it. Lunch with Joe Conaty was a highpoint of the day, a time when we would discuss social policy, literature, and the latest issue of *The New York Review of Books*, a relationship that we continue forty years later.

The attractions of the Madison campus community were amazing. It was a wonderful place for learning and exploration. Ushering at the Wisconsin Union Theater gave me the opportunity to see Judith Jameson with the Alvin Ailey Dance Group, Alicia de Larrocha, and Paco de Lucia. I discovered the films of Akira Kurosawa and the Italian neorealists at campus film clubs, heard McCoy Tyner play in a small pub on State Street, and saw Buddy Guy in a cabaret housed in a student dorm.

For me, graduate study in the Sociology Department at the University of Wisconsin was an idyllic period of exploration and personal growth. I had outstanding models of scholarship and teaching along with wonderful, generous colleagues who helped me broaden my intellectual and cultural horizons.

Patricia MacCorquodale, University of Arizona (PhD, 1978)

A product of the civil rights and anti-war movement, I selected the UW over other highly ranked programs in 1978 because of the radical, social movement environment of the campus and the community. I stayed with a friend on Ho Chi Minh Street (Mifflin) while searching for an apartment. Coming from a small, liberal arts college (Carleton), I was overwhelmed by the large size of the university and graduate classes that far exceeded any of my undergraduate experiences. The profession was changing with women representing about one-third of the graduate students although there were very few women professors.

In these early days of the women's movement, women found our way through sexual harassment, gender inequalities, difficult classroom dynamics, and the double duty of personal and professional lives through mutual support and networking. The conditions that we take for granted today were major challenges then. I joined a consciousness raising (CR) group composed primarily of graduate students from sociology and economics, and a feminist theory reading group. Departmental flexibility enabled me to put together an interdisciplinary minor on youth and to focus my research in emerging areas—gender and sexuality with Professor John Delamater, my advisor and mentor.

Because of this work, I was seen as an "expert" in women's studies upon my arrival at the University of Arizona where I helped found the Department

of Gender and Women's Studies, initiate its graduate programs, and create its research institute. I learned from Professor Gerald Marwell's methods course, the theory sequence, and the rich and varied presentations by sociologists from around the world, a deep respect and appreciation for qualitative and quantitative methods, historical analyses, and case studies that enabled me to use and leverage data in decision making as an administrator, to rise above epistemological divisions, and work with interdisciplinary colleagues from a variety of fields.

Al Gedicks, University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse (PhD, 1979)

I began graduate school in the Department of Sociology at UW-Madison in the fall of 1972. Just two years earlier I had been suspended from the university for two years for my participation in the antiwar protests that rocked the Madison campus following President Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the murder of four students by National Guardsmen at Kent State in May, 1970.

My unlikely return to the university was made possible by a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace fellowship supporting community education on the impact of U.S.-based multinational corporations on the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. My research focused on the role of Kennecott Copper Corporation in the 1973 overthrow of the democratically-elected, socialist government of President Salvador Allende and its promotion of a controversial open pit copper mine in Ladysmith, Wisconsin.

The Chilean coup of September 11, 1973, sent political shockwaves throughout the Madison community and among Latin American students at the University of Wisconsin. Thousands of Allende supporters were rounded up and executed in Santiago's national stadium in the days after the coup. Two married University of Wisconsin graduate students, Adam (history) and Patricia Garrett-Schesch (sociology) doing doctoral research in Chile, were detained for 10 days in the national stadium where they were beaten and threatened with execution.

Professor Warren Hagstrom, chairman of the UW sociology department, along with Professor Joseph Elder and undergraduate adviser Joann Elder were among those who contacted the U.S. State Department to secure their release. They barely escaped with their lives. Upon their release, they told a reporter that between 400 and 600 people were executed by firing squads just yards from where they were held. Two other Americans were not so fortunate. Filmmaker Charles Horman and journalist Frank Teruggi were arrested and executed by the Chilean military based on information provided by U.S. military intelligence. The news of Frank Terga's execution was personally traumatic because we had exchanged letters in my role as research director for the Madison-based Community Action on Latin America

(CALA) and coordinator of our Non-Intervention in Chile campaign. The killing of the two men was portrayed in the award-winning 1982 film "Missing" by Costa-Gavras.

The Madison community responded with rallies, candlelight vigils for the victims of the coup and teach-ins about U.S.-Latin America policy. The highlight of my graduate experience came when Professor Maurice Zeitlin offered me a traineeship in the Social Organization Training Program in 1974. Professor Zeitlin was an outspoken critic of the Vietnam War and a scholar of both U.S. Latin American policy and the corporate ruling class in the United States. His seminar on imperialism was both intellectually challenging and my inspiration for a lifelong study of the social, economic and environmental effects of resource extraction on indigenous and rural communities in Wisconsin and elsewhere.

Ira Cohen, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey (PhD, 1980)

I shall organize my remarks under two headings: the sheer good-will and generosity of the Graduate Program toward an outlier in many respects, and the way in which a department, whose strengths lay elsewhere, managed to produce a dedicated social theorist.

It would be hard to think of how I was not an outlier when I arrived in the department offices on the sixth floor of the Social Science Building in late August of 1972. Unlike most students I was admitted with an M.A. from another university (Penn State). Since I applied late, I was admitted without funding or in-state tuition. I had firmly committed myself to studying social theory in a Department where most leading lights were oriented to quantitative research or studies in public policy. Moreover, I was a liberal amidst a community of grad students who were drawn to Sociology out of deeply held left-wing (mainly Marxist) political convictions. But I soon found myself engaged in the unit on Social Organization run by Mike Aiken and Bob Alford and with the remarkable support of Ann Wallace whose good-will and good works are too extensive to recount in any small space.

The Graduate Program (with strong support from Joe Elder) found a project assistantship for me in the Land Tenure Center. Without that support I could never had made it through graduate school. When our daughter Elizabeth was born eighteen months after we arrived, (She's now a mid-career political theorist at Syracuse.), a fellow graduate student, Sam Norich, helped us organize a Jewish naming ceremony for Elizabeth at the socialist co-op Kibbutz Langdon where he lived. As many as thirty graduate students came to the ceremony and afterwards to our apartment on Broom Street for a celebratory buffet. Elizabeth was one of the very few babies among grad

students and the only one we knew who was born in Madison. I still remember a few of the male grad students who seemed uncomfortable but willing when I asked them if they would like to hold Elizabeth. I don't know if grad students anywhere experience this much good will today. But it certainly left a strong impression on Reggie and me both then and now.

So how did Madison, this bastion of the Sewells and Hausers among others, manage to produce such an unalloyed social theorist? In three ways. The first way is named Joe Elder. In 1974-75 as a member of the colloquium in Social Organization run by Bob Alford, I formulated plans to do a study of the nationalization of the British telegraph system that I hoped to turn into a dissertation. Knowing that I would need to visit Great Britain for research material, Joe found a Ford Foundation grant to support my travel. Simultaneously, Tony Giddens came through Madison and upon hearing that I would be coming to Britain, invited me to come up to Cambridge for a series of seminars he was going to offer in the autumn of 1975. As it turned out, those seminars were the launching pad for structuration theory, a project that later became the subject of my first book. With the confidence I gained working with Tony and his group, I decided to alter my dissertation plans. During the year I was in Britain Bob Alford left Madison and Joe offered to serve as my dissertation advisor. Joe was supportive enough to agree to my plan to write a purely theoretical dissertation and that is how things ultimately worked out.

The second way is the opportunity Mike Aiken offered me to teach the Department's undergraduate classes in classical social theory. Mike had faith in an untested grad student newly returned from Great Britain. It worked out well and I won the Department's first award for excellence in teaching by a grad student. There were even a number of younger grad students who took my class. More importantly, I learned an enormous amount about the works of the classical theorists on whom I lectured.

Finally, I owe an oblique but sincere debt to my fellow graduate students on the left. Though I never fully accepted the Marxist theoretical position toward which they were inclined, the numerous debates and occasionally heated skirmishes we had in various colloquia and seminars forced me to recognize a good number of inconvenient truths about capitalism, American politics, and a good deal more. I still went my own way, finding a framework for these truths in the works of Max Weber and then many others as well. But I never would have dedicated so much intellectual effort to carving out my own position without the vigorous ferment of graduate life in Sociology in Madison.

Judith A. Howard, University of Washington (PhD, 1982)

I could not have asked for a more fulfilling graduate education than I had in my years at Wisconsin. The mentoring, the caliber of my fellow graduate students, the openness to involving ourselves in other Wisconsin academic programs, the intensity of the overall departmental culture – the whole experience was truly superb. And, when you leave Wisconsin as a new Ph.D., you start your career knowing more sociologists than you would from any other doctoral program in the country – a major asset.

Lots of memories, some of them about the academic experience, some not. . . The experience of preparing for prelim exams was one of the highlights of those years. Never have I felt so utterly immersed in my major field, social psychology. The exams themselves were almost anti-climactic. Studying with others taking the exams was also an early exposure to the importance of collegiality in the academic world. My first mentor there, Shalom Schwartz, emigrated to Israel in my third year of grad school. We continued to collaborate for some years thereafter, but still, that was a loss. Although I did get to have his office on the second floor for the rest of my time at the UW – full length windows overlooking the lake was not so bad. And Jane Piliavin stepped into the breach and chaired my dissertation committee. She is still, as you know, teaching at the UW in the summers, some years after her retirement.

And there is the famed Wisconsin weather: I actually loved the winters—it was sunny so often, but the cold did occasionally pose challenges. I remember coming to work on an especially frigid Sunday morning, only to find the building locks frozen, and worrying whether I was going to make it back to my car without freezing, myself! There was also the time Randy Levinson borrowed my car and did a 360 on the ice on Johnson Street.

Those years were ones of intense social activism. The feminist presence in Madison was formative: the women-owned restaurant, Lysistrata, the wonderful bookstore, Room of One's Own. (One of their most popular waitpersons happened to move to Seattle at the same time I did, and ended up running one of the most beloved breakfast spots in the city for many years!) I volunteered at Rape Relief and that experience also played an integral role in the focus of my dissertation. There was also significant social action on campus. Many of the Sociology grad students from that time will remember the TA strike in 1980 or so. Picketing in Madison in February – now that's a test of social commitment! I do recall that the Class Analysis students were surprised to see a bunch of us social psychologists on the picket line…I still have my Strike Big Red t-shirt.

Manoel Malheiros Tourinho, Rural Federal University of Amazonia, Brazil (PhD, 1982)

Having been a Ph.D. candidate in Rural Sociology at UW-Madison was a unique and extraordinary opportunity. I enrolled at UW in the fall of 1978 and my first memorable experience was the tour of the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences where I met Professor Wilkening, the author of works related to rural Brazil and whose books I had read. It was an enormously gratifying moment to meet him in person, especially considering he was such a highly respected figure among sociologists in my country. It also surprised me that Rural Sociology was a department within the College of Agriculture; in Brazil sociology is generally linked to the departments of philosophy and human sciences.

Undoubtedly, a second enchanted moment for me was to meet Professor Archibald Haller, who would later become my advisor. To reach Professor Haller and meet him was indeed very interesting and involved the utmost professionalism and mutual respect on the part of the faculty of rural sociology in Madison. During my visits at the College of Agriculture, Professor Wilkening informed me that there were several faculty members in rural sociology interested in Latin America, and said I should speak with Professors G. Havens and Haller. Havens was a specialist in Peru while Haller was a Brazilianist, and I knew immediately that I should not hesitate in asking him to advise me. What I wish to exalt regarding this story was the ample opportunity to find sociology and, more specifically, rural sociology professors with interests geared toward various regions of the world as well as specific countries. This gave me, and ought to give any student, tranquility to those who desire to be advised by a professor that fully understands the nuances of culture and language. To this date, Professor Haller and I maintain a close friendship and a strong working relationship; we often visit each other and continue to work together on projects about Brazil. I have for him an admiration that cannot be put into words, a profound respect. He is, undoubtedly, my greatest American friend. It is also worth mentioning that through Haller I was able to meet many other university professors, not only from the Sociology Department, but of other areas such as History, Languages, Environment and Business. I also had the opportunity to, while in Brazil, expand my academic circle of acquaintances thanks to Haller's network of friends and colleagues. I am truly thankful to him.

I had a small work space in the WARF Building where Professor Haller, who was more fondly known as Arch, met with students in his office. WARF was a continuation, an extension of our classes. The daily grind with colleagues and students, as well as with the professors who there had their offices, brought to us all a sense of diversity and multiculturalism of great

benefit to our academic formation. We were students from the United States, Brazil, Ivory Coast, Japan, and Thailand, among others. The environment at the WARF Building was one that promoted study, research, and friendship among its occupiers. We shared our lives with Marta Tienda and Gene Summers; it was a close community indeed. Yet, for the non-Americans like me, at first, we did not understand certain things. For example, we thought the evacuation drills were someone's attempt at playing a joke on us foreigners; going down stairs for a fire drill was simply nonexistent in our native countries. But although it seemed like a game, we quickly learned about concepts of organization and command structures during catastrophes. This was all so new and so enlightening!

The "prelims," or preliminary exams, were at times frustrating when that "pass" grade eluded us. I too felt that sense of defeat during a prelim in Organizational Sociology class. After three hours of exam, I was left with one of my greatest moments of frustration. I recall it vividly: I passed on the second try. A "fail" twice and the dreams of a Ph.D. was gone, and the foreigner may return to his or her country devastated.



RANDOM ERRORS SOCIOLOGY GRADUATE STUDENT SOFTBALL TEAM, 1977, AFTER 0-4 SPRING SEASON **(FRONT, L TO R):** PETER DICKINSON, JAMIE REUTER **(STANDING, L TO R):** CHUCK KLEYMEYER, PETER YEAGER, DAVID BILLS, DICK MILLER, NANCY BODE, PAT FLEMING (PICTURE BY GØSTA ESPING-ANDERSEN).

My greatest sense of achievement came during the commencement ceremony in May of 1982, after four and a half years of hardship, albeit happy ones. Dressed in the gallant, traditional doctoral gown at the University of Wisconsin was certainly the highlight: it was a sun-lit afternoon at a filled-to-capacity and full of life Badger Stadium. I was at last victorious: a proud moment for my family as well as for the family of my advisor, who were all present. It was one of the happiest moments of my life.

The influence of my formation in rural sociology from the University of Wisconsin - Madison, was and continues to be notable and significant. It is not of note that I acquired knowledge studying sociology, but that I acquired it at UW; that is what made it noteworthy. To combine the strength of a university with the strength of a fantastically competent faculty with worldly experience made the instruction and course without equal. The influence the University of Wisconsin had on me was evident in my attitudes as a professor in the public universities of Brazil: initially, as a professor at the Federal University of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, in Porto Alegre, and, during the last 20 years, while at the Rural Federal University of Amazonia, in Belém - State of Pará. I was able to contribute to the pool of sociological knowledge regarding areas important for the Amazon region, such as studies on rural and riverine communities, as well as developing a sociology that focuses on Amazonian natural resources. I am also able to say that I was the inspiration behind studies and research with systemic focuses at the Rural University. There is no doubt in my mind that my accomplishments, should my colleagues, near and far, desire to credit me with such, would not have been so significant had I not attended UW: from being the President of two universities, to founding the Rural Federal University of Amazonia, my accomplishments were certainly due in large part to the excellent instruction I received at UW, especially while under Arch's tutelage. And to think it all began with what I learned from my professors at the University of Wisconsin: research must be founded on three axes—a strong, empirically tested theory, a scientific methodology adjusted to the problem being researched, and trustworthy data. Truly, having been a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Wisconsin - Madison, and a student of rural sociology in particular, was and continues to be the best professional decision I have ever made.

Jennifer Glass, University of Texas-Austin (PhD, 1983)

My days as a graduate student at UW-Madison were filled with lots of anxiety and competitive pressure, but also the joy of discovering where my intellectual curiosity could take me, and what I excelled at doing. Two things strike me most in retrospect – the first is how little my final specialty areas resembled my interests when I started graduate school, and the second is how weak the correlation ended up being between those pegged as "stars" in grad school and those who ended up being successful and highly visible in the profession. I now tell all incoming graduate students during their orientation to look around them and remember in the midst of all this competition to be kind and generous to one another, because you never know who among you will be editor of ASR in 20 years, or running the grant review panel at NSF to which you have just applied. I also tell them to remain open

to new topic areas and fresh ideas, go to every talk you can, and read broadly while you still have the time. I entered grad school thinking I would be a social psychologist and ended up as a gender stratification researcher and family demographer! But mostly I think my attitude that being a broadly read sociologist would help me do better work has been confirmed over time.

The graduate program at UW was huge when I arrived—over 200 students in the Ph.D. program, and my cohort of 25 was the first to contain almost equal numbers of women and men (can't say that about the faculty at the time, which contained only 6 women if I remember correctly). Arne Kalleberg and Bill Bielby had just finished their Ph.D.'s in the program, and Neil Fligstein, Ruth Peterson, Dan Lichter, Kathleen Blee, and Randy Hodson were a few years ahead of me, to name just a few of the amazing folk around me. I arrived as a naive 20-year -old, having blazed my way through high school and college somewhat early. I quickly learned that graduate school is not for the weak — there is a lot of feedback, and it's hard to remember that (a) this criticism WILL make your work stronger and (b) you are LUCKY that smart people have taken the time to critique your work even though it just seems painful at the time. It also took me a long time to understand that the things I had always been good at doing as a student – making good grades on tests and opinion essays – were not all that important anymore. I needed to find my own voice, and become confident that my research and insights were important. I have a vivid memory of being complimented in stat class by Chuck Halaby for being one of the only students who successfully answered his statistics "challenge" exam questions on material we had not yet covered. Yet a few months later I was sitting speechless in his office with a mountain of printouts, not having the faintest idea how to interpret the SPSS results for my master's thesis. Thank you for the handholding, Chuck. It's one of those butterfly effect things that you don't realize you are doing.

I lucked out while I was at Wisconsin and worked with some of the best and brightest—including not just faculty, although I worked with some amazing faculty, but also other graduate students and post-docs. The many women students who wanted to study gender stratification and feminist theory had to pretty much organize themselves into reading groups and independent study sections. So we taught each other: I remember being in one reading group with Biddy Martin, then a budding historian, who went on to become Provost at Cornell University and Chancellor of UW–Madison. I remember meeting Sara McLanahan, then a post-doc in medical sociology, following a Demography brown-bag seminar on single parenthood.

I remember feeling discouraged and broke after getting my master's degree, and thinking about dropping out to make some real money for a change. Aage Sørensen, had just returned from Norway to become department chair

and was looking for students to mentor. When he met me, he "arranged" a 75% appointment for me for one year so I could get back on my feet and come up with a dissertation project. I have thought many times about how that serendipitous encounter probably changed my life. He was a great advisor, and it certainly didn't hurt that he went on to chair the Sociology Department at Harvard, while Sara McLanahan took a chair at Princeton. And yet, the one chapter that Aage did not think was terribly important or fit into my dissertation project was the one chapter (though much revised) that got published! And in AJS! So that thing about finding your own voice was a lesson learned through experience, and I try to remember that when counseling graduate students even today.

Robin Stryker, University of Arizona (PhD, 1986)

I arrived in the fall of 1975, having been heavily recruited by Bob Hauser – so heavily that my housemates in the French language house at Smith College thought that this guy Bob who kept calling was my new boyfriend. At that point, Bob had a recruitment strategy of going for students who excelled in theory, then subjecting them to stats and methods boot camp in their first couple years in Madison. Alas, by 1975, my calculus training (1971-72) was very rusty and my boot camp experience correspondingly painful. Aage Sørensen took pity on me and was kind enough to spend 1-2 hours a week with me discussing my theoretical interests—at that point in time, class and class consciousness—and showing me what I could do substantively on that topic with serious training in both statistics and mathematical modeling. He also gave me Erik Olin Wright's dissertation—prior to the time Erik was hired—to help keep me committed to my graduate work. I gravitated to Aage because of his combination of classical European training in theory combined with his technical savvy. Also, as I recall, I was almost the only one in his survey Stratification course who could understand Aage as he lectured in his uniquely accented English with a pipe constantly in his mouth. At least in my recollection, Paul Schervish and Randy Hodson were utterly dependent on me to decipher what Aage had said.

When I arrived, Bob assigned then 2nd year student Neil Fligstein to mentor me (and the next year, I in turn was assigned to mentor Jim Baron). Neil promptly terrified me by informing me that I'd have to master the statistics-speak of Leo Goodman, so I confess to being happy that, when Neil was teaching me how to work the console of the Demography and Ecology Center IBM 370 (which grad students were allowed to operate at night and on weekends), he had to suffer the embarrassment of a glitch he could not fix. All kinds of lights began to flash and finally Neil gave up and called IBM. We consoled ourselves by wandering down State Street for gyros. To this

day, I keep an old artifact from those days—my MA extract tape from the Sewell Hauser data, that is, the data from my first ASR article. I sometimes show the tape to today's beginning graduate students to conjure up that old world where simple jobs took hours to run, where one slept in the computer center overnight (Steve Gortmacher always looked particularly wild-eyed), where one had to know how to program in Fortran and Cobol, and where, if a punch card got out of order, one's life was over!

At the time I was in Madison, there were two massive training programs, one in Demography, the other in Methods. Though I was funded by an NSF graduate fellowship, I was an Honorary Methods trainee, and Methods Trainees at that time were housed in carrels in 8112 Social Science. One day Jerry Marwell, who along with Bob Hauser, ran the Methods Program, wandered into the office and ranted about how it was unclear why we women were there. After all, we'd probably just end up married and leaving the profession. Years later, in the streets of New York during an ASA meeting, I recounted this recollection to Jerry who responded "I can't have said that! If I did, surely I had to be joking. And anyway, by that time in your grad student tenure, you clearly had learned not to take me seriously!" As I recall, there were very few female faculty members in the Sociology Department in Madison in those days. And I had no sooner been introduced to Maureen Hallinan and Cora Marrett than they vanished, the one to CASBS and the other to some administrative assignment.

I was fortunate to get to know Bill Sewell and his wife Liz extremely well. Part of the reason I got to know Bill so well was that Bob had a sign on his door that read "If you are a graduate student and you think you are bothering me, you are. Go away." I took that sign literally. Many years later, when Scott and I were staying with Bob and Tess over the 1990s weekend when the Department held the big party in honor of Bill Sewell, I told this story and Bob then searched his bookshelves relentlessly until he found his old copy of Marathon Man, which he said had inspired the door posting, his tongue in cheek joke. I believe it now, but never would have believed it then!

In any case, Bill and Liz pretty nearly adopted us graduate students and gave us incredible opportunities both professional and personal. For example, in my first year, Gunnar and Alva Myrdal visited, Bill invited all his graduate students to lunch with them at Black Hawk Country Club. and I got to sit next to and have a serious conversation with Alva Myrdal about Swedish feminism. I was in heaven! And when, after many years away from graduate school, I told Bill I wanted to finish but to do an entirely different kind of work from that in which he and Bob had trained me, Bill didn't miss a beat. Instead, he said he'd do everything he could to facilitate my doing what I wanted to do. He didn't feel the need to have clones. I've remembered this always and incorporated it into the way I mentor my own graduate students.

From today's vantage point, it may be hard to fathom how incredibly large the graduate program was in those days. I took the stratification prelim—my first—with 11 others, including Paul and Randy. I was so nervous that Bob Kaufman, who I pushed to keep asking me relevant questions up to the moment the exam started (I was in one of those windowless rooms for experiments in Social Psychology on the second floor) felt he was in a catch-22. If he asked me questions that were too easy, I'd know it. But if he asked me something I couldn't answer, I'd no doubt fall completely apart. Waiting for the exam outcome was especially hard because, during the waiting period, my Dad was part of an NIMH site visit team for Bill and Bob's project. We were invited to dinner at the Sewell's—still the big house out in the country, not the one right on the golf course—and I recall sitting there wondering if I had besmirched the Stryker family honor by failing the prelim. If so, Bill of course would have known this as he was on the committee. Bill told me later that the Committee conversation was only about whether I should get "pass" or "distinction," and that he had argued for distinction. Aage, however, said no, because he was disappointed that I hadn't managed to come up with a new and improved way to measure discrimination. In those days we typically did it either through pointing to remaining net effects in a "kitchen sink" model or by examining different returns to human capital by race or sex. When I get to the great beyond, I'll be speaking to Aage about this incident.

Another highlight of my years in Madison was Soc. 720 (I believe), the Intermediate Social Organization seminar co-taught my Maurice Zeitlin and Mike Aikin. (Bob Alford had just left Madison, to the great regret of all.) Soc 720 was a tough course but it was absolutely wonderful—especially to listen in as Mike and Maurice engaged in spirited though friendly disagreement. I can still see the table with classmates, including Mette Sørensen, Peter Yeager, David Smith and Andy Szasz.

I left Madison in 1978 to work at the Vera Institute in New York and attend Yale Law School. I finally completed a dissertation (in absentia) in 1986 before moving on to become an Assistant Professor. I only wish I had known the UW Department and Graduate Program as it existed at the time I finished as well as I did the UA Department and Graduate Program in the late 1970s. Then again, 11 years would have been entirely too long to have been in residence as a grad student!

Thomas A. Hirschl, Cornell University (PhD, 1986)

I graduated from Purdue University in 1976 with a BS in economics, and also having fulfilled the science requirements for an application to medical school. However, I lost interest in these pursuits by the end of my time at

Purdue. I spent a year away from formal schooling, reading widely in history and the social sciences, partially provoked by family stories about the Nazi Holocaust. I wanted answers to questions about why society veers in strange and violent ways, and where it was presently heading.

I heard about the Sociology program at UW-Madison from Martin Patchen, then a Professor of Sociology at Purdue. He offered that the method of "causal modeling" might bear fruit. So I applied and matriculated, finding many of the faculty welcoming and professionally dedicated, in particular my advisor Gene Summers. I ended up writing about the effect of Social Security transfers on rural development in the United States, and this choice was influenced by my discovery of earlier Madison intellectuals, especially Edwin Witte and JR Commons. So in the end I felt that my experience in UW sociology was broad and intellectually fulfilling.

Leif Jensen, Pennsylvania State University (PhD, 1987)

A kaleidoscope of Wisconsin memories. Moving to Madison from Burlington, Vermont, driving through northern Illinois and experiencing, for the first time, the agoraphobic flatness of the Midwest. Madison just finishing a project making State Street busses-only and pedestrian-friendly. Looking for an apartment and reading "No. Butler" in an ad and thinking we'll just have to make do without one. Later, my wife and I raising two kids in an Eagle Heights apartment that somehow got smaller every year. Gratefulness to University Hospital and student insurance for getting our son through a tough surgery at four months. Countless walks out to Picnic Point, trips to Vilas Zoo, a park in Shorewood Hills. Playing first base for the grad program's winning softball team, the Random Errors. Biking to campus year-round and only getting frostbite once or twice. Witnessing the spectacle of Mendota ice climbing up and over the lakeshore path, driven by a north wind during the spring thaw. Accidentally but literally interloping with a group of backpack toting student extras being filmed crossing the top of North Charter Street for Rodney Dangerfield's Back to School. Never saw the film.

It was a time when computing was changing fast. From bringing a very hopeful box of IBM cards with an SPSS program and data to the computer center, to plopping down a grand or so to buy a terminal to communicate with CDE's mainframe from home, to a Wang word processor in Ag Hall that spat out my dissertation on a screeching dot matrix printer, to rumors that Bob Hauser had bought something preposterously called a "personal computer." In the end, getting my dissertation past a notoriously picky bureaucrat in Bascom Hall save for one page copied askew, turning in my keys, and getting a parking ticket in my last moments on campus. On Wisconsin.

From beginning to end there was always the feeling of being part of something important, this Wisconsin Sociology. The program was and is tough and rigorous. Standards high. It was hard, for me anyway, but made easier and exhilarating by some of the best professors I've ever encountered. Richard Schoenherr was a caring and gifted teacher who animated the subject of complex organizations. Russ Middleton brought a critical eye and passion to the sociology of economic change, having students react via "comment cards," a technique I've adopted to this day. Marta Tienda, my advisor, who I still see whooshing into her Ag Hall office in the morning, embodied and instilled a driving work ethic. Finally, I recall distinctly that we as grad students—through dissertation groups and in other ways—inspired and supported one another. I was lucky to have been a small part of it, and am thankful for all who have also shared in the experience and those yet to come.

Pilar A. Parra, Nutritional Sciences, Cornell University (PhD, 1989)

I came to Madison in mid-August and found myself in the middle of an unexpected exuberant summer storm that reminded me of tropical Mexico. So, I started my doctoral studies in a beautiful campus by a lake with 90° weather. To my disbelief, people kept telling me that the lake would be frozen for several months. My first introduction to the graduate student life was in Memorial Library where I was surrounded by international students from every continent. It was very exciting to see people from so many countries and many disciplines with a similar aim—to become scholars, addressing problems from the perspective of many fields of study, the physical and biological world or the social sciences and humanities. At that time I did not realize the intellectual and emotional richness of all these future friendships. The meeting introduced us to the University of Wisconsin libraries and we were amazed of the richness of information that would be within our reach. This of course was before the internet. Also we were painfully aware of the gaps in resources for higher education in our countries of origin.

The rest of the meeting was about that coming winter—clothes and precautions to take. We students from Africa or Latin America and Asia had no personal reference to cold of -20° F. How could I have an idea of how that would feel? Movies and Russian novels came to my mind, but none of these references gave me an idea of what would finally come to pass within a few months of my arrival. I fell in love with the city of Madison, the campus, and the lakes, and the path by the lake that takes you from the campus to the graduate student housing complex, Eagle Heights. I biked and walked that path for several years, from the time the snow and ice melted away, and you

could hear the snapping sounds of the breaking ice of the frozen lake until late in the fall with the first chilly days, the wind rushing through the fallen leaves and the first flurries announced the winter to come.

The changing seasons were a good parallel to my feelings, while I painfully and joyfully went through all the requirements, the courses, all the statistics, the prelims, the research pre-proposal—the "to do" list that took me through a seemingly never-ending path. My research learning experience was full of the best mentors a graduate student can have and enriched by my fellow students. The courses were hard but fascinating; they challenged my imagination and pushed me to find new conceptual frameworks to understand social problems better. Every course I took gave me a solid stone to build the infrastructure for the researcher I would become. Every semester my classes filled me with trepidation and curiosity for new areas of knowledge to discover. It was not only the information, but the rigor of analysis we had to master and the values that our professors passed on to us, which made us aware of the importance of rigorous research and analytical thinking. Our professors taught us about the different approaches social problems require, presenting methodologies that would enable us to develop research questions and find results. As I started working in other universities, I realized the rigorous research skills I had acquired: objectivity in data collection and theoretical strength to frame and make sense of findings. This training is what set us apart from graduates of other Sociology departments. My experience is probably very similar to other alumni. We struggled, we were challenged. and we succeeded. We are all proud to be part of the University of Wisconsin-Madison family.

Raka Ray, University of California, Berkeley (PhD, 1993)

I arrived in Madison, Wisconsin in August, 1985, right after a Badger football game and thought the world had gone crazy as I walked from neighborhood to neighborhood in search of housing amidst hordes of screaming people dressed in red and white. But that day started one the most important periods of my life. My intellectual and emotional growth was linked to the Class Analysis and Historical Change and Sociology of Economic Change programs and to the fledgling gender studies that have now become so much larger in the Sociology Department there.

Surrounded by scholars of stratification and demography, the few of us who made our homes in CAHC and the even fewer who crossed with SEC, were a pretty happy group in the late eighties. I appreciated most about SEC the fact that it drew a crowd of incredible scholar-activists who had often worked in development or in social movements before returning to graduate school. From them I learned what is now my hallmark teaching style—that

the analyses of social problems should not end at the border of nations but that histories of colonialism mean that we are located in nations which have connected histories and should be analyzed as such.

At CAHC I experienced the excitement of belonging to an intellectual project that was larger than my own. From my interactions with faculty and students I learned how to think theoretically, and how to ask, and work through, big questions. The Havens Center enabled us to interact with the foremost scholars of our time. To be able to spend time with Stuart Hall, Veronica Beechey, Robert Brenner, Sonia Alvarez, Joan Scott, and the many other extraordinary scholars who came to the Haven's Center as visiting scholars was a privilege indeed.

I was blessed with an extraordinary committee, many of whom have stayed friends and mentors: Chas Camic, Erik Olin Wright, Gay Seidman, Joe Elder, Pam Oliver, and Linda Gordon.

But I think the part of Wisconsin I most treasure was an ironic result of its failure. By the end of the eighties, several of us (Lisa Brush and Leslie McCall immediately come to mind) petitioned time and time again for the department to hire a feminist sociologist. We failed. We turned to the newly hired Ann Orloff and persuaded her to teach a course on gender, all of us doing the research to come up with what we thought of as the best readings on the topic. Later, some of us helped write questions for the first gender prelim for the next generation of feminist scholars to take. Despite our inability to persuade the faculty to hire a scholar of gender, the intensity with which we collectively engaged the scholarship and each other in the process remains for me a model of feminist praxis.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Duke University (PhD, 1993)

For me sociology is always political (with small p) as I believe that sociologists ought to be committed to progressive causes. Sociologists who claim not to be "political" end up, for the most part, helping reproduce the status quo. Thus, I went to Wisconsin, rather than Chicago or any of the other options I had, enticed by the department's history of radicalism. Unfortunately, by the time I arrived there in 1984, radicalism had become mostly folklore. By then most of the official radical sociologists in the program subscribed to the myth of objectivity and were accepted by the mainstream precisely because they were not involved in practical efforts to "change the world."

On the race front, a subject which I became passionate about while I studied there, Wisconsin was a very white department with little interest and personnel to train students to become race scholars. I, for example, became a race scholar mostly on my own as I did not take a single course on the subject there or took prelims in the area. Race was treated at Wisconsin

as a variable to be included or "controlled for" in a regression equation, but for me the issue at hand was understanding how a socially constructed category produces tremendous effects at all levels. This led me to work with students of color in the department such as José Padín, Havidán Rodríguez, and Stephen Haymes who made me aware of the work of Manning Marable, W. E. B Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, and of sociologists of color and their allies. I also worked with students outside the department who formed a group called the Minority Coalition, a group that became the most important political organization on campus in the late 1980s. My involvement with the Minority Coalition was the most important experience I had at Wisconsin and was the fulcrum that led me to become a "race scholar."

But despite all my concerns about Wisconsin—and I have many—I must admit that like medicine, Wisconsin tastes bad but it is ultimately good for you. I met wonderful scholars and mentors such as Professors Russ Middleton, Pam Oliver, Erik Olin Wright, Lauren Edelman, Gay Seidman, Denis O'Hearn, Sam Cohn, and my advisor, Chas Camic. I took many rigorous courses on "Theories of the State," "Sociological Theory," "Social Movements," "Development," "Political Sociology," and "Sociology of Law" that helped me become the sociologist I am today. Although for most of my professors, race was an epiphenomenon, they pushed me hard to read a lot of useful sociological work and to clarify my stand on race matters. Accordingly, more than 20 years after completing my PhD, I can now state without hesitation that Wisconsin was medicinal for my sociological imagination.

Daphne Kuo, Population Health Institute, University of Wisconsin-Madison (PhD, 1995)

I arrived at Madison from tropical Taiwan in a deep snowy winter with only two sociology courses before, though with a solid background in undergraduate political science. Wisconsin was the largest program in sociology, about 200 graduate students and 70 faculty, and, of course, no guaranteed funding. More than 25 years later, I can still recall all the wonderful time spent in Social Science building. Of all the great memories, what I treasure most is the time working with my dissertation advisor, Bob Hauser.

The 1970s to 1990s was truly a most exciting time to study social mobility and stratification in Wisconsin. Wisconsin arguably defined the field. There were so many great faculty and resources available. After writing a term paper for Mary Metz, I was interested in the topic of Asian American educational attainment as my dissertation. I was taking structural equation models at that time. From the 3rd or 4th week on, we started to work on LISREL. The assignment model was easy, so I worked on an optional assignment about Trieman's friendship study. Not confident about my model,

I walked into Bob Hauser's office. He was working late. I said that I understood it was not his office hour, but I was not sure about my answers. He asked me to come in. He looked over my printout and asked me, with a gentle smile, if I knew how to run a different model. I said I could try. Ten minutes later, I came back with a different model. That was my first time working with Bob. In the next 5 years, we kept this type of working style for conference papers, and for my dissertation, an extensive sibling study on the effects of family of origin on the educational attainment of men and women. Usually I showed him my work and he would give me feedback and challenge me with more complicated work; I would try and come back for feedback again. The process helped me to think more about my questions and the models.

My dissertation idea was originally an immature theoretical question on Hauser's sibling resemblance model. After a talk, I asked him why it was a one-factor instead of a two-factor (men vs. women) model. He smiled and asked me whether I knew how to construct a two-factor model. So I started to think about and work on two-factor models. The process of collaboration opened a brand new world to me. In that world, every small progress came with exuberance. Nowadays, when I think about some exciting and new ideas, I recall Bob's gentle quizzing smile and the office windows looking into the woods. When I walked by the 4th floor, I remember the days a young graduate student waited in front of those doors during office hours. I feel so lucky to have had the opportunities to know and work with some great sociologists. Mostly I recall the simple joy of learning via research, perhaps mixing with the Daisy's coffee and bagels after dusting the snow off my parka on many winter mornings. The joy has accompanied me wherever I go.

Yasuhiro Tanaka, International Christian University, Tokyo (PhD, 1995)

In the winter of 1979, I started looking for a graduate school. I was then living in Laramie, Wyoming, pursuing my studies toward a second bachelor's degree in sociology. Since the Internet was not yet available in those days, one had to write a letter to each graduate school requesting an application form. A few universities accepted me: the University of Wisconsin was one of them. The final decision was easy to make since the UW was at the top of the list. Only after I had decided to go to Madison, I found a professor in Laramie who had received a doctorate degree from the UW. She told me that the sociology department there was a "mill." "They will grind you," so she said.

Well, I was determined to go to the UW, mill or not. In early January, 1981, I stepped off the Greyhound in Madison. It felt cold even to a guy

like me who had lived in the Rocky Mountain West, but the chill in the air told me that I was into something new. Later, I found that the aforementioned professor's remark was half true: yes, the program was demanding, but the joy of learning something new from the world-class professors far surpassed the pain associated with it and the atmosphere in the department was friendly.

Dr. Russell Middleton, my academic adviser, guided me through the initial stage of the graduate program. Dr. Ivan Szelenyi and, after he left Madison, Dr. Warren O. Hagstrom helped me when I was working on my dissertation. I owe a lot to them. Under the inspiration of Dr. Szelenyi's theory of new class I developed my own theory of state formation in modern Japan. Kojiro Miyahara and I translated his book, *Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* into Japanese while we were both at the department.

Living in Tokyo, I am now about 8,000 miles away from Madison. It's been 20 years since I left the university. Yet, I still have vivid memories: the smell of magnolias in spring; the weekend TGIF concerts by Lake Mendota in summer; the autumn leaves changing their colors along the Lake Path; and the cold wind, thanks to the Siberian Express, blowing over the Bascom Hill in winter. The time I spent in Madison was so precious. The things I learned there forever changed the way I see the world and myself.

Daniel J. Myers, University of Notre Dame (PhD, 1997)

When I started the Wisconsin Sociology program, I was atypical in several ways. I'd done more than a year of graduate study at Ohio State before moving to Wisconsin and thus did not go through some of the cohort bonding fires that so often characterize the first year of graduate study. Furthermore, I had come to Madison on faith. I had turned down a fellowship at Chicago and come to Wisconsin, sensing a better fit, but without funding. I also had no intention of staying in graduate school any longer than absolutely necessary, and so I set out on a rather lonely expedition to support myself and get the work done as quickly as possible, with little social interaction.

Sounds like a dismal moment, slaving away in a cave with no visible means of support (social or material)! But the faculty saved me. Andy Michener hired me onto his research project and we worked closely together for several years. He taught me the value of precision in research and the creativity that could flow from rigor. Alberto Palloni gave me the first grade lower than A I had received in a long time (and the last as well) and made me work harder in a course than anyone ever has. Rob Mare helped me turn my seminar paper into a master's thesis and an eventually singly-authored ASR paper that made my job market. John Delamater taught me to appreciate the micro side of sociology and vastly improved my writing. Jerry

Marwell thickened my skin, repeatedly! But the greatest influence was my advisor, Pam Oliver. She influenced me intellectually in ways I didn't appreciate until years later and help me support myself through grant projects. But mostly, she listened to me rant. Grad school is, after all, an extended exercise in complaining. Her tolerance was amazing. I became a better student and a socialized professional because of her—and I think she became a better professor and advisor as well—because she was open to hearing about the graduate student experience and trying to understand it, even when our reactions to our experience didn't really seem to make sense.

All of this together, however, is what made Wisconsin Sociology special. There were so many possibilities for important influence of so many types from such a wide variety of faculty. And they taught us to appreciate and respect that diversity of thought and style. On a few occasions, I have been accused of not really being a "Wisconsin Sociologist" because I did not do the WI first year baptism of fire (the core required courses), but I disagree. In all of my work, in my department, with graduate students, and even as an administrator, I have tried to reproduce that Wisconsin vibe. It is that atmosphere (not being a number-cruncher or a having a certain theoretical train of thought) that characterized our department. It is the mark of a healthy department and intellectual productive environment; it is a powerful and pleasurable way to do academic business; it is the Wisconsin way.

Clare L. Tanner, Michigan Public Health Institute (PhD, 1999)

When asked to reflect on a story that illuminates my experience at the Department of Sociology, try as I might, I can't get past my moment of failure, specifically: complete lack of skill lecturing a class full of junior Sociology majors on a topic I'm quite good at—methods. Students smell weakness and surround the offender like a pack. And after five years of being a well-regarded PhD candidate, having published my Master's thesis as sole author based on six months of self-directed research in India, just returned from a year of independent PhD research in Bombay; all I remember is my extreme distress when the leadership of the Department came down hard in response to *multiple* student complaints. The students had a point: they/their parents paid good tuition money, maybe went into debt, and I was a terrible lecturer. I had never taught before. I don't remember what the Department Chair communicated to me, other than they would not be offering me another opportunity to teach. I don't remember who the Chair was at the time. All I remember are the white walls of my office when I got back from that closed-door meeting, the blank computer screen, and the sympathy of my office mates.

Soon thereafter, I saw a flier on a bulletin board on campus: "What to do with a PhD, besides become a professor." I went to that day-long tutorial and followed up with the campus jobs counselor. I also applied for and received another lectureship in the Department of Rural Sociology, which provided me with two mentors who worked with me on syllabus, reading materials, presentation style, class participation tips, and more. Several of my dissertation committee professors were very supportive and also offered assistance. The second attempt at teaching went much better.

Today, I help draft health policy, implement health system innovations in underserved communities, evaluate healthcare transformation projects with national scope, work with the best and brightest practitioners in government, academia, and industry, all while supervising, motivating, and keeping employed 20-25 highly skilled colleagues in a not-for-profit institute.

I can't end this story without crediting the UW Department of Sociology for where I am today. My positive memories include: endless study sessions learning from my brilliant peers; inspirational professors who allowed me to be self-directed while exposing me to a history of ideas and the elements of a toolbox to examine, sort, and test them; visiting scholars from around the globe offering new ideas and perspectives; a top notch interdisciplinary international studies program that supported me through my foreign research projects; day and night computer and statistical support. And I remember the Memorial Library: floor after floor of books stored on moveable shelving. All the nooks where I read, wrote, sometimes napped, in complete isolation.

I had occasion to travel back to Madison about 3 years after graduation. Things looked the same and eerily different. Mainly I remember staring at the cement sidewalk outside the Department of Sociology and thinking – "after all the emotions I spent here, and the formative impression you left on my life, my footprints leave no imprint here." Happily, twenty years after that trip, I was proven wrong when asked to contribute these words to the history of the Department.

Andrew Schrank, Brown University (PhD, 2000)

In 15 years as a professor I've seen a lot of graduate students who leave graduate school believing pretty much what they believed when they entered graduate school, and this always troubles me. Because by the time I left Wisconsin I didn't believe everything I believed when I got there. I'd changed my mind about a lot of things. And I suppose it's possible that I'd changed my mind because I'd grown up or matured or whatever, and that I'd have changed my mind no matter how I had spent the 1990s. But don't

think so. I think mostly I changed my mind because I'd been forced—by my professors, but also by my fellow students—to confront data (of many types) and, in many cases, my prior beliefs didn't stand up to the data.

And I suppose the students I see today who leave school believing what they believed when they arrived are, or were, just smarter than I was when I entered school, so they had less reason to change their minds along the way. I suppose sometimes that's the case. But I doubt that it's generally the case. I think mostly they weren't educated as well as I was. And the long and short of it is that this is what (I think) I learned at Wisconsin: not only how and why and when to change my mind, though that was fundamental, but that there's no shame in doing so. And I doubt there's a more important lesson. For that, I'll forever be grateful to you and everyone else in Madison. Many, many thanks for everything.

Steven C. McKay, University of California, Santa Cruz (PhD, 2001)



BANANA PEELS INTRAMURAL SOCCER TEAM, 2013—
SOCIOLOGY GRADUATE STUDENTS EXCEPT WHERE NOTED
STANDING (L TO R): CHRISTOPHER CWYNAR (COMM. ARTS), TAYLAN ACAR, MARTINA KUNOVIC, ALEX HANNA, NANCY RYDBERG (EDUC. POLICY & DEV. STUDIES), KATHRYN ANDERSON, KEREM MORGUL, JAYME PYNE, TIM AHN (UNDERGRAD).
KNEELING: KEVIN GIBBONS (GEOGRAPHY), KATIE FALLON, (T. ACAR)

I always felt I entered Wisconsin Sociology through the back door. In fact, it wasn't Sociology but Southeast Asian Studies that originally brought me to Madison. Yet by shifting programs, I quickly realized I could combine UW's unparalleled depth in area studies with the sociological rigor to make stronger structural analysis of regional case studies and comparisons globally. The cadre of eminent international and development scholars in the

department —-from my advisors Russ Middleton and Gay Seidman, to my numerous mentors including Jane Collins, Jonathan Zeitlin, Stephen Bunker, and Leann Tigges—helped me make sense of my experiences in Southeast Asia while also pushing me to make the connections to processes unfolding in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Europe, and the US.

Some of the most useful skills I picked up from the department inadvertently. In spite, or maybe because of, the department's Darwinian funding scheme, I constantly scrambled for financing beyond Observatory Drive, learning early in my career the art of proposal writing to national and international agencies and foundations. And like every graduate student in a large department, my basic survival depended on learning to collaborate. I leaned heavily on cohort-mates Jeff Rickert, Cliff Westfall, and Arthur Scarritt to get me through the statistics gauntlet, and the dedicated crew of faculty and students of the Sociology of Economic Change (SEC) seminar and brown bag to prep me for prelims.

But I didn't realize how valuable my training and how dedicated my support until the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 and ensuing political crisis in Jakarta scuttled what was to be a year of dissertation fieldwork in Indonesia. Within a couple of months of my planned departure, I was faced with re-tooling an entire dissertation—shifting countries, sectors and languages, all while juggling a new-born and a 3-year-old who were to accompany me into the field. But before I could panic, my advisors talked me off the cliff's edge, reminding me that the UW Center for Southeast Asian Studies gave me language training in both Indonesian and Filipino, that the Global Studies Program provided portable funding for multi-country field research, and that my disciplinary training in political sociology, work and development meant I could pivot from studying labor in the textile mills of Jakarta to researching worker consent in the electronics assembly plants outside of Manila. In the end, it was the flexibility and depth of my graduate training that helped turn my dissertation from crisis to library bound. So however I entered Wisconsin Sociology, I know that thanks to the support of my advisors, I left Madison with sharper ability to scramble, collaborate, and improvise—all skills that continue to serve me well as a university professor.

Nancy Plankey Videla, Texas A&M University (PhD, 2004)

I arrived in Madison straight from working in the nonprofit world in Mexico with my life-partner, Robert Mackin, in 1993. I quickly learned that the academy was a very different world, ruled by individual and individualizing timetables, pressures, and financial concerns. But I also learned that it was possible to be both an academic and an activist, and to create community in a highly competitive environment. C. Wright Mills' legacy was alive in the

Sociology Department through a core group of students and faculty affiliated with the Havens Center, a strong union, the Teaching Assistants Association which helped foster solidarity among graduate students, in addition to classes on development, class analysis, gender, and labor which exposed me to new theories and methodologies. Class discussions, followed by a beer on the terrace with fellow graduate students, including many international students, broadened my analytical interests in development and grassroots social movements to Asia, Africa, other parts of the Latin America, as well as the U.S. borderlands.

Madison was an ideal place to pursue research surrounded by professors and peers with the highest standards; yet, a place I was simultaneously a part of a collaborative community. As an associate professor today, I marvel at the levels of solidarity I experienced in grad school. To my surprise, perhaps naively, such was not the experience of many of my colleagues during their graduate careers. Friendships fostered by shared interest were mirrored by cohort gatherings as we waded through required statistics and theory classes and prepared for prelims. Analytical skills were honed in constructive and regular brown bag discussions. Most of my fellow graduate students found academic advisors who mentored them, while simultaneously pushing them to be independent scholars, as I certainly did with Russ Middleton and later Gay Seidman. Perhaps ironically, what I experienced in one of the top departments of the nation was not elitism, but a generosity of spirit that extended back to decades of social activism, to a strongly held belief that Sociology held a promise for a better world and that as sociologists, we have an active role in building it.

Abd-el-Hani Guend (PhD, 2004)

We were in the winter of 1995. I made an emergency landing in Madison, Wisconsin, so to speak. That move came after about a two-year stay in Ann Arbor, Michigan, my first home in the US when I came from Algeria, my birth place. In fact, I exhausted all possibilities to enroll in a graduate program at the University of Michigan at that time. And, a couple of weeks away from the date of arrival of my wife and our four children, as refugees, I was not able to secure a place in which to welcome them. I was in temporary housing arrangements, moving from place to place every couple of weeks.

UW-Madison emerged as the right place for me for several reasons. Alumni I met in Michigan recommended UW-Madison and encouraged me to show up at the department of sociology. This will make a difference, one of them said. I learned at Kaplan School that UW-Madison was home to the top Department of Sociology in the US. Also, other friends who experienced family life in Madison said it was the right place to raise children too. And so,

I made the journey from Ann Arbor to Madison in my red 12-year-old Toyota Tercel. After several chilling moments on the highway and in downtown Chicago I finally reached Madison. With the help of a longtime friend I was able to rent a two-bedroom apartment. And, a couple days later I picked up my wife and children at O'Hare airport. We made the trip "home," this time not in my Tercel but in a beautiful American rental car to the delight of the kids.

Once the frantic period of time it took to more or less furnish the apartment, enroll the kids in their respective schools and so on, I showed up at the Sociology Department to inquire about my pending application for graduate studies. Sandy Ramer pulled my file and I was delighted to find out that my file needed little to be completed—mainly a statement about "reasons for graduate study." Once the enrollment process was finished I realized that I did not qualify for in-state tuition. I asked to delay my enrollment in the program until Winter Semester, hoping that by then I would qualify and so it happened. At an early stage in the program, I took a course and a graduate seminar (Joe Elder's Social Structure of Muslim Societies and Russ Middleton's Grass Root Development in the Third World), not so much to gain credits towards my degree, but to gain insight about the new academic environment which was going to shape my destiny. That put me at ease; it connected the dots in my life.

Everything seemed perfect until my political baggage became the point of interest of some of the faculty. That interest in itself would have been a matter of pride more than anything else if a faculty member in a position of power did not make it clear to me that I shall do my dissertation on this matter or else. This glitch did almost mess up my study plan, and the prospect of failure scared me to death. Then a providential intervention came unexpectedly. Betty Thomson became the head of the CDE, and she took matters in her hands with resolve and a nurturing attitude. She put me back on track or "reset my clock" in her own words. She put in writing my future agenda which she emailed to me. I printed it and posted it on my desk at home until my graduation, which happened about five years later. She encouraged me to go back to talk to Alberto Palloni, which I did.

As my major adviser, Alberto offered me on a silver plate everything I was dreaming to achieve, academically speaking, since the mid-eighties. I successfully completed a PhD dissertation on fertility transition in Muslim populations, a project that was on the ice for a long time. He helped me enroll in the Population Health Sciences program as a second major, and, perhaps more importantly, gave me the opportunity, as research assistant, to gain hands-on research on a broad research agenda. Following that providential meeting with Betty, PhD students in Demography, in a heart-warming move, helped me gather all the literature I need to prepare the preliminary exam in demography, and when time came to take the



ANNUAL SOCIOLOGY FALL PICNIC, WESTMORELAND PARK, SEPTEMBER, 2014
(R. MIDDLETON)

second preliminary exam in Sociology of Economic Change, Gay Seidman and her students helped in a similar way... and the rest is history.

All in all, that fateful decision I made to make the trip from Ann Arbor to Madison, a decision I had to take under pressure after the tragic loss of my brother and a score of my friends in Algeria, opened a second change in life to me, my wife and children. I can proudly say today that I and my wife are remanufactured products of UW-Madison, while my children are pure products of UW-Madison and the schools of Madison, a city they all call home. Thank you Wisconsin, thank you Madison, and many thanks to those men and women who did not hesitate to stand for what is right.

Jonathan Daniel London, Institute of Area Studies, Leiden University (PhD, 2004)

Between 1989 and 1991 I traveled around the world twice, visiting more than 20 countries between the ages of 19 and 21 and being utterly shocked and fascinated along the way. In August of 1992 I loaded a van outside my folks' home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, waved goodbye and drove across the Western Avenue bridge toward Route 90 West and the PhD program in sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. I was 22 years old.

I completed that journey 12 years later at a memorable June ceremony in the John R. Commons Room of the Social Sciences Building, overlooking Lake Mendota. The intensely charming Fred Buttel, who took me under his guidance in the later stages of my degree program, was there to congratulate me. It seems like yesterday. I miss Fred and regret not meeting him earlier.

A decade on, it's still hard to know what to make of my experience as a

graduate student in the Wisconsin sociology program. At twelve years the duration of my studies was certainly protracted. Nor was it the league of the outliers, let alone the department's true graduate student legends. It took me twelve years in part owing to the four years I spent outside of the US, which included three years in Vietnam and one at the Australian National University. And in part because my time in Madison had more ups and (especially) downs than one might care to remember. My relationship with my advisor, Stephen Bunker, was poor throughout. Bunker was whip smart, charming on occasions, nice to his horses, but downright mean to me. That's no exaggeration. I expected our relationship would improve. But it never did. Still, I learned a great deal from him.

At its best, the Wisconsin sociology program provided me an intense engagement with professional sociology and professional sociologists. The UW sociology program was also brutal and alienating. It chewed students up, me among them, but not just me. It wasn't pleasant. It was challenging, occasionally rewarding, and life-altering.

I entered the program like most: a bit unsure of myself but determined to get a better sense of how the world worked. The sheer size of the program and its quality across multiple fields were among the most impressive of its features. The training seminars were sometimes intimidating and often exciting. It was and remains hard to imagine a more lively and diverse program.

Surviving the program was no easy task. Friends were crucial at every stage. Advice from faculty were sometimes helpful: "The key to graduate school is managing your emotions" (Jerry Marwell) and "Don't look so glum, London, it only gets worse!" (Chuck Halaby) were among the gems I remember. The weather rarely helped. As noted, student-advisor relations were a rough spot, but professors Gay Seidman and Erik Wright and (especially) Russ Middleton, Jane Collins, and Fred Buttel got me through.

Everyone's graduate school experience is unique. The Department was undeniably special. For one, students (not only the tormented ones) were around for years, not just semesters. Students and faculty saw each other's work develop and mature. The experience was full on. For some more than others, but for everyone I am sure. My time in Madison was not wonderful on average. But I value the training I received. Preparing and passing prelims and completing the PhD was "no joke." One really did need to become a sociologist expert in something.

From Madison I returned to East Asia and ultimately to Hong Kong, where I write this note. All the while the UW experience is never far off. My PhD diploma is framed. It's sitting on a shelf opposite me right now, face up, on top of some books, and below the next shelf. I suppose that's fitting. Wisconsin sociology was not about credentialism or flash. That's not why

I was there. It was about substance. It was about learning, training, and perseverance. I did all of that and it continues to be useful.

Teresa R. Melgar, University of the Philippines-Diliman (PhD, 2010)

When I first moved to Madison, Wisconsin, in the early 2000s to begin the PhD Sociology program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, little did I realize that I was about to embark on the most intense, rigorous, yet intellectually fulfilling years of my life. But that was precisely what the Department of Sociology gave me—an environment that enabled me to flourish, encouraged by its warm, stimulating and intellectually expansive atmosphere.

For starters, interaction between faculty and students was refreshingly friendly and collegial, something that regularly inspired and invigorated me to improve my work. The department's brown bags, where faculty members and graduate students presented works-in-progress, were especially stimulating venues that enabled us to build nourishing intellectual communities. Through these exchanges, we learned not only to push each other's ideas forward, but also to provide constructive, supportive feedback—a skill I value to this day.

My graduate training was also made especially memorable by the tremendous support I received from faculty. Indeed, my mentors in Sociology and other centers and departments in campus were some of the most generous people I have ever known, always ready to engage, provide constructive critiques, or offer a friendly nudge forward. With their encouragement, I embarked on field research I never would have thought I could pull off, research that brought me to two countries—Brazil and my own native Philippines—for long periods of time, where I explored citizenship and democratization issues comparatively. In the process, as my wonderfully prescient advisor, Gay Seidman anticipated, it brought me lifelong connections with treasured communities in different parts of the world.

But the Sociology Department was also memorable for its highly collegial, diverse and supportive graduate student community. Although we were often immersed in hard work, we typically found time to help and support each other—whether to offer feedback on a paper, share a hard-to-find book, or contribute to a particular cause that affected some or all of us. Undertaking the PhD Sociology program at UW-Madison gave me some of my most fascinating and cherished intellectual and personal experiences. I will always look back at those days fondly, and with deep gratitude.

Adam Slez, University of Virginia (PhD, 2011)

I came to Wisconsin in the fall of 2003 as part of a forty-student cohort. While very few students had guaranteed funding at that time, most of the people in my cohort had managed to secure something by the time they came to campus. I was not so lucky. Thinking back to that first semester, I remember feeling like my inability to find a job meant that there wasn't a place for me in the department. This anxiety was short-lived. I found a job as a research assistant and while I still had to find work on a regular basis, it became much easier over time. More importantly, I found a thesis project and an advisor. My thesis grew out of a research proposal I wrote for Ivan Ermakoff's political sociology class. I was interested in studying the relationship between interest and action in the United States Constitutional Convention of 1787. Unfortunately, Ivan was scheduled to be on leave the following year and could not serve as my advisor. By chance, I mentioned this to our incomparable graduate advisor, Sandy Ramer, who suggested that I talk to John Levi Martin.

If I had to pick a single turning point in my graduate career, it was my first meeting with John. This is true for a number of reasons, the most obvious of which is that John became my advisor, a role he continued to play even after he left Wisconsin in 2007. More importantly, however, this first meeting served to highlight a style of intellectual engagement that was both serious and deeply human. Rereading the memo John prepared for that meeting (pieces of which were subsequently incorporated into his book *The Explanation of Social Action*), I am struck by his ability to integrate practical advice into a larger discussion of what it means to do good social science, while consciously differentiating his critique of the proposal from his assessment of the author. I left completely intact, albeit with a lot of work ahead of me.

While John was certainly a unique character, I feel like his style of engagement was consonant with the style of the department more generally. One of the things I miss is the level of collective intellectual activity. I took the availability of "brown bags" for granted. These were ongoing thematic workshops which brought together members of the department on a daily basis. This gave both students and faculty a venue to present works-in-progress which then served as grist for discussion. I learned how to think through real research problems—both mine, as well as those of others—by watching these exchanges unfold.

Oriol Mirosa, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (PhD, 2012)

Since I could not afford to fly to the United States for visit day, I accepted the offer to do my PhD in the sociology department at UW-Madison without

ever having even been in Wisconsin. A few months before classes began, however, I obtained some funding to attend a workshop in Madison. I wanted to take the opportunity to meet some of the faculty, and so I contacted Professor Erik Olin Wright to see if he would be free to see me. I assumed famous scholars like him would have little time for students, and even less for those who had not even started the program. However, he told me that he was having some students over for dinner on the night of my arrival, and suggested that I go to his house directly from the airport, join them for the evening, and spend my first night in Madison in his place. I happily accepted his offer. That night I met some people who were to become close friends in Madison, and I enjoyed the kind of stimulating conversation (combined with some serious jet lag) that was to accompany me in my time in the sociology department. I continued attending Erik's dinners with his students, and it was in one of those events eight years later that Erik gave me the diploma certifying that I was free of "bullshit sociology," which he presents to all his graduating advisees.

During my first year in Madison, I took a seminar on international development with Gay Seidman. She was someone whose work I admired, and precisely because of that I felt a little intimidated and insecure in her class. A couple of weeks into the semester, I ran into Gay in the corridor. Instead of just nodding and walking by, she stopped me and told me how much she liked having me in the class and how much she valued my contributions to the discussion. That interaction really put me at ease and changed the way I saw myself in the department. Yet it also increased the pressure to deliver: if Gay Seidman thought I had interesting things to say in a seminar, I'd better be at the top of my game, prepared and ready to awe. How was I going to do that? For the next meeting of the seminar, I baked cookies.

Since I did not have guaranteed funding, every semester I worried about whether I would find some kind of job in the university that would allow me to make ends meet and pay tuition. As a foreigner, I was not allowed to work outside of the university and I had to be registered full time, and thus not finding a job on campus would mean that I would not be able to stay in the country. Sometimes there were close calls, but inevitably that's when Mara Loveman came to my rescue. She first hired me as a research assistant after a short phone conversation before I even started the program, and for five years she always found one way or another to get me some funding. I saw colleagues struggle to find work, and I consider myself extremely lucky that Mara trusted me and allowed me to work for her for so long.

This was the sociology department for me: worries, anxiety, and insecurity, but also intellectual stimulation and overwhelming kindness that I will never forget and for which I cannot be thankful enough.

Hanna Grol-Prokocpzyk, University of Buffalo (PhD, 2013)



DISSERTATION DEFENSE OF ANDREA L. ROBLES, SEPTEMBER, 2014
(L TO R) KATHERINE CURTIS, JANE COLLINS, ANDREA ROBLES, LEANN TIGGES, ANNE HALEY-LOCK (SOC. WORK), GAY SEIDMAN (R. MIDDLETON)

I had heard rumors, before grad school, of tensions between qualitative and quantitative sociologists, or between more theoretically- and more empirically-inclined researchers. Fortunately, in my time at UW-Madison, these appeared to be no more than rumors. Bob Hauser, who hired me as a research assistant for the WLS, never questioned why I was taking grounded theory and sociology of science seminars with Joan Fujimura, and in turn Joan (my advisor) never tried to dissuade me from taking Bob's structural equation modeling class or participating in CDE/CDHA training seminars. Thanks to the department's methodological and substantive openness, I believe I ended up a more well-rounded scholar than I would have at many other schools.

Department culture was friendly and social. Early proof of this was that, on my fourth day in Madison (before fall classes had even started), I was invited to a large party at the home of some more advanced students—and that very evening met the man who is now my husband. Members of my cohort organized picnics at Devil's Lake, Oscar-watching parties, and July 4th campfires at Picnic Point. Faculty, too, were friendly and often opened their homes to students. Joan Fujimura, in particular, regularly hosted dinners for students at her home—alongside reading discussion groups, to celebrate student milestones, or simply to make sure that students in town for Thanksgiving would have a proper Thanksgiving meal.

My time in Wisconsin was bookended by the 2004 TAA strike and

the 2011 occupation of the state capitol—both events that classmates participated in in large numbers and often in leadership roles. I can clearly remember striking sociology grads and supporters marching in front of Bascom Hall. (We were earnest, but not humorless: chants included, "We are the union / The sexy, sexy union"). When my older children visited the state capitol in 2011, they were fascinated by the presence of sleeping bags; for weeks afterwards they played Protest at the Capitol by dragging sleeping bags into our living room and "occupying" it. The Wisconsin tradition of political activism—and, more generally, a concern with the world outside the academy—were in my mind major strengths of Wisconsin sociology.

Bob Hauser once told me that the first graduate student he knew who stayed in the program through her transition to motherhood was a student who got her Ph.D. in 2001. By the time I arrived at Wisconsin soon after, however, childbearing by female Ph.D. students had become relatively common. I myself had three children as a grad student, as did two colleagues who graduated within a year of me. Perhaps because of the recency of this cultural shift, the sociology department had no official policies for how to accommodate students who might progress through the program on alternate schedules due to childbearing or other family obligations. It was thus unclear whether someone who took time off after a child's birth would still be considered to be "in good standing," or to be making "timely progress"—factors that, among other things, affected student eligibility for funding. I hope the department will establish policies acknowledging that the graduate student body of the 21st century no longer resembles Bill Bielby's entering cohort of "[himself], 53 other white men, and Rachel Rosenfeld" (as he described it in a talk in room 8417 a few years ago), and in particular that a significant proportion of graduate students now aim to combine motherhood with academic careers.

Madeleine Fairbairn, University of California, Santa Cruz (PhD, 2014)

Wisconsin Sociology gave me the tools to survive in the world of professional academia: the ability to craft a fundable grant proposal; the guilt at allowing any conference deadline to pass without a submission; the whirring machinery of paper submission, revision, and resubmission. Unfortunately, it also gave me a desire for more than that world. I came to know professors for whom academic research and writing was a means to pursue deeply held commitments to social justice. For example, there is my adviser Jack Kloppenburg, a brilliant scholar for whom scholarship is clearly not the primary point. Instead it was when he told me about his non-academic

projects—such as the Open Source Seed Initiative he founded with UW plant breeders—that he would get really animated. In these moments, his eyes would light up, his gestures would become increasingly emphatic, and his voice would rise (and I mean, really rise, sometimes bringing Jess Gilbert in from the neighboring office to see what was up). For Jack, academic research and efforts to foster a more sustainable food system co-exist symbiotically, and the former would be empty without the latter. My Wisconsin professors gave me the desire to be this kind of public intellectual. But they also gave me a keen awareness of the ever-escalating expectations placed on young scholars, for whom success is measured by quantifiable academic output and not community impact. I have yet to learn to reconcile these two, and sometimes—when my entire sense of self-worth seems to hinge on an article review—I wonder if I will.

Megan Shoji, Mathematica Policy Research (PhD, 2014)

Year One: Teach me how to grad school. New Student Orientation. Is this a party or a competition? AJS, ASR, WLS, IRP, my head is spinning with acronyms. Is stratification just a fancy word for inequality? How will I ever call these professors by first name? I never thought of authors as people I might talk to. I don't think I know what I'm doing. And why does it feel like I'm always being judged, not on coursework or grades or my teaching job, but some unknown?

Year Two: Know-how, no habitus. Advisor, check. RA-ship, check. Stats with Logan, theory with Emirbayer, stats with Halaby, check, check, check. Maybe I've got the hang of grad school now. But I still cringe at the prideful way that people reference Bourdieu. And I wonder at how familiar words are spoken in strange ways (why does everyone say *r'search*?), and how words I had to look up (like "pedantic") arise in casual conversation. I'm not sure I belong here, or if anyone understands me. Do others struggle to explain to family what we're doing here?

Year Three: Power in numbers. Being part of a research team is centering. I finally feel like I'm experiencing how research gets done: recruiting participants in the field, troubleshooting design issues in project meetings, and oh the data entry! Impromptu teaching moments, authentic listening, and distributed responsibility teach lasting lessons of mentorship and leadership. How lucky I feel to have funding to attend my first conference, where I'm struck by the red sea of students, faculty, and alum: the Wisconsin presence. And the pride! We're alone in heralding our award winners with whoops and hollers instead of polite applause. I'm thankful to hang with the crowd but uneasily aware of students from other institutions who look lost and alone.

The Prelim Years: Anxiety central. The first time around, laboring in the dark, changing strategies midway through, a group effort ends up a lonely road. Better prepared for round two, yet it's the same blur of citations and stress, sweat and tears. Mac n' cheese cups, caramello bars, and snapping at my husband become go-to coping mechanisms. Am I broken? That others have survived it—pass or fail—gets me through. And independent research generously supported by faculty investment, ongoing collaborative projects, and my student writing group keep me going.

Year(s) "Dissertator": The final countdown. Striving for the finish line, overwhelmingly close in the face of a conspicuously slim CV. Pushing past editor rejections, revise and resubmit. Too many months spent narrowing the dissertation topic into an idea, then a proposal. Enter the dark market, where uncertainty, fear, and anxiety prevail. Held back from the edge by a support network of family, fellow students, recent grads, and faculty. Have I always had such a weak constitution? Then a light at the end of the tunnel: the job offer. (A modern miracle? Or have I lost perspective?) It reignites my fire and ultimately renders the dissertation conquered. The last hoop. Graduate school, you are vanquished, and I emerge victorious though not unchanged.

Christina Diaz, University of Arizona (PhD, 2015)

My introduction to "doing" research occurred during the summer between my first and second year at UW-Madison. After spending a couple of weeks of reading and beginning a literature review, my advisor (Jenna Nobles) asked me to express how I would answer our research questions by writing out the necessary formulas. In the midst of feeling completely terrified, I managed to correctly specify 2 out of 3 equations. Fortunately, Jenna graciously explained the logic and rationale behind the remaining equation. This particular moment is one of my favorite memories as a young scholar and allowed me to realize that the research process is something that could be learned.

Of course, there were struggles along the way – including rejected manuscripts and fellowship applications. After I had received a rejection note, Jim Raymo stressed the similarity between academia and baseball to remind me of the challenges of this profession. He said, "If you're batting .300, you're doing really well. It may not feel like it, but it's most definitely the case". The training and encouragement from the department brought my work to another level of scholarship and boosted my confidence. Despite the disappointment of these rejections, I also experienced academic success. Research and paper awards, fellowships, and accepted manuscripts were among some of my accomplishments as a student. To date, I am most proud



NEWLY MINTED 2015 PHDS
ROB CHILES (ASST. PROF., PENN STATE), CHRISTINA DIAZ (ASST. PROF., UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA), PIKO EWOODZIE (ASST. PROF., DAVIDSON COLLEGE), AND TORSHEIKA MADDOX (RESEARCH AND PROGRAM ASSOCIATE, UW-MADISON (MRRC PHOTO, UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

of receiving the Ford Foundation Predoctoral Fellowship. Being a part of a large community of scholars who are intelligent, motivated, and generous is beyond humbling.

Finally, these memories would not be complete without reflecting how I met my husband (Jeremy Fiel). We entered graduate school in 2009, where Jeremy and I bonded over the ups and downs of introductory theory and statistics courses. We married two years later. Although I am extremely pleased with the training and professional development provided by the department and the Center for Demography and Ecology, my fondest memory is finding a partner from UW who shares similar memories, interests, and goals.

Alex Hanna, University of Toronto (PhD, 2016)

A day after President Mubarak had stepped down in Egypt, I had gotten off the plane from Cairo and boarded a bus headed to Madison. I headed directly to the office of the Teaching Assistants' Association (TAA), the union which represents graduate employees at University of Wisconsin-Madison. The office was bustling with dozens of people, phone banking and encouraging students to make it to a rally planned for February 14. The theme? "I ♥ the UW."

A student of social movements and social media in Egypt, I flew to Cairo days before to witness the Egyptian uprising firsthand. The occupation of Tahrir Square was as jubilant as it was spontaneous. The first march I

witnessed when I arrived was a women-led march, and the second was composed of all children. Rings of people, sometimes Coptic Christians, held hands around kneeling Muslim worshippers to protect them from pro-regime aggressors. And I bore witness to one or two weddings, to boot. On the evening of February 11, the acting vice president announced that Mubarak was stepping down. From my vantage point, the whole of Cairo seemed to respond in celebration.

Back in Wisconsin, the February 14th rally was already in the works when Governor Scott Walker "dropped the bomb" of Act 10, the union-busting bill aimed at dismantling public sector unions. The TAA moved quickly to retool the rally – we planned on dropping off a couple hundred Valentine's cards to protest Walker's bill in addition to his impending cuts to the UW System.

On the 14th, nearly 1,000 students, faculty, and staff showed up to the march and rally, trudging up State Street in the February cold. We ended up in the rotunda of the Wisconsin State Capitol, yelling and chanting, armed with heart balloons and cardboard cutouts of hearts.

On the 15th, we joined a much larger contingent of labor compatriots to protest Act 10. We packed into the hearing room of the Joint Finance Committee, testified against the bill, and, finally, when Republican legislators attempted to shut off debate, occupied the Capitol. What ensued was the longest protest occupation in Wisconsin's history. The spirit of celebration and sense of community seemed to echo that which I had witnessed in Tahrir Square.

TAA activists and sociology graduate students were at the heart of these rallies and the occupation. The TAA maintained an active "center of command" inside of the Capitol, coordinating food distribution, public safety, and sanitation, amongst other functions. At any given time, one or two dozen sociology students were in the Capitol, helping to make the occupation run smoothly. Sociologists also played the role of the scholar-activist, documenting the uprising extensively by engaging in interviews, writing field notes, and participating firsthand.

Now, in February 2015, history is repeating itself. Walker has proposed nearly $300 million in cuts to the UW System, and the Wisconsin State Senate and Assembly are on the verge of passing a "Right-to-Work" bill, which would dismantle the power of Wisconsin unions further. And like in 2011, the TAA and sociology graduate students are still at the forefront of that fight.

Yifei Li, New York University in Shanghai (PhD, 2016)

One thing I love about UW Sociology is the flourishing of diverse sub-fields

of the discipline in one place. Graduate school trains us to become specialists, but UW sociologists are more than specialists in our own respective fields. We are also generalists in the sense that we are trained to appreciate diverse areas, approaches, methods, and paradigms. Most importantly, the academic atmosphere in this department is such that it encourages us to take advantage of sparkles of ideas at the intersection of different sub-fields. Take my dissertation as an example; I study environmental politics in Chinese cities. My thoughts are shaped by debates in several literatures, including state-building, environmental governance, urban political regime, social movement, world society, dependency theory, among others. My methodological leanings also bear the marks of trainings in both historical-comparative sociology and ethnographic research. None of this would have been possible if it were not for exchanges of ideas in numerous graduate seminars, brownbag meetings, and study groups over the years, not to mention casual conversations in the hallway. UW Sociology is a mind-opening place; it teaches me to be open to all kinds of questions and ways of finding answers.

Michelle Robinson, Current PhD Student at UW-Madison

As a 1st generation student, who is also Black, a woman, and from a working class background, a significant struggle I have had while navigating graduate school has been learning how to be comfortable and secure in the reality that the closeness of my lived reality to the things I study often means that I am unable to occupy the role of the hegemonically objective scientist. An additional challenge has been adjusting to the feelings of vulnerability and the silencing that comes from studying *yourself,* and *your communities,* and having "experts" speak on your behalf, exerting their truth, but not seeing yourself in their claims. This has created a weird space where my own lived reality is contested by science. Yet, I have not (always) felt I could contest or challenge those claims. In fact, I often felt that there was no space for experiential evidence—that instead of my background being viewed as an asset, or as potentially strengthening claims, I have felt as though my experience has been marginalized.

See, I grew up in northeast Houston—a racially and economically segregated black community that was the result of white flight out of the area, and black migration to the area as a result of federally enforced desegregation occurring in the city. The community's makeup was originally rural, white with a mixture of working and middle class residents, but between 1971 and 1978 it transitioned into a segregated black working and middle class community. As the site of the first environmental racism lawsuit (Bean vs Southwestern Waste Management, Inc.) in the nation, filed in 1979, my

community has been the site of some research, mostly of the historical variety. One study I have read found that in 1988 88% of the homes in the subdivision closest to the waste treatment facility were owned, not rented, by their mostly Black occupants. The rate of homeownership here was about twice as high as the national average for black home ownership at that time. In my present lifetime (1984 to now) the community shifted from one whose community members were economically thriving to one where most of its members were impoverished. Besieged by the carceral regime of the drug wars, and the decimation of black wealth which constituted Black life in the U.S. during the 1980s, by the mid-1990s the community was only a shell of its former self.

My community was also home to what became the largest Black-led, Black-majority-attended school district in the state of Texas. At its heyday it consisted of some 17 campuses and served 25,000 students. The racial composition of the student body was upwards of 90% Black. By the time I graduated high school in 2002, the district was dying and was officially laid to rest during the summer of 2012, as a result of the Supreme Court ruling on Fisher v. University of Texas—a decision that removed preclearance. The community fought and resisted the closure and annexation of their district for three years prior to the ruling and at the time of the Fisher ruling the case was being reviewed by the Department of Justice. After the ruling the state wasted no time in shutting down the district—ordering its closure only hours after the Fisher Ruling came through. With legal and judicial options exhausted, the district shut its doors and was annexed into a neighboring school district.

The kids in my community were dealing with some tough circumstances and it was reflected in the characteristics of our school and their outcomes. *Time Magazine*, based on research coming out of Johns Hopkins, referred to my high school as being one of America's top drop-out factories—with upwards of 60% of entering cohorts not graduating. Another study found that 40% of my classmates had either a parent, or both parents, who had either been incarcerated, or was presently incarcerated. I went to a school where we didn't have enough licensed teachers to staff all of the classrooms and subject areas. The handful of us who were seen as "gifted" benefited from great teachers, but many of my peers basically sat in classrooms where they were babysat for the day by permanent subs. I have seen how a poor school functions. I know what occurs.

You can imagine my surprise when I began studying education and racial inequality and read research that told me that funding doesn't matter. I have been engaged in discussions where I have been told that, despite the deleterious home environments and circumstances that many of my peers came from, our teachers and our school—if they were better—should have

been able to help us overcome our "background." The fact was that my primary and secondary education, in retrospect, appears to be the equivalent of me escaping a tidal wave by mere inches as the great teachers we had in the district were often poached by "better districts" the year after I took their class. Was I really to believe that the departure of those teachers and the fact that they were never replaced (except eventually by some Teach for America teachers) was not about funding, resources, and labor?

Because of these dynamics, graduate school has been, for me, in many ways silencing, invalidating and pathologizing. In my advanced years, I have been able to gain access to alternative perspectives on what's driving racial inequalities in education, and why they matter. I have been able to engage with literature that advances arguments and presents findings that challenge the status quo of the education policy regime in sociology. It still feels very much like an uphill climb. It is also quite exhausting because instead of me defending the validity of a perspective, hypothesis or even an opinion—I am burdened by the additional work of defending the truth of my own reality.

Nathan Ela, Current PhD Student at UW-Madison

I grew up in Madison, and when I left for college I never expected to return. So it was a bit surprising, when I decided to pursue a PhD in sociology, to realize that Madison was the place to be, at least for me. The dual departments fit my interest in the economic sociology of alternative agricultural markets. I wanted to study with Erik Wright. And while in law school I had heard the UW had a strong tradition of law and society scholarship.

My first semester, the fall of 2010, I took a seminar that Erik taught on the social economy. That, together with a seminar taught by Gary Green on urban development, helped me decide to study the new institutions and organizations emerging in urban agriculture (the later arrival of Monica White helped confirm that I'd chosen the right place to study this topic). It also turned out that, fortuitously, I had arrived in Madison just before Erik was elected president of the American Sociological Association. He turned the 2012 conference (my first) into an inspiring smorgasbord of real utopianthinking. Back in Madison, Erik helped convene workshops around some of his advisees' real-utopian dissertation topics. And over the years he has organized end-of-semester workshops at Upham Woods, a former summer camp that is now a rustic retreat center run by the UW. By combining student presentations with line-dancing, group meditation, tobogganing, potlucks, and treks to a rural Wisconsin bar, he has managed to impart the vital lesson that committed scholarship is best when mixed with a sense of fun and camaraderie.

Throughout my time at UW I have worked at COWS (the Center on Wisconsin Strategy), a "think-and-do tank" headed by Joel Rogers and based in



ANNUAL SOCIOLOGY SOCIOCULTURAL BIKE RIDE WITH ERIK WRIGHT, FALL, 2013 (E. WRIGHT)

the department. There, and from Joel, I've learned a ton about progressive visions for urban economic development, and how social science research can support forward-thinking policies and political strategies. One of the most exciting COWS projects I've worked on has been ALICE (the American Legislative and Issue Campaign Exchange), an online library of progressive model laws for cities and states. This was a response to ALEC (the American Legislative Exchange Council), a conservative organization that since the 1970s has spread model laws that, among other things, reduce the power of working people. (ALEC provided the playbook for the state legislature when Scott Walker became governor in 2010.) ALICE was recently spun off into a separate nonprofit called the State Innovation Exchange.

I've been fortunate to have the job at COWS, since I entered as part of the last cohort in which students weren't guaranteed five years of funding. During my first year, the faculty approved a guaranteed-funding model, in order to better compete with other top programs, and to avoid a repeat of what happened to the 2009 cohort. That year, as a result of the recession, more students accepted admission offers than the department had expected. Some of these students couldn't find jobs with tuition waivers, and had to take out loans. Cohorts since mine have been smaller; my sense is that my cohort marked the end of an old model in which unfunded students in large cohorts were expected to sink or swim.

The UW has long been a center of law and society research, but lately has seen a changing of the guard. The old guard – Harry Ball, the founder

of the UW Law and Society Program in 1964; Stewart Macaulay, David Trubek, and Marc Galanter in the law school; Arthur McEvoy in history; Joel Grossman and Bert Kritzer in political science; and Jack Ladinsky in sociology – have either retired or left for other schools. In the decade before I enrolled, Mark Suchman and Lauren Edelman left the department for positions at Brown and Berkeley, respectively. Howard Erlanger retired soon after I arrived; I was one of the first students in decades not to have him sit on my prelim committee, though he was very helpful during my preparation. When I arrived, it was clear that the law and society baton had been passed to assistant professors Sida Liu and Joe Conti; I took a provocative law and society grad seminar with Sida, who has also been of great help as I've turned my master's thesis into an article. Joe and Sida were soon joined by Mike Massoglia, who is now the director of the Legal Studies Program. Law and society at UW is in the hands of a new generation, and I'm eager to see what direction it takes in the years to come.

As a native Wisconsinite, it has been hard to witness how Governor Walker and his legislative allies have failed to appreciate the value the UW and its employees provide to the state. In 2011, Walker did away with nearly all public sector collective bargaining. This undid the ability of the Teaching Assistants' Association to represent graduate students in wage and benefit negotiations with the UW. Yet if anything, it made the TAA even more vigorous and organized in its campaigning. As I write this in early 2015, Walker is asking to cut $300 million from the UW System budget. (He even tried to use the budget bill to delete "the search for truth" from the UW mission statement; when this was revealed, he claimed it was a "drafting error.") There is a sense around campus that such drastic budget cuts, if they come to pass—and there are some assembly Republicans who see them as too extreme—would make it harder to recruit and retain top faculty, students, and staff. But I have some faith that it will take more than just an ideologically-driven governor with presidential ambitions to undo the UW's standing as one of the country's great research universities.

CHAPTER 3

Undergraduate Education

As in nearly all major universities, the teaching of undergraduate students is one of the chief functions of the faculty. Though they may devote more of their time to working with graduate students or doing research, most faculty at Wisconsin are also expected to teach undergraduate courses. The bulk of the students are in freshman and sophomore courses, but more specialized subjects are taught at the junior and senior level and are open to graduate students as well.

The University of Wisconsin is officially a state university, but that does not mean that the state provides the bulk of the university's funds. The 2014-15 operating budget of the University of Wisconsin System includes almost $1.18 billion in General Purpose Revenue (GPR) provided by the state government, largely on the basis of an enrollment funding formula, but that constitutes only 19.3 percent of the total university budget. Student tuition provides another 22.1 percent, and gifts, grants, contracts, and Federal indirect cost reimbursements provide 43.0 percent. For the UW-Madison campus state funding amounts to only 16.7 percent of the total budget (Simmons & Hall, 2015). Most of the budget is allocated for specific purposes, and only GPR and tuition fees are flexible. In practice this has meant that the number of full time equivalent (FTE) faculty can generally be increased only when student enrollment is increasing and the enrollment funding formula provides additional revenue. In the 1960s and 1970s undergraduate enrollment was expanding rapidly as the "baby boomer" generation reached college age, and the Department of Sociology was able to add many additional FTE positions. By the 1980s the enrollment boom was over, and there has been little or no growth in FTE positions since that time. Tuition increases can also fund faculty increases, but they have barely been able to keep up with other costs, and the Legislature enacted a four-year tuition freeze for the 2013-2015 and 2015-2017 biennial budgets.

Promoting Growth

In the 1960s the sociology faculty were quite aware that the opportunity for the department to grow was linked to increases in student enrollment in

sociology courses. There was some ambivalence about growth at first, and I worried about class sizes becoming too large. Before coming to Wisconsin I had rarely been in classes either as a student or a professor with more than thirty students. I did not know then that there have always been some very large sociology classes at Wisconsin, even in the 1920s and 1930s. However, Edgar Borgatta and several other faculty were strong advocates for adding as many new sociologists to the faculty as possible. I too became a convert, because it became clear to me that there was a methodological revolution taking place in sociology, and the most effective way to remake the department to become an innovative leader in the field was to hire a large number of the brightest young scholars who were on the cutting edge of the discipline.

We began to look for ways to make our sociology courses more attractive to undergraduates. A key change involved the restructuring of our freshman and sophomore level course curriculum. Introductory sociology courses are notoriously boring the way they are usually taught, and the emphasis on concepts rather than on research findings tends to turn off freshmen. We moved the principles course up to the sophomore level and started teaching more substantive courses with a broader appeal at the freshman level, such as Marriage and the Family, Contemporary American Society, Social Problems, Criminal Justice in America, Problems of American Racial and Ethnic Minorities, and more recently Sociology of Gender, Introduction to Community and Environmental Sociology, and Human Sexuality. Enrollments in freshman sociology courses increased greatly, and this helped to justify an increase in faculty size. These freshman courses were primarily filled with students who were not sociology majors and who were seeking general education or elective courses, but they also served as recruiting grounds for undergraduate majors in sociology.

Concentration in Analysis and Research

In 1982 the Department of Sociology initiated a special program in which sociology majors could earn a certificate in "Concentration in Analysis and Research" (CAR). It was intended to provide technical training to prepare students for a career in applied research. We believed that the opportunity to acquire certification in this area would attract excellent students with quantitative interests to the field and aid them in finding jobs and pursuing their career goals in research. Diane Colasanto was the initial director and played the chief role in formulating the curriculum requirements, which were heavy on statistics and methods courses, but also included computer science, a research practicum, and an internship doing social research for a government, private, or university research agency. She gave the program a

strong focus on survey research methods. She left the university two years later, and subsequent directors have sought to encompass a broader range of research skills. Annemette Sørensen served as director for a brief period. Then Elizabeth Thompson became director in 1985 and continued in that capacity until 2004—a period of 20 years. In the spring of 2004 she had already moved to Sweden to become Professor of Demography at Stockholm University, but she taught the capstone seminar from afar, with assistance from Adam Gamoran and James Raymo. From 2004 to the present James Raymo has directed the program.



ELIZABETH THOMSON
(E. THOMSON)



JAMES RAYMO
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

CAR was originally intended to be a two-tier program, one for undergraduates and one for master's students in sociology. The graduate student part of the program never took off, and there were probably only two or three who participated in the first five years. After that it became strictly an undergraduate program. In recent years each CAR cohort has numbered about ten students, which is probably a little less than in the 1980s and 1990s. but it is a size that works very well given the level of intensity in the program.

For the internship CAR students are required to spend 15-20 hours a week doing skilled social research work, usually in the summer. Changes in labor laws in the early 1990s made it more difficult for local research firms to hire low-wage student workers, and since that time most students have taken internships with social research centers on campus—such as the Wisconsin Survey Center, the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, and the Applied Population Laboratory. Many of the CAR graduates single out their internship as the most valuable part of their training. For example, Sarah Bernhardt (2005) said that in her job at Forrester Research in Boston, her internship with the WLS prepared her well for her current tasks that include testing the computerized survey instrument, data cleaning, analysis, and transcribing responses. Justin Resnick (2005), who also interned at the

WLS, found a job as a research assistant at the Urban Institute in Washington, DC, and reported that in his work, "I have manipulated required data sets, performed analyses, and assisted in writing and dissemination. From the start, I used skills and techniques that I learned in the CAR program." The required research practicum provides a synthesis and polishing to the training experiences through the production of original research, including data preparation, analysis, and writing. Students also receive additional training with statistical software such as SAS and STATA. They are aided in career development with a resumé development workshop and a Q&A Panel with former CAR graduates. Many CAR graduates have found employment with former CAR graduates, and others have caught on with employers who have had good experiences with previous CAR graduates (Murphy, 2007).



OUTDOOR SOCIOLOGY CLASS ON A WARM FALL DAY IN MUIR WOODS, BESIDE THE WILLIAM H. SEWELL SOCIAL SCIENCES BUILDING
(R. MIDDLETON, 2014)

Sociology Enrollment Trends

The number of undergraduate sociology and rural sociology courses and student enrollments in the courses have increased substantially over the decades, though less so in the Department of Rural Sociology. The number of courses and student enrollments since 1999 are shown for the two departments in Table 15. Enrollment figures for the Department of Sociology are also shown for selected years between 1906 and 1935. There were only 169 total undergraduate enrollments in sociology courses in 1906-07, E. A. Ross' first year at Wisconsin. There was steady growth in the enrollments in undergraduate sociology courses between 1906 and 1935—a 15-fold increase. Enrollments continued to increase up to 2003, after which they have leveled

off at just a slightly lower point. Though the number of courses offered in Sociology declined from 46 to 39 between 2006 and 2012, there was hardly any decline in the number of students enrolled in the classes.

Table 15. Enrollments in Undergraduate Sociology Courses, 1906-2012

Year	Dept. of Sociology		Dept. of Comm. & Env. Soc./Rural Soc.	
	Number of courses	Students enrolled	Number of courses	Students enrolled
Fall, 2012	39	3104	17	315
Fall, 2006	46	3178	16	114
Fall, 2003	46	3216	14	138
Fall, 199	47	3111	11	118
1934-35		2508		
1930-31		2253		
1925-26		1228		
1920-21		995		
1915-16		800		
1910-11		360		
1906-07		169		

SOURCE: FOR 1999-2012, COURSE CREDITS BY DEPARTMENT, REGISTRAR, UW-MADISON; FOR 1906-1935, UW ARCHIVES 7/33-5 BOX 1, FOLDER G, 1936-1940.

After the Department of Rural Sociology changed its name to Community and Environmental Sociology and rewrote its statement of mission in 2009, there was apparently a substantial enrollment increase. With a broader appeal the number of undergraduate students registered in the department increased from 114 in 2006 to 315 in 2012. Some of the courses are cross-listed between the two departments, but the enrollment figures show which department the students chose for registration.

Undergraduate Sociology Majors

As the sociology faculty grew and the number of courses and student enrollments increased, the number of undergraduate majors in sociology also increased. In Table 16 the number of majors is shown for selected years between 1929 and 1938 and at ten-year intervals from 1953 to 2013. Sociology was a popular major in the 1930s, with the number of majors in sociology

and rural sociology reaching 226 in 1937-1938. The number declined in subsequent years, falling to 87 in sociology in 1953. This was partly due to the splitting off of social work, but probably also because of a real decline in popularity of the major during a period of economic growth and prosperity. By 1973 the number of majors finally exceeded the number in 1937-1938, reaching 244. The number of majors in Sociology increased by almost five times between 1953 and 2003, but there has been a 13 percent decline in the decade since then. The number of male majors doubled between 1963 and 2013, but female majors quadrupled between 1963 and 2003, though their numbers have declined 23 percent in the last decade.

Table 16. Undergraduate Majors, By Department and Gender, 1929-2013

Department and Year	Total	Males	Females
Sociology			
Fall, 2013	364	146	218
Fall, 2003	418	134	284
Fall, 1993	383*	127*	256*
Fall, 1983	220*	89*	131*
Fall, 1973	244	125	119
Fall, 1963	138	72	66
Fall, 1953	87		
1937-1938**	226		
1933-1934**	138		
1929-1930**	119		
Community & Environ Soc/Rur. Soc			
Fall, 2013	71	25	46
Fall, 2003	22	9	13
Fall, 1993	18*	12*	6*
Fall, 1983	33*	20*	13*
Fall, 1973	21	16	5
Fall, 1963	4	4	0
Fall, 1953	1		

*FTE **INCLUDES RURAL SOCIOLOGY MAJORS
SOURCE: FOR 1953-2013, ENROLLMENT REPORTS & STUDENT STATISTICS, REGISTRAR, UW-MADISON; FOR 1929-1939, UW ARCHIVES 7/33-5 BOX 1, FOLDER G, 1936-1940.

Rural Sociology always had only a small number of undergraduate majors, generally with more males than females, but after the department changed its name to Community and Environmental Sociology and broadened its mission statement, it began to attract more undergraduate majors. Between 2003 and 2013 the number of undergraduate majors jumped from 22 to 71.

Table 17. Sociology Undergraduate Majors, by Racial and Ethnic Status, Fall Semester, 1984-2013 (Unknown Excluded)

Department and Year	Whi Amer	Afr Amer	Hispan Amer	Asian Amer	Nat Amer	Inter-nat'l
Sociology						
2013	180	31	21	23	7	11
2003	302	20	12	12	5	4
1993*	323	19	16	13	2	12
1984*	229	7	4	2		3
Comm & Env Soc/ RurSoc						
2013	45	8	4	3	2	
2003	20	1				
1993*	50	3				1
1984*	20	3	2		1	

*FTE
SOURCE: SEMESTER ENROLLMENTS BY DIVERSITY, REGISTRAR, UW-MADISON

There were relatively few undergraduate majors from the principal minority groups in 1984—a total of only thirteen in Sociology and six in Rural Sociology for all groups. Each of the minorities was underrepresented relative to the Wisconsin and U.S. populations, and there was only one Native American and two Asian Americans in the two departments combined. (See Table 17.) There has been a substantial increase in minority majors in Sociology since then, with African Americans increasing by more than four times, Hispanic Americans by five times, Asian Americans by more than eleven times, and Native Americans increasing from none to seven. Majors from minority groups did not increase in Rural Sociology until it had a new name with a broader appeal. The numbers increased from one in 2003 to 17 in 2013.

The data in Table 18 show that the principal minorities are no longer underrepresented relative to their percentages in the 2010 Wisconsin population. African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans are more than proportionally represented, and Mexican Americans are almost proportionally represented. Relative to the 2010 U.S. population, each of the minorities is still underrepresented except for Native Americans. No doubt this is due to the fact that African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans represent smaller percentages of the Wisconsin population than in the nation as a whole.

Table 18. Percent of Sociology Undergraduate Majors from Minority Groups in 2013, by Department, Compared to Percent in 2010 Wisconsin & US Population

Minority Group	Sociology	Comm & Environ. Sociology	2010 Wiscon Population	2010 US Population
African American	8.5	11.3	6.3	12.6
Hispanic American	5.8	5.6	5.9	16.4
Asian American	6.3	4.2	2.3	4.8
Native American	1.9	2.8	1.0	1.1

Advising

With the rapid growth of undergraduate enrollments and the number of sociology majors in the 1960s, I became aware that our faculty advising system had broken down. It was clear to me that the students were not getting the advising that they needed. Some of the faculty were not eager to devote time to this task, and students were often reluctant to "bother" the faculty. I was convinced also that most of the faculty did not have adequate knowledge of the requirements for degrees and the manifold and constantly changing rules that governed undergraduate programs. I discussed the urgency of the problem with Dean Epstein and he readily agreed that there was a need for a salaried specialist to advise majors in the department.

Dean Epstein authorized me to offer a half-time advisor position to Joann Elder, who was an ideal candidate, given her training in sociology. Joann had received a B.A. in sociology from Oberlin College in 1951, and afterwards she and her husband Joe were granted two-year Oberlin fellowships to work in China. Political difficulties with the new Communist government in China,

however, necessitated a shift to the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu. They both taught English in a high school in Madurai for two years. For their master's degrees Joann gathered material to compare family patterns of adolescent girls in South India and the United States, and Joe did a study of caste in the Protestant churches of Madurai. After another year at Oberlin, Joe entered the sociology doctoral program at Harvard. Continuing his interest in India, Joe did field work in a village in Uttar Pradesh in India for his dissertation. Joann accompanied him with their two children, ages two and four, and they lived in a tent in the village for eighteen months. After Joe accepted a position at the University of Wisconsin, Joann taught sociology at the university first as a teaching assistant, then as a lecturer and an instructor.

Joe Elder was on leave at Wesleyan University in the spring of 1966 but I wrote to Joann and offered her a part-time position as an academic advisor in the Department of Sociology. The salary was not great but was the standard for that type of academic staff position at the time. Happily, she accepted our offer and began advising in the fall of 1966. Students loved her and flocked to her office. It immediately became apparent that this was really a full-time job. She was working full-time for half-time pay, so the next year the dean permitted us to make it officially a full-time academic staff position. At the time we started I believe there were only two other academic advisors—in Psychology and Social Work. Political Science quickly followed our lead, and still other departments soon added an advisor position. Joann served as Undergraduate Advisor for the next 30 years and did a wonderful job, transforming one of our greatest weaknesses into one of our greatest strengths. She helped to make Sociology an even more attractive major for undergraduates, leading to still greater numbers of majors.

Joann assembled an extensive library of books and pamphlets about jobs and careers and about graduate programs that her advisees could consult. She not only spent endless hours meeting with and advising students about requirements, course selections, and career and graduate study possibilities, but she took the initiative to carry out surveys of former students in the program. She wanted to find out which courses were particularly useful to the students, the various sources they used for advice and help, and the actual jobs they got after graduation. I was not surprised that the surveys showed that 80 percent had sought advice on courses for careers from her, as compared with 49 percent from faculty members, and less than 14 percent from the Career Advising and Placement Office or the Faculty Advising Service. She also led all other sources in the satisfaction rating by students.

When Joe and Joann Elder first arrived in Madison the university still had nepotism rules that prevented spouses from having tenure track faculty appointments in the same department. She could have gone back to graduate school and earned a PhD but did not do so, since she would not have

been able to have a regular faculty position in the Wisconsin Department of Sociology. Nepotism policies of this type were finally outlawed for universities by Executive Order 11246 in 1972. I believe though that Joann may have made a greater contribution to our department and to our students as Advisor than she would have if she had taught as a regular faculty member. Her equally great contribution to the university was as the principal leader in organizing the Academic Staff to win a share in governance in the university—a story that is detailed in Chapter 5, vol. 2.



JOANN F. ELDER
(JOANN ELDER)



ELLEN M. JACOBSON
(*WISCONSIN UPDATE*)

After Joann Elder's retirement in 1995, she was succeeded in the position of Undergraduate Academic Advisor to sociology majors by another exceptional person—Ellen M. Jacobson. She had earned a graduate degree in English at the University of California-San Diego. She first worked as an academic advisor at UW Madison's Department of Communication Arts, but shifted over to Sociology after Joann Elder retired. Jacobson has served for some twenty years as Sociology's undergraduate academic advisor with the same fierce dedication to the students that Joann showed. She has advised an estimated 4,000 students during her tenure, and she is much beloved. She says that her position is "more than a job. It's an honor to help these students find their way through the major and the liberal arts, and to keep in touch with them as they grow in their careers and lives." Matthew Minami, a 2008 graduate, said, "I have known Ellen for nearly 11 years. During that time, our relationship has evolved from advisor to mentor to a dear friend and constant supporter. In fact, I owe much of my academic success to Ellen." Aaron Anderson, a 2005 graduate and member of the Sociology Board of Visitors, said,

> Like many other students, I hadn't given much thought to a career path. I waltzed into Ellen's office expecting to be quickly shuffled in and out,

> receiving not much more than a course checklist. Over the next two years I met with Ellen numerous times for her guidance, career expertise, and even just kind words of support after a rough week. Ten years later, I can trace my path back to my conversations in Ellen's office. She was a coach, a mentor and a supporter that brought nurturing and expertise to every interaction. Her office was a sanctuary, and she knew everything about the department and UW-Madison ("Ellen Jacobson," 2015).

"Grade Inflation" and Academic Standards

Educational traditionalists have long bemoaned what they see as declining standards and rigor in American higher education—a phenomenon that they usually refer to as "grade inflation." As early as 1894 a Committee on Raising the Standard at Harvard issued a report that discussed the issue:

> Grades A and B are sometimes given too readily—Grade A for work of no very high merit, and Grade B for work not far above mediocrity. . . . One of the chief obstacles to raising the standards of the degree is the readiness with which insincere students gain passable grades by sham work (quoted in Kohn, 2002).

In spite of this early concern, Harvard went on to become the "poster child" for "grade inflation" at the end of the twentieth century. When a story in the *Boston Globe* revealed that more than half of Harvard's grades in 2000-2001 were A's and A-minuses and 91 percent of the undergraduate students graduated with honors, there was a public outcry. The *Globe* also reported that Yale, Princeton, and other Ivy League and nationally ranked universities had much lower percentages of honors graduates. An embarrassed Dean of Undergraduate Education instructed the faculty to explain their grading practices in writing and justify the grades that they had been giving, with a short ten-week deadline. The right to assign grades without outside interference is one of the most cherished prerogatives of American professors, and Larry Summers, the new President, and the deans realized that they could only direct departments to study the issue and seek changes in practices through persuasion. The requirement to justify grading practices, however, showed an unprecedented level of concern (Healy, 2001). The "jawboning" had little lasting effect, and in 2013 the *Harvard Crimson* quoted the Dean of Undergraduate Instruction's admission that the median undergraduate grade at Harvard was now an A-, and the most frequently given grade was an A (Strauss, 2013).

Other universities have also attempted to curb what they see as "grade inflation." In 2004 the Princeton faculty agreed to adopt a common grading

standard, under which A's (A+, A, A-) should account for less than 35 percent of the grades in undergraduate courses and 55 percent of the grades for junior and senior independent work—levels that would have seemed scandalously high in the early 1960s. The dean of the undergraduate college cautioned that this was not a hard cut-off and denied that no more than 35 percent of students in each course could receive an A if additional students truly deserved A's. The expectation though was that ". . . on average, across the University, about 35% of undergraduate students will be doing course work of the highest quality, and 55% will be doing independent work of the highest quality." A Faculty Committee on Grading was established to monitor the distribution of grades and to provide data to each department for "discussion"—obviously to generate peer pressure to conform. The new policy had considerable success its first year, reducing the percentage of A's in undergraduate classes from 46 to 41 percent. The humanities had the biggest drop, from 56 percent to 46 percent. The natural sciences remained essentially the same at 36 percent. A's for junior and senior year independent work and theses fell only slightly to 58 or 59 percent. The targets were not reached, but the administration was encouraged at first (Aronauer, 2005).

The next year Wellesley also adopted an anti-grade-inflation policy, specifying that grades in courses at the introductory and intermediate levels with at least ten students should not exceed a GPA of 3.33 or a B+ level. If a professor believed he had an unusually meritorious class, he might write a letter to the administration justifying the awarding of grades above the 3.33 cap. Actually, GPAs in the science departments and economics were already below the 3.33 level, so the new policy applied only to the humanities and the rest of the social sciences. A recent study by Butcher *et al.* (2014) found that the GPA in courses in capped departments was generally reduced to the target level, though there has been a little recent backsliding. Fewer high grades were given, which reduced grade compression at the top, but there was not an increase in low grades. Students were unhappy with the policy, and there were some unintended negative consequences. The capped departments showed a decline in the number of majors and also a decline in enrollments in their courses. Also in student course evaluations the students in courses in the capped departments gave more negative ratings of their professors than they had prior to the initiation of the policy.

Most students at Princeton also were quite unhappy with Princeton's anti-grade-inflation policy, believing that it placed them at a disadvantage in competing for jobs, special awards, and admission to graduate and professional schools. Some of the Princeton students even set up a website (http://www.gradedeflation.com) that converted Princeton GPAs into Harvard GPAs, presumably by standardizing the scores. For example, it claimed that a 3.40 average at Princeton was equivalent to 3.56 at Harvard—enough

to raise a B+ to an A- (Jaschik, 2014). Princeton officials did studies purporting to show that this was not the case, but the undergraduates were largely unconvinced.

A recent experimental study by researchers at Berkeley suggests that the Princeton students may have been right to be skeptical. Swift *et al.* (2013) set up a laboratory experiment in which 23 members of the admissions staff at a selective university participated. They were told to select students from a group of nine hypothetical students for admission to an MBA program. They were told that all nine students had graduated from colleges of similar quality and selectivity. They were given two pieces of information, the student's own GPA and the grading distribution of the college, and each was manipulated at three levels. ANOVA results showed that the student's GPA had a strong main effect on admittance, but the grading distribution of the college had an equally strong main effect. The students from schools with lower grading norms were admitted 12 percent of the time and those from schools with higher average grades were admitted 72 percent of the time, even though the nine students' own GPAs were the same in both types of schools. The admissions officers were unable or unwilling to take into account differences in grading policies in evaluating the performance of applicants. Hence, the strategy that many colleges with anti-grade-inflation policies adopted of attaching information to the transcript about the grade distributions of the college or the average grade in each class the student has taken is of questionable value.

By 2013 the original President and Dean who had presided over Princeton's adoption of the anti-inflation policy were gone, and a new President, Christopher L. Eisbruger, took office. Concerned about widespread student dissatisfaction with the grading policy, he soon appointed a faculty committee of nine, including one sociologist, Robert Wuthnow, to review the policy and make recommendations. In August, 2014, it issued its report and recommendations, with the endorsement of the President ("Report of the Ad Hoc Committee," 2014). It carried out several surveys that confirmed the unhappiness of Princeton students with the grading policy. Some 59 percent said that the grading policy had a negative or strongly negative effect on their overall academic experience at Princeton, and 82 percent believed they had been denied an A grade that they deserved because of the grading policy. When students questioned a professor about the reason why they had received a non-A grade, 62 percent had been told that the grading policy prevented them from giving more A grades.

The report quoted a number of negative comments by students, some of which "revealed poor behavior on the part of the faculty," according to the report. Examples:

- I received a 91 on a midterm exam in a [particular department] course this past fall (my concentration), but the 91 was scratched out and replaced with an 88. When I asked my professor why he reduced my score, he told me that normally the paper would be an A-, but due to grade deflation, he was forced to lower several students' grades to a B+.
- On the first day of classes, my [language] teacher said that only 3 of us in a class of 11 would receive A's. This often means that despite receiving an overall grade of 90+ a student cannot receive an A-grade because some other student got a 91 or 92.
- Because of grade deflation it has been extremely hard to find any kind of collaborative environment in any department and class I have taken at Princeton. Often even good friends of mine would refuse to explain simple concepts that I might have not understood in class for fear that I would do better than them. I have also heard from others about students actively sabotaging other student's grades by giving them the wrong notes or telling them wrong information. Classes here often feel like shark tanks. If I had known about this I very probably would have not attended Princeton despite it being a wonderful university otherwise.
- I had to drop being Pre-Med here because the grades I was getting in the sciences were too low. I was getting low grades not because I didn't understand the material, but because the curve was getting messed up by kids who were advanced in chemistry and taking Intro to Chem and getting 100's on the exams. Now my parents have to help me pay for a post-bac program so that I can take the sciences elsewhere post-graduation because Princeton didn't allow me to take the necessary next step to realizing my dream by giving me unfair grades in the sciences. My sister went to [a peer institution] and was pre-med there, and even though I have been consistently better than her grade wise growing up, she was able to receive A's in all the science courses and attend a top medical school. I don't even know if I have a shot at [that medical school] because of Princeton.
- I earned a college scholarship at the end of high school. To keep the scholarship, I had to maintain a 3.4 GPA throughout college. I did not have a 3.4 my first semester due to grade deflation in large introduction classes and lost my scholarship. Also many internships have 3.5 or 3.6 GPA cutoffs. They don't care what school you go to or that Princeton has grade deflation. Your application isn't considered if you don't make the cutoff ("Report of the Ad Hoc Committee," 2014, pp. 11-12).

The faculty committee did not concede that the grading policy had any measureable negative impact on the competitiveness of Princeton students for admission to graduate or professional schools, or for postgraduate fellowships or employment. It did conclude, however, that there was a need for change, because Princeton's grading policy had a strong negative effect psychologically on the students and created an unfortunate student atmosphere. It recommended the removal of a specific numeric target of no more than 35 percent *As* in order to eliminate the perception that there was a firm and inflexible quota of high grades. It also suggested that there should be improved methods of giving evaluative feedback to students, but with less emphasis on grades. The President referred the report to a standing faculty committee on examinations, with instructions to report to the faculty for possible action. Though the committee's report had been somewhat equivocal, two months later in October, 2014, the Princeton faculty voted to terminate the grade deflation policy immediately. The policy had lasted only ten years. Princeton's decision probably makes it less likely that other universities will undertake a similar experiment.

The only case I know of in which direct formal sanctions were taken against professors for grading too leniently occurred at Point Park University, a private university in Pittsburgh, which had 3200 students, 81 full-time professors, and 260 adjuncts. In 2003 college officials attempted to curb "grade inflation" by reducing the merit awards of six professors from $2000 to $1000, because they gave A's to more than 50 percent of their students and in some cases up to 70 or 80 percent. The President reviewed each case and approved the reductions. The faculty reacted with outrage at this intrusion into faculty prerogatives and regarded it as an afront to academic freedom. The president of the Faculty Assembly charged, "If 10 students give me $100 each to give them an A, that's corruption. But if the administration takes $1,000 away from me for giving them an A, that's corruption as well." The actions of the administration spurred unionization efforts at the university (Smallwood, 2004; Schackner, 2004). The faculty did vote to be represented by the Communication Workers of America, but the university challenged the election, arguing that faculty were "managers" in a private institution and thus ineligible for union representation. The legal issue has not yet been settled, but in 2014 the adjunct faculty voted in an NLRB election to be represented by the Adjunct Faculty Association, affiliated with the United Steel Workers. Adjuncts are clearly not "managers," and the university appears to be prepared to bargain with their union.

Some universities have taken a much softer approach to dealing with "grade inflation" by adding contextual information to transcripts—for example, the median grade in a class or the percent of A's in a class. This approach has been adopted by Dartmouth, Columbia, Indiana University,

Cornell, the University of North Carolina, and Eastern Kentucky, and is being considered by UC-Berkeley. So far the universities that have started publishing contextual grade information on transcripts have not seen a decline in student grades. Stuart Rojstaczer has commented, "I can't think of a single institution where contextual information has caused a reduction in the number of As. So will it have a real impact on grades? I wouldn't bet on it" (quoted in Lederman, 2011). Contextual information will, perhaps, help prospective employers and graduate admission officers interpret grades on transcripts more knowledgeably, but it may also encourage some faculty to feel absolved of the responsibility to make hard decisions in grading, in effect telling others "I gave this student an A, but then I give most students A's, so it's your problem if you take my evaluation at face value."

Grading standards and "grade inflation" have always been controversial. There are disagreements over the definition and nature of "grade inflation," the question of whether or not it is a serious problem, and whether or not it is actually occurring. Those who question whether "grade inflation" has been taking place, however, are usually looking at only a portion of the long-term trajectory, which has generally been on the rise from 1960 to 2008, but which saw a decline between about 1974 and 1984.

Rojstaczer and Healy have assembled the most extensive data on letter grades for over 200 four-year colleges and universities, ranging from 1940 to 2008. UW-Madison is included in their database. The data were collected from a great variety of different sources, and there are different numbers of institutions at different periods, but 135 contemporary institutions with a total enrollment of 1.5 million students agreed to provide data for the recent period. Though the data for the different periods are probably of uneven quality, the overall trends are also visible for the 14 schools for which they have mostly continuous data from the 1960s to the 2000s. They found that grading practices were largely constant until the 1960s. The most common grade in 1960 was a C, just as it had been in the 1940s and 1950s, and D's and F's together were more common than A's. During the 1960s A's and B's began to rise sharply, with B's becoming the most common grade in 1965 and A's surpassing C's in 1971 to become the second most common grade. D's and F's also became much less common during this period. This period of rising grades was followed by a decade-long period of declining GPA s between 1974 and 1984. Then the rise in the number of A's resumed, and A became the most common grade after 1999. In 2008 A's were three times more common than they were in 1960 (Rojstaczer and Healy, 2012, pp. 5-6)

Of course, the changes in grade distributions cannot be attributed just to changes in grading standards, for there are many other factors that also may be involved, including changes in the composition of the college student population. Much research has been devoted to trying to determine how

much grade distributions have been affected by such factors as students' socioeconomic status, gender, race, region, test scores, majors, study habits, and attendance at public or private colleges. For example, grades tend to be substantially higher in private elite universities than in public colleges and universities, and schools in the South tend to have somewhat lower grades. The complexity of the issue, however, leaves much room for disagreement over how much the increase in grades is due to changing grading standards or to other causes.

In the 1960s and before there were two basic philosophies of grading. Probably the largest number of professors across the country used a modified form of "grading on the normal curve." I always found the notion that a highly select group like university students should be distributed according to the bell-shaped normal curve very questionable. On traits such as ability, motivation, and knowledge, the curve should be skewed substantially to the right. Even if students were distributed on the normal curve on subject knowledge at the beginning of a course, by the end of the course, if the teaching is any good at all, it should be skewed to the right. If the teacher gives as many F's as A's and as many D's as B's, I would consider it an indication of either a failure in teaching or gross unfairness in grading (cf. Kohn, 2002). Logically, there can be no "grade inflation" with grading on the curve, since the students are merely competing with each other, and they are not evaluated in terms of their mastery of the subject. In fact, most professors who employed curve grading actually "adjusted" their curves and did not give as many F's as A's, though they did fail students more commonly from 1940 to 1960 than they did in later decades.

The second approach to grading is to try to assess the degree to which a student has mastered the subject matter of a course. The grade is dependent on the teacher's arbitrary judgment of what a student should know and thus can be highly variable. Professors unsophisticated about testing sometimes adopt rigid percentages of correct answers to determine grades—e.g., 90-100, A; 80-89, B; 70-79, C; etc. Since examinations can vary in their level of difficulty, this approach is effective only if the teacher is consistent in constructing examinations of similar difficulty and through experience knows that specific levels of scores on his exams correspond to the levels of subject mastery he expects. Grading according to a fixed standard of excellence tends to be more flexible and adaptable, particularly for nonquantitative subjects that rely heavily on essay exams and term papers. Thus, humanities courses have been more likely to utilize this approach to grading, whereas quantitative courses have more often used curve-based grading.

The rising grades of the 1960s and early 1970s are usually attributed to the effect of the military draft during the Vietnam War. Most college professors were opposed to the war and many were reluctant to give low

or failing grades to male students, fearing that it might cause them to lose their college deferments. The rising grades went far beyond simply reducing F's and D's, however. As Rojstaczer and Healy commented, "Professors, in their generous grading during the Vietnam era, were doing more than simply keeping students from being removed from school; increasingly, they were abandoning traditional bell-shaped, curve-based grading altogether and were grading as if students produced work that was almost always good to excellent in quality" (Rojstaczer and Healy, 2012, p. 12). There was also a kind of anti-establishment, counter-cultural sentiment that affected young faculty as well as students during the 1960s, and that may have had some influence.

When I arrived at the University of Wisconsin in 1963 I believe that C was the most common grade that most of my colleagues and I assigned to students in our freshman and sophomore classes, and A's probably did not exceed 15 or 20 percent. Messages from the dean's office periodically admonished us to maintain proper standards in grading. After Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy started increasing military support for the South Vietnamese regime, opposition to the Vietnam War increased among my colleagues—and in fact most college faculties. The draft had been in continuous existence since 1940, but when the United States became even more deeply involved in Vietnam under President Johnson, the numbers of young men drafted greatly increased. Student demonstrations broke out on the Madison campus and on other campuses across the country. I believe it is true that faculty members strongly opposed to the war were less likely to give failing grades that might threaten further college deferments. One or two of my colleagues sometimes gave A's to all the students in some of their classes—an action that was easily spotted in the dean's office and viewed with disapproval.

Michael A. Faia, a promising young assistant professor who joined the department in 1967 raised protest to a new level the following summer. He announced to his sociology colleagues that he would henceforth refuse to give any grades at all in his classes. He wrote a 39-page pamphlet entitled "Dunce Caps, Hickory Sticks, and Public Evaluation" explaining his position, and it was published and circulated on the Madison campus by the Teaching Assistant Association, the Wisconsin Sociology Students Association, and several other disciplinary student associations. His action was apparently triggered by the tightening of student deferment rules by Selective Service in 1967, but his broadside was actually more of an attack on the nature of grades themselves, on "academic authoritarianism," and on the basic nature of American higher education:

> First, the responsibility for making public evaluations of students, especially grades, confers on me the power to exert a profound and lasting influence, potentially negative, on the life chances of many students. Second, such power, now exercised by teachers at virtually all levels of American education, is demonstrably incompatible with the creation of healthy learning environments. . . . In my view, public evaluation should be made only with the mutual consent of individual professors and individual students. Finally, my professional commitments and responsibilities are such that I feel compelled to announce unilaterally that I am no longer willing deliberately to exercise any potentially negative power over the life chances of my students, and that I consider the imposition of any such responsibility to be an affront to my academic freedom and to that of my students (Faia, 1968, p. 3).

He did refuse to turn in any grades for his students at the end of the fall semester in 1968. This greatly angered the students in his classes, who feared they would not receive credit for the courses, and the dean was inundated with calls from angry parents who pointed out that they had paid tuition so that their sons and daughters would earn credits toward their degrees. Neither did the refusal to assign grades endear Faia to most of his colleagues, who generally felt the protest was misdirected and harmful to the students. After all, if a student failed to receive credit for a course because there was no grade, it would have the same effect with regard to the draft as receiving an F. The dean tossed the problem back into the lap of the department to find a resolution, and in the end some colleagues stepped in, administered new exams, and assigned grades—something that they were used to doing when a colleague was ill or disabled. Faia remained at Wisconsin until 1970, when he went to the College of William and Mary as an Associate Professor. Throughout his career there he has remained a fierce critic of American higher education and has written numerous satiric pieces attacking the academic establishment. Many are quite entertaining.

The draft ended in 1973 and the last American troops were evacuated from Vietnam in 1975. Perhaps it was these two events that ushered in a decade of declining college grades, but grades resumed their climb upward around 1984 except for a slight downturn around 1988. Many possible explanations have been offered for the continued rise, but two are most often advanced. Some suggest that professors believe that other teachers and other schools are giving higher grades, and they begin to grade more generously too so that their own students will not be disadvantaged in competing for jobs or positions in graduate and professional schools. The other principal view is that the growing use and publication of student course evaluations has led professors to grade more leniently for fear that strict grading will

invite student retaliation in the form of negative evaluations. In 1973 only 26 percent of liberal arts colleges had student course evaluations; by 1993 86 percent did (Seldin, 1993, p. A40). In 1998 about 88 percent "always used" systematic student ratings in evaluating teaching performance (Seldin, 1999, p. 14). There are more than twenty studies that have found that strict graders tend to be rated lower than more generous graders, but a smaller number have not found a relationship. Three studies have used experimental designs and found a causal relationship between generous grading and high ratings (Ellis *et al.*, 2003, p. 35). It hardly matters whether it is actually true, though, if the professor believes it to be true. Numerous studies show that teachers and administrators widely share the belief that easy graders tend to be rated more highly by students (*Ibid.*, p. 36).

A recent survey of 9000 college faculty by the AAUP shows a growing disenchantment with the validity and usefulness of student course evaluations (Flaherty, 2015a). The fear of receiving poor teaching evaluations from students may play a role in rising grades, but it is certainly not the only reason. More fundamentally, I believe that most teachers simply find issuing low and failing grades highly distasteful. It goes against their basic inclination to help students in positive ways, and they do not relish having to confront angry students or comfort and reassure disappointed ones. There are clearly incentives for professors to issue more A's, and there are, for the most part, few disincentives and an absence of regulation or sanctions.

In 1997 the University of Wisconsin was invited to contribute data to a study of undergraduate grades being conducted by a statistics professor at Duke University. He was working on an analytical method to adjust student grade point averages to take into account whether students enrolled in easy or difficult courses. UW-Madison declined to participate, regarding the study as too costly for too little benefit. During the 1998-1999 academic year, however, the Provost, John D. Wiley (before he became Chancellor in 2001) convened a series of meetings with the campus deans and the University Academic Planning Council to study trends and variations in grading at the university. Bruce Beck in the Office of Budget, Planning and Analysis, did a study of student grades from 1990 to 1998 and found that undergraduate grade point averages had gone up slightly but steadily from 2.90 to 3.11 during the nine years. ACT scores had also increased from 24.9 to 26.3, but only about a third of the GPA increase could be accounted for by increased academic preparation (Beck, 1999, p. 5). He found considerable differences in the grades of different departments and schools. Generally, the highest grades were issued by the humanities and the professional schools in Nursing, Education, and Business. For example, in Fall, 1998, in Curriculum and Instruction 66.4 percent of undergraduates received A's, and by Fall, 2013, 69.5 percent received A's. Mean GPA increased from 3.894 to 3.932. In Nursing the figures were only a little

lower. In 1998 59.8 percent received A's, and the percent went down to 53.7 in 2013, but the mean GPA still rose from 3.687 to 3.800.

The lowest grades in the 2008 study were in mathematics and the natural sciences. In mathematics 18.3 percent of the undergraduates received A's in 1998 and the percentage went up only to 23.1 in 2013. The corresponding figures for geology and geophysics were 17.9 and 27.1 percent. The social sciences were mostly at intermediate levels, though economics and psychology were similar to the natural sciences in severity of grading. The mean GPA for Sociology in 1998 was in the middle of the distribution, in the same vicinity as Political Science, Anthropology, and, surprisingly, Chemistry. There was considerable variation even within fields, however. The Academic Planning Committee was concerned to find that there were substantial variations in grade distributions even among different sections in multisection courses. There were even cases of instructors teaching different sections of the same course in the same semester who assigned grades in quite different distributions. The committee did not like to think that a student's grade might be determined in part by "the luck of the draw." Beck's paper was presented at the Fall Conference of the Association for Institutional Research in the Upper Midwest.

As an outgrowth of this self-study Lester F. Hunt secured a grant from the Wisconsin Association of Scholars to organize a conference on "Grade Inflation and Academic Standards" on Oct. 11, 2003, at the Pyle Conference Center on the Madison campus. Hunt is a Wisconsin Professor of Philosophy who describes himself on his website as an "individualist, libertarian, and agonistic." He is a strong opponent of the use of most forms of student evaluations of professors but supports faculty evaluations of professors. Nine scholars from around the country presented papers on various aspects of the topic, and afterwards Hunt edited a book containing versions of the presentations and an afterword by himself (Hunt, 2008). The authors represented many sharply contrasting views and disagreed on whether there was a problem with regard to changing academic standards or what the nature of the problem was. They all agreed that the term "grade inflation" is a misleading metaphor that obfuscates the issue, though some of them continued to employ the term. Most agreed with Hunt that "there is at present no received, orthodox view of what the purpose or function of grading is: to inform students, to motivate students, to inform prospective employers and admissions committees, to weed out those who are not learning, or some other purpose" (Hunt, 2008, p. 202). Though some of the authors see the issue as a real problem for colleges and universities, my impression is that most, like college professors at large, are little exercised over the issue and feel little sense of urgency to do something about the rising grades.

As Hunt points out, the elevation of grades over the years has not come

about from a conscious reasoned decision by particular units in the universities that it would be a good thing educationally to increase high grades and reduce low and failing grades. So why has it happened? Hunt speculates that it is due to a fundamental flaw in the system, the requirement that one person carry out two radically different functions, teaching and grading, which are in some sense in conflict. He is not referring to the type of feedback that teachers provide to their students to assist them in their learning. This is not grading but an essential part of teaching. Grading involves hierarchical boundaries and the policing of the boundaries of these categories. He believes that some people do not mind being judges or border guards and are skillful at it, but he does not believe most teachers are comfortable fulfilling this function:

> But I don't think that graders would like to be teachers, nor that teachers would like to be graders. Teaching is one of "the helping professions." We become teachers because we want to help people to grow, and not because we want to put them in their place—which is the point of any sort of grading. A teacher does not police limits, rather they help you to violate them. Try to imagine Socrates grading Phaedrus. Isn't the very idea absurd? . . . Suffice it to say that a true teacher will always to some extent detest the necessity of grading, while true graders (people who are born to guard boundaries) will to some extent despise teaching, the helping spirit behind it, and the need for encouragement and help to which it ministers (Hunt, 2008, p. 211).

Thus, in the absence of external pressure, teachers have a tendency to give more and more generous grades, particularly if they are in such "helping professions" as education and nursing. In Hunt's words there is some echo of the same sentiments expressed by Mike Faia in his 1968 jeremiad, but Hunt does not go so far as rejecting grading entirely. When he writes of "the necessity of grading" I am not sure whether he means that assortative grading is an inherent and indispensable function of universities or only that it is something almost universally required in the current framework of higher education. In any case, it is not something that a professor can easily avoid. Hunt believes that teachers try to avoid strict grading less because of any principled objection than simply because they find it unpleasant and distasteful. They do not necessarily reject the notion that students should be sorted into higher and lower categories of achievement; they just do not like making negative judgments themselves about some of their students.

The question remains, do the rising grades matter? Do they make a difference, and are they a serious problem? Educational traditionalists like Rojstaczer and Healy say yes: "Evaluation has become so flawed that

employers, graduate schools, and professional schools that try to use grades to identify outstanding prospects are likely often engaging in a futile exercise" (Rojstaczer and Healy ,2012, p. 18). Hunt also remarks, I believe regretfully, that grades are no longer of much use in selecting those persons who will teach our children. I am not sure though that a very high GPA is the most important quality to look for in a prospective teacher of children, and the same may be true for a great many other types of jobs.

Certainly stellar grades no longer make exceptional students stand out as they once did. I know of a student who graduated in three years from a "third tier" institution, in 1951 with a straight-A record—a feat that was so unusual at most colleges in those days that he advanced to the regional finals of the Rhodes Scholar and Marshall Scholar competitions before losing out to students from more prestigious Eastern universities. He later won a full scholarship to Oxford. Today ultra-high grades are not exceptional, and such grades alone will not get a student inside the door competing for the highest prizes. To be successful at the highest level a student must have a truly amazing record of other accomplishments as well. High grades are simply taken for granted. That is not such a bad thing.

The notion that grades have lost their signaling ability to provide information about student ability and effort because of "grade inflation" has been challenged by Pattinson, Grodsky, and Muller (2013). (Grodsky, an educatonal sociologist, received his PhD in the Wisconsin Sociology Department and is now a tenured colleague.) They analyzed transcripts and survey data from four nationally representative samples of students who were expected to complete high school in 1972, 1982, 1992, and 2004. They argue that one should be concerned about changes in the distribution of grades only if they are related to things that grades are said to reflect, like student ability and effort, and predict educational attainment and occupational outcomes. For their samples they did not find that college grades had increased, but this may be due in part to the particular time periods they covered, including the 1974-1984 decade generally recognized as a time of declining grades. They found that in 4-year colleges the association of GPA with the completion of a baccalaureate degree increased in each cohort over time, though the pattern was less consistent for selective colleges. GPA was associated with the occupational prestige of the subject's most recent occupation and also with logged annual earnings, but the associations declined slightly over time. There was also a slight decline in the association with occupational prestige for selective colleges, but the association remained mostly stable for logged earnings. The declines were not statistically significant, though, so the authors concluded that there was little evidence that college grades have lost their signaling power. In their parting comments, they say,

> We fully support serious discussions about standards of grading and sympathize (even empathize) with concerns about the standards to which students are held. Perhaps educational institutions should award A's less readily and hold students to a higher standard. We do not, however, see any reason to believe that our grading standards are any different now than they were 40 years ago (Pattinson, Grodsky, and Muller, 2013, p. 264).

The relationships of grades to later occupational achievement and earnings are weak, however, and other factors may play a larger role. Even if there has been little recent change in the signaling function of grades for later occupational achievement and earnings, it is of little comfort to those who want to believe that college grades have a major practical effect on a young person's future career.

What I find most disturbing is that a great deal of research indicates that American undergraduate college and university students spend less time studying today than they did in the past. In the most thorough examination of the evidence, Babcock and Marks concluded that aggregate time spent studying by full-time college students declined from about 24 hours per week in 1961 to about 14 hours per week in 2004—a 42 percent drop:

> Declines were extremely broad-based and are not easily accounted for by framing effects or changes in the composition of students or schools. Study time fell for students from all demographic subgroups, within race, gender, ability, and family background, overall and within major, for students who worked in college and for those who did not, and the declines occurred at 4-year colleges of every type, size, degree structure, and level of selectivity (Babcock and Marks, 2008, p.1).

Why has study effort declined? Rojstaczer and Healy were quick to link the decline to the relaxation of grading standards: "When college students perceive that the average grade in a class will be an A, they do not try to excel. It is likely that the decline in student study hours, student engagement, and literacy are partly the result of diminished academic expectations" (Rojstaczer and Healy, 2012, p. 18). In a later paper Babcock also suggested a possible causal link with "grade inflation," though he cautioned that there may be other factors involved as well (Babcock, 2009). The growth of recreational activities available to college students, including television, the internet, extracurricular activities, frequent parties, and now social media no doubt help to lure students away from serious study. A slacker student lifestyle can perhaps be pursued more easily now without the likelihood of facing the sanctions of failing grades or academic probation.

Changing Grade Distributions in Wisconsin Sociology

After this long digression about "grade inflation" and changing academic standards, let us turn specifically to the grades in sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Undergraduate grades by department for the campus are now publicly available from the Registrar's Office only since 1996, and I have only my memory to support my belief that C grades were more common than any other in the 1960s. Since 1996 less than 10 percent of grades have been at the C level in both departments.

Table 19 displays the grades for Sociology and for Community and Environmental Sociology/Rural Sociology undergraduate courses for the beginning and ending years of available data, plus one intermediate year. Many of the courses are cross-listed between the two departments and may be taught by faculty from either department, but the students who appear in the table are registered in the department indicated. Most of the rise in grades for Sociology came long before 1996, but even since then there has been a small increase. The mean grade point rose from 3.124, a B level, to 3.263, a B+ level (according to the College Board's translation table). The percent of A's increased from 27.1 percent to 35.0 percent, and combined A and AB grades (GPA 3.5 & above) rose from 51.2 percent to almost 58.6 percent. In all periods the most common grade was A, and the median grade was AB. All grades of C and lower totaled 14.7 percent in 1996 and only 11.4 percent in 2013. Failing grades have almost disappeared, falling to 1.2 percent in 2013.

Table 19. Undergraduate Grades in Sociology, By Department, Fall Semester, 1996-2013

Grades	Sociology			Comm. and Environ. Soc. & Rural Sociology		
	2013	2004	1996	2013	2004	1996
A	35.0	28.9	27.1	41.7	33.9	46.7
AB	23.6	26.9	24.1	26.8	34.8	28.9
B	20.1	23.5	21.5	15.8	18.8	13.3
BC	8.8	9.9	11.8	8.9	5.4	6.7
C	7.6	6.6	9.4	3.7	1.8	0
D	2.5	1.7	3.3	1.1	0	2.2
F	1.2	1.2	1.4	0.7	0.9	2.2
S	0.1	0.9	0.6	0.2	2.7	0
U	0	0	0	0	0	0
GPA	3.263	3.236	3.124	3.379	3.447	3.437

SOURCE: COURSE GRADE DISTRIBUTION REPORT, REGISTRAR, UW-MADISON

Grades for Community and Environmental Sociology/Rural Sociology have been somewhat higher than those for Sociology in all three time periods, but its grades have not been rising steadily. The mean GPA showed a drop from 3.44 in 1996 to 3.38 in 2013, though both are in the B+ range. The percentage of A's also declined from 46.7 in 1996 to 41.7 in 2013 and was even lower in 2004. Combined A's and AB's constituted 75.6 percent of the grades in 1996 and 68.5 percent in 2013. As in Sociology, A was the most common grade in all three periods, and the median grade was AB each time. Less than 6 percent of the grades were at C or below in each period, and failing grades all but disappeared, falling to 0.7 percent in 2013. I believe that the shifting pattern of grades in Community and Environmental Sociology is more likely due to the near tripling of enrollment and the different composition of students since the department changed its name than it is to changes in grading standards.

The University of Wisconsin cannot suffer the same kind of embarrassment that Harvard faced when the news leaked out that 91 percent of its undergraduates graduated with honors, because Wisconsin's recognition programs are organized differently. All undergraduate students who have completed 60 or more credits at UW-Madison and have a cumulative grade point average that places them within the top 20 percent of their graduating class graduate "With Distinction." Students in the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences, the School of Human Ecology, and the School of Pharmacy in the top 5 percent of their graduating class may graduate "With Highest Distinction." There is also a much more rigorous Honors Program, that requires admission into an honors program and the completion of honors courses and other requirements. About 7.5 percent of students in the College of Letters and Science are in the L&S Honors Program, and there are also honors programs in several other colleges or schools within the university.

CHAPTER 4

Teaching and Service

Assuring Quality Teaching

In American higher education, the reputational ranking of a department is due primarily to the scholarly publications of the faculty, and the reward structure within the university reflects this priority. The University of Wisconsin is no different from other top universities in this respect, and publications generally have greater weight than outstanding teaching, academic service, and societal service in the determination of salaries, promotions, and special honors. Even a mediocre teacher can be promoted if his or her research and publications are strong. Really poor teachers are generally screened out in the recruitment and interview process for new assistant professors. Nearly all of them are quite good, even though many or most have had little experience or formal training in teaching methods before coming to their first full-time job. I can think of only one or two cases in the last fifty years in which poor teaching was the major factor in the nonretention of an assistant professor in the Sociology Department.

Even without many extrinsic rewards for teaching, most of the faculty in both sociology departments are very good teachers, and many are superb. The department also makes a considerable effort to improve the quality of teaching, primarily through peer review—that is, through classroom observation by a teaching faculty member. All assistant professors are required to have their teaching observed by a faculty member every semester. In their first two years the evaluation report does not go into the assistant professor's permanent file, but after two years a report each semester is added to the permanent file and becomes part of a dossier for tenure consideration. Graduate students in their first semester as a teaching assistant or as a lecturer are also required to be observed by a faculty member, generally their supervising professor for the course they are teaching or by the chair or someone designated by the chair. A written report does not go into the graduate student's department file, but the student may ask for a copy of the report. Tenured faculty are also strongly urged to have their teaching observed each semester in order to find ways in which they may improve their teaching performance. As former two-term chair Pamela Oliver expressed it,

> All of us need this, including experienced full professors. Although it makes us nervous to be observed by others, it is also very useful to get peer feedback on our classroom performance. And on the other side, it is very useful to observe others. I personally feel that I have always learned a lot about teaching by observing how other people do it. It is also to everyone's interest to have information about teaching quality beyond that appearing in student evaluations. . . . This is both to find clues for improving your teaching and to have alternate information in your record besides the student evaluations (Oliver, 2015).

Faculty peer review of teaching performance of instructors and assistant professors is required on an annual basis and preferably on a semester basis by all four Divisional Committees of the UW-Madison—Social Sciences (formerly Social Studies), Arts and Humanities, Biological Sciences, and Physical Sciences.

Though voluntary peer review of teaching of tenured faculty can be helpful in improving teaching performance, there was increasing political pressure to institute mandatory reviews of teaching of tenured faculty, with the possibility of dismissal of those who receive negative evaluations. This would obviously be a weakening of the principle of tenure and its ability to protect academic freedom—something that would apparently be welcomed by Republican leaders in the state legislature. Robin Vos, the Assembly Speaker, commented that tenure is more about job protection than about academic freedom: "It's this idea a tenured professor could decide they don't have to show up, or keep up with ideas in their field." Such cases are exceedingly rare, and the University of Wisconsin, and probably every other major university, already has provisions to dismiss tenured professors for cause. Currently the code specifies the following grounds for dismissal for cause: fraud or intentional misrepresentation of facts for personal benefit, gross abuse of authority or influence or willful and protracted violations of university rules or policies. In 2015 a UW-Madison ad hoc post-tenure review committee presented a proposal to the Faculty Senate calling for a mandatory review of tenured professors' performance at least once every five years, with repeat reviews for unsatisfactory performance. If a faculty member received three unsatisfactory reviews, his case would be referred to the provost for possible disciplinary action or dismissal. The proposal was strongly criticized as a concession in advance to the forces seeking to undermine tenure. Sociology professor Chad Goldberg argued, "Anyone who thinks having a lower standard will appease the forces coming after us—that they will leave us alone—I would bet everything I have that you are mistaken. They will not stop; it is too politically useful to have a scapegoat" (P. Schneider, 2015a, p. 20).

In the end the Board of Regents adopted a uniform policy on post-tenure review for the entire university system in Regent Policy Document 20-9. It specifies "Provision for review, at least once every five years, of each tenured faculty member's activities and performance." It goes on to state,

> Nothing in this policy shall be interpreted to alter or to infringe upon existing tenure rights, as set forth in UW System Board of Regents or UW System policies, nor shall this policy diminish the important guarantees of academic freedom. Specifically, this policy does not supersede administrative rules providing for termination for cause set forth in Chapter UWS 4 of the Wisconsin Administrative Code.

This rhetoric, however, does not hide the fact that tenure, which was once guaranteed by state law, has been weakened when placed under the authority of the Board of Regents.

What Is a Good Teacher?

For the most part formal teaching awards recognize exceptional performance as a lecturer and teacher in the classroom setting, and student ratings of teacher performance have played a prominent part in the award committee deliberations, at least since the 1970s. There is increasing criticism of the heavy weighting of student ratings, however, as it has become evident that such ratings are based on only a thin slice of a teacher's performance and may also be biased in favor of easy graders. As Cashin has commented, superior teaching involves much more than simply classroom performance:

> I suggest that there is a lot more to teaching than what students see in the classroom. As a result, we need more than student ratings data to accurately—and therefore fairly—evaluate teaching. We need information in seven areas: (1) Subject matter mastery, (2) Curriculum development, (3) Course design, (4) Delivery of instruction, (5) Assessment of learning, (6) Availability to students, (7) Administrative requirements. Most students know next to nothing about the first three, and perhaps the last (Cashin, 1999, pp. 26-27).

To his list I would add several more qualities, including one-to-one mentoring outside the classroom—giving positive encouragement and offering helpful suggestions to students while letting them maintain their independence. Another important function is the building of institutions and facilities that enhance the learning opportunities of students. Both of these are very important in a graduate program with a strong research component.

The best teachers are not content to recycle basically the same lectures every year but are constantly revising their courses to improve them and keep them on the cutting edge of research in the field. A superior teacher also provides thoughtful feedback and constructive criticism on papers that students submit and refrains from making harsh and demoralizing criticisms. Finally, a good teacher is always ready to write honest, thoughtful, and supportive letters of recommendation or offer career advice when asked.

Teaching, then, is a multifaceted and highly complex activity, and it defies easy evaluation. Professors vary in their particular strengths. Some with a flair for showmanship are very good at lecturing in an entertaining way to capture the attention of a large class of 100 or 200 students. Others are much better at teaching small groups of students and drawing them out through discussion and intense interaction. Still others are far better at one-to-one mentoring, particularly in supervising a student's thesis or dissertation research. How can we say that one type of teacher is better than another? Teachers have different skill sets and students also vary in their learning styles and vary in their responses to different types of teaching. An advantage of a large department is that it provides a better opportunity for students to find teachers to whom they respond well.

Some Gifted Teachers in Sociology

Some of the professors in the early days were renowned as lecturers—particularly Edward A. Ross, John L. Gillin, Kimball Young, Ralph Linton, and Howard P. Becker. C. J. Galpin, in Rural Sociology, was also an exceptional teacher and leader, creating a new field of rural sociology largely out of personal experience. John Kolb, also from Rural Sociology, was an outstanding classroom lecturer. Views of Hans H. Gerth were mixed, but he was greatly admired by many notable scholars, by many graduate students, and by undergraduates who were more sophisticated and could cope with his rambling style.

When John Useem wrote to his former graduate school classmates from the late 1930s to survey their remembrances of life as graduate students, he found that they regarded many of the faculty of that time as inspiring teachers, particularly Sam Stouffer, John Kolb, Kimball Young, Ralph Linton, Howard Becker, and Hans Gerth. But he said they were also "exasperating" teachers "because they would not let us get away with easy answers." They said that Kolb, Becker, and Young were "particularly insistent that we look beneath the surface of societal changes into the day to day behavior of human beings. While they did not claim to have answers, they did insist on confronting the hard questions about the value dimensions of social life" (Useem, 1977).



MARSHALL B. CLINARD
(UW ARCHIVES)

Marshall Barron Clinard followed in the tradition of John Gillin, teaching courses on criminology and deviant behavior, and attracted large numbers of students. He received a number of teaching awards and had seventeen PhD students. He was often the faculty member best-known to new graduate students just coming into the department because he had written so many textbooks in use in undergraduate courses elsewhere. One of his eleven books, *Sociology of Deviant Behavior*, first published in 1957, was in its 14th edition at the time of his death at the age of 98 in 2010 (*Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 6, 2010). He was an excellent teacher and made important contributions in his research, but he was often resentful that some of his colleagues gave his work less respect than it deserved—largely, I think, because of his boastfulness and lack of social sensitivity. I always had a warm friendship with him and was happy to listen patiently to hear him talk enthusiastically about his current projects and latest travels to the far corners of the earth. Alan Kerckhoff, a graduate student in the 1950s, wrote admiringly of the two new senior professors in the department—Clinard and Sewell—who arrived the same year and added new perspectives to the old guard. He said they "helped the poor graduate student hang onto a sense of stability amidst the sometimes swirling currents" (Kerckhoff, 1978). The "swirling currents" were primarily due to the conflicts between McCormick and Becker.

In recent decades a great many of the faculty have received teaching awards from their respective departments—too many to recount—and eleven have received campus-wide University Distinguished Teaching Awards since 1976. Howard S. Erlanger has been honored twice. (See Table 20.) Each was well deserved. Eight were at the rank of Professor and three were Assistant Professors at the time they received the awards. By the fall of 2016 only Erik Olin Wright and Ivan Ermakoff were still teaching at the university.

Table 20. University Distinguished Teaching Awards to Sociologists			
Recipient	**Rank When Awarded**	**Award**	**Year**
Ivan Ermakoff	Professor	Chancellor	2016
Cameron L. Macdonald	Asst. Prof.	Steiger	2012
Howard S. Erlanger	Professor	Underkofler	2004
Mitchell Duneier	Professor	Kiekhofer	2003
John D. DeLamater	Professor	Chancellor	2002
Gary D. Sandefur	Professor	Chancellor	2000
Erik Olin Wright	Professor	Chancellor	1998
Emily W. Kane	Asst. Prof.	Chancellor	1994
Howard S. Erlanger	Professor	Steiger	1993
Cora E. Marrett	Professor	Alumni Assoc.	1989
Charles N. Halaby	Asst. Prof.	Amoco	1978
Joseph W. Elder	Professor	Steiger	1976

I dare not venture into the quicksand of invidious comparisons of teaching brilliance, and I shall not attempt to name the best sociology teachers since the 1960s. I shall mention only a few of my personal favorites whom I think were or are outstanding, but other colleagues might have quite different selections. My list may appear somewhat unconventional because I consider a broader range of teaching skills than merely classroom performance. My failing to mention someone does not mean that the person is not an excellent teacher; it merely reveals my personal idiosyncracies and shows my limited knowledge, particularly knowledge of recent faculty who arrived after my retirement. In the years before my retirement faculty members did not often observe each other's classes or review their syllabuses and teaching materials, except perhaps in the case of an assistant professor being considered for promotion, so we did not have a firm basis for our opinions about who the best teachers were.

William H. Sewell and Edgar F. Borgatta played especially important roles in reorienting the Department of Sociology in a more quantitative direction. They each taught quantitative and methodology courses and mentored a large number of graduate students. Sewell had a strong influence in the Federal Government's creation of graduate training programs in sociology. Borgatta secured Federal training programs in demography and ecology and in sociological methodology, and these programs proved invaluable

in training our graduate students in the new methods that were coming into prominence. David Heise, Robert M. Hauser, and Gerald Marwell also later ran the methodology program even after Federal funding ran out.

The widespread stereotyping of the department as simply a quantitative, positivistic bastion, however, is badly mistaken. Many of the most gifted researchers and teachers have always been devoted to qualitative research and the "softer" more traditional methodologies. Some have a foot in both camps, selecting the method most appropriate for a given topic or employing multiple methods to attack a question—with "no holds barred."

Some of the young assistant professors who came in the 1960s were especially good teachers, even without having had much prior experience. I am thinking particularly of Joseph Elder, Robert Alford, Gerald Marwell, Nicholas Jay Demerath III, Michael T. Aiken, Jerald Hage, Maurice Zeitlin, and Eugene Havens.

I regarded Jerry Marwell as one of our finest teachers, though his loud, brash, outspoken manner alienated some who did not understand him. He also was impatient with graduate students whom he sometimes judged prematurely as "not graduate school material"—an opinion he would sometimes announce bluntly directly to the student. Otherwise, he had a friendly outgoing personality and an insatiable curiosity, so he needed to be around students and colleagues and spent much time roaming the halls to engage people in conversation. He knew everything that was going on. What made him such a good teacher is that he had a creative turn of mind and came up with original ideas, which were often surprising, even outlandish, and invariably stimulating. He was basically a contrarian, always looking for some way to challenge conventional wisdom. A conversation with him was thus always entertaining. He loved playing with ideas and testing them through interchanges with others. He was able to jolt students out of their conventional thinking and lead them to a deeper understanding of the issues involved in a question—an invaluable role for a teacher. But this constant questioning could alienate some students. Jerry had a deep love for the Wisconsin department and was utterly dedicated to his graduate students and colleagues there.

Bob Alford was a gifted graduate teacher and challenged students with a radical approach to issues. At Wisconsin Alford taught political sociology and seminars in social organization. His forte was in working with graduate students in very intense seminars. The social organization seminar which he co-taught with Mike Aiken was particularly demanding, with heavy reading assignments, required commentary papers that were mimeographed and distributed before each session, and intense discussions and debates of issues.

We tried to enliven our very large undergraduate class on Social

Problems by having Marwell and Demerath do some team teaching, with very good results. Bumpass and Sweet sometimes did team teaching of graduate students in demography, with intensive sessions wrestling with difficult research problems that arose in their own research. We could not do as much team teaching as we would have liked, though, for course credit arrangements were not flexible.

Hal Winsborough was the key institution-building figure for the demography and ecology program. He was not a flashy classroom lecturer and was best working with individuals or small groups of students, but probably no one in the department had a greater indirect influence on our graduate students. With the help of Karl Taeuber, James Sweet, Robert M. Hauser, Larry Bumpass, Glenn Fuguitt, David Featherman, Franklin Wilson, Rob Mare, and Betty Thompson, he transformed the moribund Center for Demography and Ecology into perhaps the nation's strongest demography program. It was soon the bellwether program of the department and had a great influence on the development of other department training programs. Winsborough was also primarily responsible for developing the computing facilities of the department, which was a contribution to the teaching function of the highest order.

James Sweet was also involved in institution-building through the founding of the Wisconsin Survey Center. Under his leadership the center developed into one of the leading university survey centers in the country and provided a real boost to the research programs of both faculty and graduate students. Following his retirement, Nora Cate Schaeffer has continued to provide outstanding leadership in developing the center's capabilities.

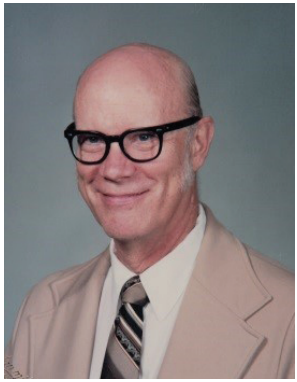
There were other important institution builders who made rich contributions to the teaching program. David Mechanic built an outstanding program in medical sociology and health services, funded by both the federal government and private foundations. Later James Greenley built an outstanding postdoctoral program in mental health. Harry Ball, Jack Ladinsky, and later Howard Erlanger organized the premier Law and Society Program in the country, linking sociologists with faculty in Law and Political Science. Joel Rogers and Wolfgang Streeck founded the COWS center that has continued to grow and give opportunities for students in the area of economic sociology. Their charisma and intellectual brilliance transformed a neglected area into one of the most important programs in the department. Diane Colasanto, Betty Thomson, and James Raymo developed an excellent research training program for undergraduate majors. Tom Heberlein and William Freudenburg developed the strong STARE program emphasizing environmental research, which helped to pave the way for a general reorientation from a Department of Rural Socoiology to a Department of Community and Environmental Sociology. Adam Gamoran was brilliant in transforming the

field of educational sociology, a largely neglected field at Wisconsin, into one of the strongest and most vibrant sections of the department. He was an outstanding teacher, and organizationally he brought a much closer relationship with the School of Education and its Wisconsin Center for Education Research. This has provided a large number of research opportunities for sociology graduate students.

Because of growing undergraduate enrollments in the 1960s and 1970s, the department had a number of very large classes. Fortunately, the department had some faculty who were very good at teaching large classes. Bert Adams was one of the most notable and regularly taught a large class in Marriage and the Family. As a young man he had passed up an excellent opportunity to pursue a career in opera to go to graduate school and become a sociologist. He had a flair for acting, and with his deep bass baritone voice, he had a commanding stage presence. He continued to teach the large classes throughout his career and was the heart and soul of our program in marriage and the family. He was also an enthusiastic teacher of sociological theory in smaller classes. A stint as a visiting professor at Makerere College in Kampala, led to a long-term involvement in teaching and research in Uganda and Kenya for his wife Diane and himself, where he was a very popular teacher.



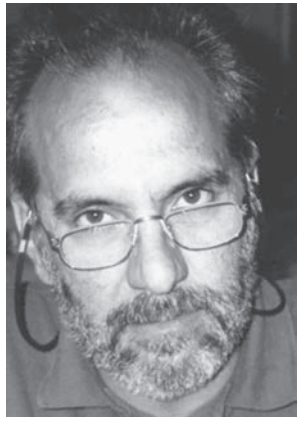
ADAM GAMORAN
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)



BERT ADAMS
(B. ADAMS)

Elaine C. Hatfield also started teaching a freshman level class on Human Sexuality that proved immensely popular and attracted hordes of students. After she moved to the University of Hawaii, John D. DeLamater took over the course, and he has been outstanding in teaching it, as well as courses in social psychology. He was the recipient of one of the University Distinguished Teaching Awards. Over the years he has developed a much fuller program in human sexuality, and the textbook on *Understanding Human Sexuality* that he and Janet Hyde have co-authored is now in its twelfth edition.

Charles Halaby's teaching was also recognized with a University Distinguished Teaching Award. What makes this remarkable is that a substantial part of his teaching was devoted to required statistics courses—a subject that many undergraduate and graduate students approach with fear and trepidation. Economics had a similar statistics course that was thoroughly hated by both faculty and students, and Glen Cain sometimes referred to it as "sadistics." Halaby, however, was able to lead students gently through the subject, clearly explaining things, and overcoming most of their fears. Mitchell D. Duneier was a highly personable young sociologist whose skills as an ethnographic researcher transferred easily to the classroom and enthralled students. Alice Goffman, one of our newer faculty and also an ethnographic researcher, appears to be cut from the same cloth. Cora E. Marrett, Emily W. Kane, Gary D. Sandefur, and Cameron L. Macdonald also received University Distinguished Teaching Awards, and they were thought to be outstanding classroom teachers by everyone in the department.



CHARLES HALABY
(C. HALABY)



MITCHELL D. DUNEIER
(CUNY GRADUATE CENTER)

There were some colleagues I regarded as master teachers, especially for their achievements in mentoring graduate students. I wish to mention particularly Robert M. Hauser and Erik Olin Wright. No one in the department was better as a one-on-one teacher than these two. Hauser came to be celebrated as one of the very top quantitative sociologists in the world, but I believe he should have been celebrated equally for his work in advising graduate students. He was not only immensely knowledgeable on how to bring the most powerful quantitative methods to bear on important questions, but he was always generous in sharing his knowledge with students—and also faculty—who needed his help. He was in great demand as an advisor for theses and dissertations, and between 1969 and 2009 he supervised 39 master's theses and 44 PhD dissertations. Many of his advisees were among

the brightest graduate students in the department, and they have gone on to distinguished careers.

Erik Olin Wright has been a truly exceptional teacher throughout his career—an all-star in every aspect of teaching. His beautifully organized and logically argued lectures are a model of clarity. His teaching was recognized with a University Distinguished Teaching Award in 1998. I have always been impressed with how much time he has devoted to his students—on top of a highly productive scholarly career. He routinely writes long and thoughtful comments on every student paper that is handed in to him, much like Bob Alford in an earlier time. He has so far supervised an astounding 60 PhD dissertations, with at least 9 or 10 more in progress—more than any other faculty member in the history of the department. He was also instrumental in founding the A. E. Havens Center in 1984. It has played an important role in the education of graduate students at Wisconsin ever since, amplifying Wright's influence and playing a vital independent role. Michael Burawoy, our former colleague, has praised his teaching in these words:

> . . . He is a superb teacher. I know no more lucid expounder of complex ideas, no one more open to exploring alternatives to his own views. He can be unsparing in pursuit of nonsense within sense, but is also adept at finding sense in nonsense. Legions of graduate students have passed through his courses on Marxist social science, theories of the state and economic sociology. Whether they agreed or disagreed with what he had to say, they received an unforgettable education in thinking, writing, and reading that they carried with them to universities all over the globe. For some students, Wright can be intimidating, but he can also be the gentlest, kindest, and most generous of teachers (Burawoy, 2011).

The teaching of Erik Wright and Joel Rogers was primarily directed toward graduate students in the beginning, but more recently they have been co-teaching an outstanding freshman course each year on "American Society: How It Really Works" giving undergraduates some exposure to two of the most brilliant teachers on the campus.

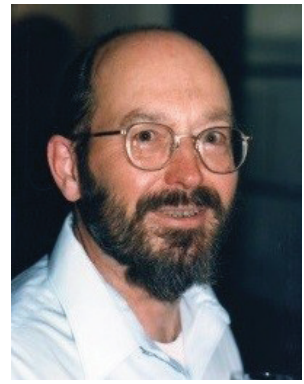
There were others I also thought were especially good as individual mentors, including Robert Mare, Alberto Palloni, Larry Bumpass, Jane Piliavin, Pamela Oliver, Jack Ladinsky, Douglas Maynard, and Warren Hagstrom. Hagstrom was soft-spoken and not noted as a classroom lecturer, but he had a keen intelligence and analytical ability as well as a playful spirit and a warmth that won the loyalty of his advisees. I sometimes told graduate students that if I were a graduate student, I would ask him to be my advisor.

Ivan Szelenyi, the eminent Hungarian sociologist, was induced by Michael Aiken to join the Wisconsin faculty for a few years in the 1980s. He

delighted graduate students and greatly bolstered the qualitative side of the department with his erudite European perspective on sociological issues. Later Wolfgang Streeck came from Germany to perform a similar role between 1987-1995. Streeck also worked with Joel Rogers to found COWS and get the economic sociology program off the ground.



JANE A. PILIAVIN
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)



WARREN O. HAGSTROM,
1985 (R. MIDDLETON)



IVAN SZELENYI
(R. MIDDLETON)



CHARLES CAMIC
(C. CAMIC)

Charles Camic followed Joe Elder as our principal teacher of the graduate theory courses, building an outstanding reputation. He was also much in demand as a dissertation advisor and committee member on a whole range of subjects outside the theory or history of theory areas. His deep familiarity with the sociological tradition and his keen analytical turn of mind made him unsurpassed as a reviewer of the work not only of his graduate students but also of the work of his colleagues. His reviews of the work of junior colleagues during Executive Committee deliberations concerning renewals and promotions were always detailed, insightful, and fair. His judgments carried

great weight. A conscientious and superb colleague! The tradition of excellent theory teachers has been ably carried forward by Mustafa Emirbayer.

Most of the faculty were eager to advise the best students and sometimes were reluctant to take on the more marginal ones, who generally required the devotion of much more time and effort for their supervision. I especially valued those faculty members who were generous in accepting these students. Joseph Elder, Eugene Wilkening, and Warren Hagstrom were especially notable in this regard. There was never a graduate student who was forced to leave the PhD program because no one would accept him or her as a dissertation advisee. Though working with marginal students was generally an institutionally thankless task, there were intrinsic rewards. It was especially gratifying when a student from a less developed country who had been ill prepared at the beginning of the program returned home and blossomed into an important leader and enjoyed an outstanding career. Such occurrences were not rare.

Maurice Zeitlin and Eugene Havens were both firebrands—articulate and dynamic lecturers who focused on the progressive political movements in Latin America and had a wide following among activist students in the 1960s and 1970s. Havens, though, believed that the key part of his job was to put together a monster packet of appropriate readings duplicated at a local copy shop and then let the students teach each other through discussion of the readings. I sat in on one of his courses that he held in the evenings and was so impressed that I adopted some of his methods in two or three of my courses.

Most of the faculty associated with the Sociology of Economic Change and Development program were also outstanding teachers. In addition to Eugene Havens and Joe Elder, who were founding members of the program, Stephen Bunker, Denis O'Hearn, Gay Seidman, Jane Collins, and Mara Loveman were particularly gifted as teachers. Their contributions are discussed in the section devoted to the program in Chapter 9, vol. 2.

Because assistant professors are under pressure to publish in order to get tenure, they are hesitant about taking on a great many different courses. New preparations always take a much greater amount of time. An extreme exception was Jerald Hage when he was a beginning assistant professor in the 1960s. He never wanted to teach the same course twice. He wanted to experience the joy of learning a new subject along with his students, and he felt that he was a more effective teacher when he was doing so. I tried to tell him that this was self-destructive behavior for a young faculty member trying to get tenure, but he was insistent, and he turned out to be brilliantly successful.

I cannot comment on most of the faculty who have joined the Sociology Department since my retirement, since I do not know them well, but I

have heard excellent reports about many of them, particularly Myra Marx Ferree, Chad Goldberg, Joan Fujimura, Alice Goffman, Jenna Nobles, and Ivan Ermakoff.

I want to conclude this impressionistic and unreliable section with one of the most remarkable teachers I have ever known—Joseph W. Elder—who taught in the Department of Sociology for 53 years. I am not at all objective about Joe, because we have a special affinity. We were born three months apart, and we both went to Quaker work camps right after high school—Joe to the impoverished Boothill Section of Missouri and I to a poor village in the state of Hidalgo in central Mexico. We were both greatly influenced by Quaker social activists—Joe enough to become a Quaker himself and me to register as a sociology major on my first day in college. Thus, we both found sociology early in our careers, and we both wrote our dissertations in what might be called the sociology of development before that was a recognized field in sociology. Neither of us was taken in by modernization theory when it became a hegemonic ideology a few years later, and we both remained highly critical of the activities of the Establishment development agencies throughout our careers.

Joe and his wife Joann both got master's degrees in sociology at Oberlin College, the alma mater of John R. Commons, and then Joe went to Harvard, where he studied with Talcott Parsons and served as an assistant to Sam Stouffer. Parsons was his advisor for his dissertation on "Industrialism in Hindu Society: A Case Study in Social Change." This was a study of the impact of a new sugar cane processing factory on an Indian village in Uttar Pradesh. Parsons hoped to add him to the faculty at Harvard when he finished his degree, but Bill Sewell beat him to the punch and recruited him to Wisconsin in 1961.

Joe, who had studied with Talcott Parsons, was a gifted teacher of sociological theory, and when I was chair I automatically penciled him in to teach the required graduate theory course. He also immediately began to play a major role in the university's new South Asian Studies program. He initiated three study abroad programs in India and one in Nepal that were open to all American college students—not just those at Wisconsin. The programs in India are still going strong and have been responsible for recruiting a large number of scholars into South Asian Studies. Joe had so many teaching commitments that he usually could find time to teach courses on theories of economic development and social change only in the summer, but he participated fully in the Sociology of Economic Change and Development graduate program, serving on prelim committees, supervising students, and helping with the training seminar.

Joe also produced more than twenty outstanding documentary films about South Asia that have been widely used in college classes around the

country. Joe's reputation as a teacher led to his becoming a mainstay in the Integrated Liberal Studies program as well as other special teaching programs in the university. He was a cofounder and is vice-chair of the Madison Institute, which was created in 1982 as a public policy study center. Its broad educational goals are indicated in its mission statement: "(1) to examine and discuss the problems of our time, with a view toward extending democratic principles and promoting social and economic justice; (2) to sponsor programs, such as discussion groups, lectures, panels, forums and symposiums; and (3) to collect, create, and disseminate information about public policy issues." (http://www.themadisoninstitute.org/)

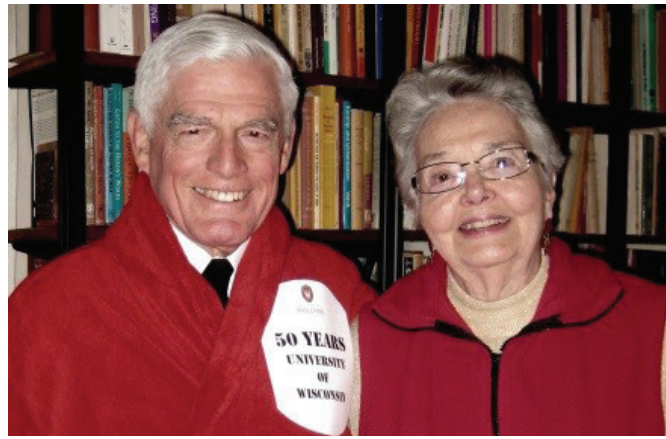
Joe has been a leader in the movement to end discrimination toward LGBT people, and helped to establish an LGBT Studies Certificate program in 2003. When no other faculty member came forward, he volunteered to teach a course himself on "Introduction to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies."

In addition to his many teaching duties, Joe served in many administrative posts: Chair of the Department of Indian Studies (1965-66), Director of the South Asian Language and Area Center (1965-66), Director of the Center for South Asia (1990-2002), and Faculty Coordinator for the College Year in India (1962-2012), the College Year in Nepal (1982-2005), and the Kerala Summer Performing and Liberal Arts Program (1994-2009).

At an age when most professors have long since been retired, he continued to work long hours each day and far into each night, seeing students and preparing for his manifold duties on- and off-campus. Joe was famous for appearing to doze off during seminar sessions, no doubt because of his shortage of sleep, but when he opened his eyes, students were startled to discover that he was quite aware of everything that had been going on.

In 2011 when Joe was 81 years old and still teaching, there was a large celebratory dinner recognizing his 50 years of teaching and service at the University of Wisconsin. The evening was filled with reminiscences by colleagues, administrators, and former students who showed a degree of love and admiration for him that is truly rare in academia. I pointed out that if Joe had retired at the normal retirement age 16 years earlier, his income no doubt would have gone up substantially each year. In effect he was "paying" the university or the state many thousands of dollars each year for the privilege of working about 60 hours a week for "nothing." That is a measure of his dedication! He finally retired in 2014 at the age of 83, still mentally sharp, articulate, and energetic. The UW Food Science Students in the Babcock Hall Dairy Plant created a special Joe Elderberry ice cream flavor to honor his 53 years of teaching and service at the university.

Some Gifted Teachers in Rural Sociology/Community &



JOSEPH W. ELDER AND JOANN ELDER, 2011
"FIFTY YEARS UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN" (J. ELDER)

Environmental Sociology

I am less familiar with the teaching of my colleagues in Rural Sociology/ Community and Environmental Sociology, particularly the younger ones, and cannot comment on their specific strengths as teachers, but I know that there have been many fine teachers in the department, in addition to Eugene Wilkening, Glenn Fuguitt, and Arch Haller, who were mainstays in their teaching program.

Bill Flinn taught in Rural Sociology at Wisconsin in the early part of his career and also spent time working on projects in Latin America. He was known as a gifted teacher, but we later lost him to Ohio State University, where he became renowned as one of that university's finest teachers and mentors.



WILLIAM FLINN, 1975
(UW ARCHIVES)



GARY P. GREEN
(G. GREEN)

Some of the other outstanding teachers have included Gene Summers, David Featherman, Tom Heberlein, Doris Slesinger, Marta Tienda, Jack Kloppenburg, Jess Gilbert, Bill Freudenberg, Fred Buttel, Gary Green, Leann Tigges, and Daniel Kleinman. Kleinman, after seventeen years at Wisconsin, just moved to Boston University in 2017 as Professor of Sociology and Associate Provost for Graduate Affairs. No doubt there are other excellent teachers as well, especially from recent years.



LEANN N. TIGGES
(L. TIGGES)



DANIEL KLEINMAN
(D. KLEINMAN)

An International Outlook

Another important emphasis of both sociology departments has been their international outlook. This has been a notable feature of both the undergraduate and graduate programs at the whole Madison campus. Between the Peace Corps' founding in 1961 and 2014, UW-Madison sent 3,112 volunteers to the Peace Corps, second only to UC-Berkeley with 3,576. It was the leading provider of volunteers between 2001 and 2006, and in 2014 regained its position as the top source with 213 former students serving overseas (Hill, 2014).

Joe Elder founded and administered study abroad programs in India and Nepal over a long period of years. When I wanted to start a College Year in Thailand Program, I enlisted Joe's help to model it after his successful programs. This program was also highly successful and continued for more than twenty-five years. Numerous departmental faculty have been involved in Latin American Studies, African Studies, East Asian Studies, Southeast Asian Studies, and European Studies. Archie O. Haller had a distinguished career doing research in Brazil and was active in attracting and educating many Brazilian graduate students.

Service

A great many of the faculty have made very significant service contributions—to the university, the discipline, and to society. Edward A. Ross, John L. Gillin, Howard P. Becker, William H. Sewell, and Erik Olin Wright served as presidents of the American Sociological Society or American Sociological Association while they were at Wisconsin. Kimball Young, Samuel A. Stouffer, Stanley Lieberson, Michael Burawoy, and Maureen Hallinan, who were former members of the department, also served as president later in their careers, as have some former Wisconsin students— John Milton Yinger, Alejandro Portes, William T. Bielby, and Arne L. Kalleberg. Norman B. Ryder and Gerald Marwell served as editors and Franklin Wilson and Charles Camic as co-editors of the *American Sociological Review*, the ASA's flagship journal. Others have served on numerous committees and boards of the ASA, as reviewers and advisers for government agencies, and as reviewers and board members for scholarly journals. Karl E. Taeuber was regarded as the nation's leading authority on residential racial segregation and was called on to testify as an expert witness in numerous court cases regarding school desegregation. David Featherman, after leaving Wisconsin, served as President of the Social Science Research Council from 1989 to 1995 and Director of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan from 1995 to 2005.

Robert M. Hauser has had a distinguished career of service through a number of academies and associations. He has been a member of the National Academy of Sciences since 1984. Membership in the Academy is one of the very highest honors in American science, for its members are tasked to write and review reports on important scientific issues to inform the decisions of policymakers with the best scientific evidence available. At the National Academy Hauser has been a co-editor or co-author of numerous such reports, including *Evaluation of the Voluntary National Tests; Longitudinal Surveys of Children; High Stakes: Testing for Tracking, Promotion and Graduation; Measuring Literacy; Conducting Biosocial Surveys; and High School Dropout, Graduation, and Completion Rates*: *Better Data, Better Measures, Better Decisions*. In 2011 Hauser, newly retired, was appointed Executive Director of the Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education of the National Academy of Sciences. Instead of just writing reports, he became responsible for the overall preparation of reports in the social and behavioral sciences. In the spring of 2017 he retired from this position and took a new job as Executive Secretary of the venerable American Philosophical Society, America's first learned society founded in 1743 by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia. The purpose of the society is to promote "useful knowledge in the sciences and humanities through excellence

in scholarly research, professional meetings, publications, library resources, and community outreach" It is a continuation of what Bob has been doing through most of his career.

William H. Sewell and Otis Dudley Duncan were members of the National Academy of Sciences prior to their deaths. Other retired or former Wisconsin sociology faculty members or former Wisconsin graduate students who are members of the NAS are David Mechanic, Ronald C. Kessler, Stanley Lieberson, Alejandro Portes, Larry Bumpass, Lawrence D. Bobo, Robert D. Mare, Sara S. McLanahan, and Yu Xie. The University of Wisconsin also awarded Linda H. Aiken an Honorary Doctor of Science degree in 1993 and Alejandro Portes an honorary Doctor of Science degree in 1998.

Joel Rogers has carved out a unique career combining scholarly activity, community, state, and national service, and political activism. Through the COWS center in particular he has initiated numerous projects to enable workers, businesses, and communities to work together to solve many of the problems they face.

Howard J. Newby, after serving as a Professor of Rural Sociology from 1980 to 1984, returned to England and served in a series of higher education administrative posts: Vice-Chancellor of the University of Southampton, Chairman of the Economic and Social Research Council, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the West of England, Chief Executive of the Higher Education Funding Council for England, President of Universities UK, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool. He received a CBE (Order of the British Empire) in 1995 for his service to social science and a knighthood in 2000 for his contributions to higher education. Sir Howard is the only Wisconsin sociologist ever to be knighted.

John Bascom was President of the University of Wisconsin from 1874 to 1887. Thomas C. McCormick was Chair of the Faculty Division of Social Sciences from 1947 to 1950. William H. Sewell was Chair of the Wisconsin Social Science Research Committee, and served as a member of more than two dozen national committees and councils pertaining to social science research, including chairing the Section on Social and Political Sciences at the National Academy of Sciences from 1981 to 1985. He was Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1967-1968 but resigned when he could not agree with some of the policies of the Board of Regents and the University Administration concerning the student demonstrations. Edgar F. Borgatta was Chair of the Faculty Division of Social Sciences from 1965 to 1968. Gary D. Sandefur served as Director of the American Indian Studies Program, then as Interim Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, and finally as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 2004 to 2013. Charles N. Halaby served as Associate Dean for the Social Sciences in the College of Arts and Sciences from 2002 to 2010. Twenty-five different

sociologists have served as chair of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology/Sociology and nineteen have chaired Rural Sociology/Community and Environmental Sociology. (See Tables 6 and 7.)

Joseph Elder served on the Board of Directors for the American Friends Service Committee. He was a leader in the anti-Vietnam War protests, and visited North Vietnam on behalf of the AFSC in 1969. His efforts to promote peace were not welcomed by the US government, and for years afterwards he was harassed by the Internal Revenue Service with annual—and unproductive—audits. In recent years he has been involved in various reconciliation programs to support the Vietnamese people in the vicinity of the My Lai massacre. He also made peace-keeping visits to other trouble spots, including India and Pakistan (1966), India (1975), Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India (1980), Afghanistan (1989), North and South Korea (1991), and repeated visits to Sri Lanka (1984-1996). He has served as well on the US National Commission for UNESCO and on the Board of Trustees of the International Committee for the Peace Council.

Joann Elder served as an elected member of the Board of Education of the Madison Metropolitan School District. James Sweet was an elected member of the Board of Education of the Verona Area School District for three terms between 1976 and 1985. He also served one term on the Verona City Council and on a number of other Boards and Committees in the City of Verona.

No graduate from the Wisconsin sociology PhD program has matched the high career achievements of Cora Bagley Marrett. After earning a bachelor's degree at Virginia Union University, she entered the Wisconsin graduate program in sociology and completed master's and PhD degrees. She was the first African American woman to complete a PhD in sociology at Wisconsin. She served as an instructor in the department in 1967-68, then taught at other universities for a few years. She returned to UW in 1974 as an associate professor and soon became a full professor, teaching in both Sociology and Afro-American Studies. She was one of the first three women to hold a tenured appointment in Sociology at Wisconsin. During her time at Wisconsin she served on the President's Commission to Investigate the Accident at Three Mile Island, which issued a report in 1979.

Marrett first went to the National Science Foundation from 1992 to 1996 to be the Assistant Director for Education and Human Resources, focusing on increasing US competence in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) education. She remained, at least formally, Professor of Sociology at UW-Madison until 1996, at which time she was appointed Senior Vice Chancellor and Provost at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. She returned again to the University of Wisconsin in 2001 when she was appointed as the UW System's chief academic officer—the Senior Vice

President for Academic Affairs. In 2007 she returned to NSF to head its programs in education and broadening participation. During the Obama administration she twice served as NSF's Acting Director of the $7 billion agency (June-October, 2010 and March 2013-March 2014). She served as Acting Deputy Director for two years between January 2009-January 2011. She has also been a Senior Advisor. In May, 2011, she was confirmed by the US Senate as Deputy Director of the NSF, and she continued in that position until her retirement in August, 2014. The Acting Director generally runs the day-to-day operations of the agency, with the Director managing interactions with Congressmen and the Administration.



CORA BAGLEY MARRETT
UW GRAD STUDENT DAYS
(C. MARRETT)



CORA BAGLEY MARRETT
UW PROFESSOR DAYS
(C. MARRETT)

When Cora Marrett retired from NSF in August, 2014, she received much praise from previous NSF directors. Neal Lane, the director during her first stint at NSF, said, "I cannot think of anyone who's done a better job of protecting the integrity of the agency and retaining the trust of the scientific community. And that trust is essential for the NSF to do its job." Arden Bement, the director between 2004 and 2010, who recommended her to his successor for the post of Deputy Director, also praised her: "She has performed magnificently, and I'm sorry that she's leaving. The deputy runs the agency internally, so that the director can focus on dealing with Congress, the White House and other executive agencies, and international issues." France A. Córdova, an astrophysicist, became the new head of NSF in 2014, making the first time that the top two positions at NSF were both held by women. She also praised her departing deputy: "Cora's unwavering support of NSF's mission and her stewardship in challenging times are widely appreciated. On a personal note, Cora's deep knowledge and insights were pivotal to my smooth transition to NSF Director. I cannot thank her enough for her advice and friendship" (Mervis, 2014).



CORA BAGLEY MARRETT—NSF DAYS (C. MARRETT)

In addition to her work at the National Science Foundation, Cora Marrett also served on several dozen study and review panels for the National Academy of Sciences. Overall, it was a record of service to the government and intellectual community almost without parallel.

At the Spring, 2017, graduation, Cora Marrett will be awarded an Honorary Doctor of Science Degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. On May 8, 2017, there will also be a Symposium on "Advancing Science for the Nation" in honor of Marrett at the Pyle Center, co-hosted by the Department of Sociology and the Holtz Center for Science and Technology Studies. In addition to Marrett, speakers at the Symposium will include Daniel Atkins, Fleming Crim, Adam Gamoran, Jo Handelsman, Robert Hauser, Michael Morgan, Thomas Peterson, and Edward Seidel. Gamoran and Hauser are former colleagues of Marrett in the UW-Madison Department of Sociology.

The sociology faculty have been dedicated to the "Wisconsin Idea"—providing service to the public beyond the halls of academe. A great many have contributed their time, energy, and expertise on behalf of municipal, state, and national agencies, as well as to a great variety of nongovernmental groups in civil society, both in the United States and abroad. I have mentioned only a few; it would be tedious to go into detail.

CHAPTER 5

Classified or University Staff and Academic Staff

The Personnel System

There was a growing concern about the operation of the spoils system in government in Wisconsin in the late nineteenth century even before the Progressive reforms inaugurated by Governor Robert M. La Follette, Sr. Politicians named political cronies and hangers-on to positions in state and city governments who were often inefficient, incompetent, lazy, corrupt—or all of these. Milwaukee adopted a merit system for its police and firefighters in 1885, and the Milwaukee civil service system was extended to other cities in Wisconsin in 1897. The legislature passed legislation forbidding bribery and other corrupt practices in state and local governments in 1895, but there was still no civil service system for state government. Civil service reform was not an immediate objective of Governor La Follette when he began his first term in 1901, for he needed all the patronage he could muster in his fight against the conservative Republican "stalwarts."

After La Follette triumphed over the "stalwarts" in 1904, however, he enlisted John R. Commons to help write a civil service bill. Commons prepared the bill, based largely on a law recently enacted in New York, and it was passed by the legislature in 1905 with little opposition. The new law specified a merit-based system based on competitive examinations for almost all state government jobs. The supporters of the reform used the slogan, "The Best Shall Serve the State." The law did not have a "grandfather clause" exempting incumbents from the examination requirement, but only a small number failed to get a passing score when examined. The law also had a veteran's preference clause, providing for an additional ten points to be added to a passing score for veterans of military service. This recognized the service of military veterans, but it also made it more difficult for women to compete with men for jobs, since most veterans were men. The law also provided for a new civil service commission that had unusually broad powers to implement and manage the system. Commons commented that the civil service reforms were very important for the implementation of other Progressive reforms:

> Without that law, and the protection which it gave to [La Follette] and succeeding governors in making appointments, [the new] administrative commissions would soon have broken down. . . . Their enactment depended on confidence, on the part of the strenuously conflicting economic interests, in the public officials to whom the administration of the law should be entrusted (Ranney, 1998, p. 27).

There was a division in the personnel systems of the state universities between the unclassified and classified staff. The new civil service law did not apply to the unclassified staff—faculty, academic staff, limited appointees, and student assistants, who had merit selection procedures of their own. It did cover classified staff, including secretarial, clerical, and maintenance workers, as well as some professional and highly skilled technical workers. The classified staff were part of the same personnel system that covered almost all state workers, and they were governed by the same rules and regulations. They were selected through competitive examinations and were subject to original and promotional probationary periods of six months. This was explicitly not a part of the university's personnel system.

Academic staff are persons with substantial professional qualifications, ordinarily with at least a bachelor's degree and commonly with an advanced degree, who perform highly skilled research, teaching, service, or administrative functions for the university but without faculty status. Examples illustrating the wide variety of academic staff positions are librarians, curators, artists, advisers, counselors, financial aid officers, admissions personnel, registration officials, computer experts, residence hall managers, program managers, cartographers, medical illustrators, engineers, attorneys, controllers, human relations officers, coaches and athletic officials, protective service workers, accountants, publications and media workers, lecturers, clinical professors, deans, scientists, physicians, and laboratory managers. (http://www.uwsa.edu/acss/asreps/brief.htm)

Some decades ago there were relatively few academic staff. As the university developed into a large, modern, research university with a complex research and graduate training program, there was a need for more and more academic staff. With increasing undergraduate enrollments, the university also began to use academic staff lecturers to teach about one-third of all student credit hours. The personnel system that developed had a kind of ad hoc character and was hardly a system at all. Today the academic and classified staff far outnumber the faculty in the University of Wisconsin System: 6072 academic staff, 5141 classified staff, and 2022 faculty. Between 1993 and 2003 the academic staff grew by 41 percent in the system, while faculty and classified staff numbers remained stable. Over half of the academic staff are

at the Madison campus, and less than half are paid from the general fund (http://www.uwsa.edu/acss/asreps/brief.htm).

In 1973 the Wisconsin State University System was merged with the University of Wisconsin campuses to create the current UW System. Prior to the merger the 1969 Laws and Regulations of the University of Wisconsin recognized two broad groupings of unclassified personnel—university faculty (professor, associate professor, assistant professor, and instructor) and academic staff (administrative staff; visiting and clinical staff; professional, scientific and specialist staff; and graduate assistants). The former State Universities System had a somewhat different system, dividing unclassified personnel into ranked and unranked faculty. The ranked faculty included instructors and those of professorial rank but also librarians with a master's degree. Administrative and professional positions with non-instructional duties were placed in the unranked faculty, although some of the positions were filled with ranked tenured faculty ("Unclassified Personnel Guideline #1," issued Jan. 15, 1976).

In both systems the line between instructional faculty and other unclassified staff was not strictly drawn, and both groups participated in faculty governance and served together on many of the administrative committees. The merger legislation in 1973 sought to rationalize the personnel systems and created a sharp division of the unclassified personnel into Faculty and Academic Staff, which included all the other types of unclassified staff. The classified staff were governed by the state civil service system, and their interests were represented by a union. The merger legislation explicitly granted shared governance to the faculty and students but omitted academic staff.

This may have been an inadvertent oversight, but it was real in its consequences. Academic staff members realized that they were no longer being appointed to governance committees, or they were asked to serve on them "informally" without official status. It was often difficult to find faculty willing to serve as chairs or members of these committees, and without the participation of academic staff, some committees began to meet only rarely, or not at all. In 1975 the Board of Regents also directed each chancellor to establish a campus committee to "advise the administration on policies and procedures for academic staff." A Madison Academic Staff Advisory Committee spent the next three years developing a set of policies and procedures for the academic staff (Tortorise, 2008).

Organizing the Academic Staff

When some of the academic staff realized in 1975 that they had been disenfranchised, that they were no longer receiving the same information as faculty, and that they were no longer able to serve on governance committees

as bonafide members, they were quite upset. Joann Elder, as Undergraduate Advisor in the Department of Sociology, worked with a wide network of academic staff in Student Personnel, in Placement, in the Dean's office, and elsewhere. Everywhere she went she saw highly talented people, highly educated, sometimes with PhDs, who were unhappy that they had no input into governance issues. They felt unappreciated and were frustrated that they had no avenue to try to improve their employment status and working conditions. They were particularly concerned about issues of job security, rigid maxima for salaries of Category A academic staff (the vast majority), and a nonsensical personnel system that labeled most persons simply as "Specialist" and divided people among faculty, academic staff, and classified staff categories in indefensible ways.

In a 2009 oral history interview Joann Elder recalled a chance meeting in front of the Social Sciences Building with a woman faculty member who was chair of the University Committee and presiding officer of the Faculty Senate. They started discussing some issue, and Joann remarked, "You know, I think the academic staff should be represented in governance." The look of horror on the woman's face is what goaded her into beginning a campaign to organize the academic staff to bring pressure to improve their situation. She realized that the Senate leader's reaction might be widely shared among the faculty if the faculty thought that the academic staff were seeking to tell the faculty what to do, so she and the other leaders of the movement for academic staff rights were always careful to specify that they sought input on issues affecting their own status without infringing on faculty rights. Actually the faculty were almost entirely unaware of the difficulties that the academic staff faced, and when they learned the facts, they were usually sympathetic to their cause (Joann Elder, 2009).

Many of the academic staff were fearful of losing their jobs if they were too outspoken in seeking change, since they had little or no job security, but Joann was successful in finding a small coterie of activists who were unafraid and eager to take action. Some of those who were most active in the early days were Ross Reinhold (Director of Employee Relations and Training, Center for Health Sciences), Karen A. Carlson (Communicative Disorders), Robert E. Miller (Assistant to the Dean of Education), Alasdair MacCormick (Asst. Clinical Professor of Opthalmology), Patricia Meller (scientist), Richard West (Engineering Library), Char Tortorice (Testing and Evaluation Services), and Ann Wallace (Sociology).

At first the group met around the Elders' dining room table to make plans. They did not try to organize a union for the academic staff, for that would not have been allowed by state law at the time. They were also aware that the Administration was strongly opposed to unions for the faculty and academic staff and that most of the academic staff had a middle class bias

against unions. Therefore, they decided they would form a professional organization, the Madison Academic Staff Association, that would represent the interests of the academic staff but that was explicitly not a labor union. They decided to start a newsletter, the *MASA News*, which was the only way to reach the large number of academic staff scattered throughout the campus. Joann Elder, Sally Tallman, and Ann Wallace were on the Newsletter Committee, and Ann diligently typed the mimeograph stencils for each issue. The first issue was sent out in March, 1976, announcing the formation of the Madison Academic Staff Association, with a modest $5 per year membership fee, which was hardly enough to pay for the cost of producing the newsletter. MASA pointed out that the faculty, students, and classified staff had avenues for the expression of their views, but the academic staff had no organized way to address their problems:

> We will be that independent organization and we will work for its interests specifically to promote professional recognition and advancement, encourage some kind of job security, and make sure due process is available when people are terminated, and lobby for a fair share of the budget resources for academic staff. Why do we exist? To provide a structure for the academic staff to discuss and focus on issues of importance to them, to make the views of academic staff known to faculty and administration (quoted by Joann Elder, "Oral History," 2009).

Joann Elder disavowed the title of founder or leader of MASA, but she was clearly the catalytic agent and was recognized as such by other members. When Char Tortorice was asked in an oral history interview why Joann had been such an effective leader, she said

> Well, first of all she's feisty. She is one of the most remarkable people you will ever meet. . . She has this side to her that is very adventuresome and Peace Corpsesque. . . . It's a mixture of being raised to serve and feistiness, seeing the worst in the worst and the best in the best, and she's a fighter, and she's out for justice. She is very active in Quaker work in the prisons. She is just looking after the underdog, and then she found herself an underdog, which I think she never expected. . . . You wanted to please her because you just knew she was putting her reputation on the line. She truly was an advocate. . . . She did not have any hesitation taking on the Chancellor or any faculty (Tortorice, 2008).

Tortorice also said that many of the academic staff, including other faculty wives who worked as academic advisors, were afraid to speak out, but Joann had the full support of her husband Joe, who was an influential

faculty member in the Sociology Department. No doubt Joann knew that the Sociology faculty and chairs would protect her from any sanctions that the administration might attempt to impose.

The experience of Ross Reinhold, MASA's first President in 1976-77, showed that fears of reprisal were not idle. Reinhold had eleven years of service at UW Madison and was a senior administrator in the Center for Health Sciences. Because of his expertise in employee relations, he was appointed to the Chancellor's Interim Committee, which was charged with recommending procedures for establishing the Academic Staff Advisory Committee. He discovered, however, that his position and his many contributions to the university did not provide him with job security. The MASA Steering Committee wrote in the *MASA News*,

> Unfortunately, certain persons in the university administration view MASA as a union and held the opinion that Ross, as MASA's president, was in a conflict-of-interest situation because of his position as Director of Employee Relations and Training for the Center for Health Sciences. He was strongly encouraged to resign from MASA. Ross contended that MASA is not a union and that his work within MASA was not affecting his ability to carry out his responsibilities as Director of Employee Relations ("Departure of Ross Reinhold," 1977, pp. 1-2).

Reinhold said that he was forced out of the university by the administration. He wanted to fight the action but found that he did not have sufficient written legal proof of those pressures that forced his resignation. This action against their President could have made MASA leaders more nervous about their own job security, but it did not deter them from continuing their organizing efforts.

The first issue of the *MASA News* announced a meeting for academic staff to meet candidates for the Madison Academic Staff Advisory Committee on March 31, 1976. When the Regents were drafting the rules for the Madison Academic Staff Advisory Committee their first draft called for all the representatives to be appointed by the Chancellor. A representative from MASA spoke at the Regents' meeting and asked that the academic staff be permitted to elect all the members. The Administration was opposed to this, fearing that the academic staff would not elect a "balanced" group that would support the Administration's positions. The Regents adopted a compromise, permitting the academic staff to elect seven representatives from six "districts" on the campus and the administration to appoint four.

MASA, and particularly Joann Elder, had a thorny relationship with Chancellor H. Edwin Young. Young had a background in labor economics and had been director of the School for Workers at one point in his career,

but he was strongly opposed to unionization of the academic staff. Joann Elder was viewed with suspicion in part because she was herself a member of United Faculty AFT. Young suspected that the MASA leaders were actually working to form a union, and he did what he could to thwart them. A *MASA News* issue addressed the issue of why the academic staff needed their own representation rather than relying on the benevolence of the Administration:

> Where do our interests differ from the Administration? The Administration and faculty's concern is flexibility, that is, when necessary how can cuts in personnel be made with a minimum amount of disturbance to the institution? It is in the nature of things that there be conflict between the desire of the Administration for flexibility and the desire of the professional staff for some stability (quoted by Joann Elder, "Oral History," 2009).

Joann Elder also wrote an article published in *The Capital Times*, in which she stated,

> We don't question the preeminence of the faculty in making policy. We object to having no voice at all. We are grateful to share faculty fringe benefits (like health care). We resent the paternal attitude that decisions are made for us, not with us. . . . Our advice is rarely sought and our rewards for doing good work are minimal (Joann Elder, 1976).

Prior to the election of representatives to the Advisory Committee, MASA went to work, persuading candidates to run for office, and informing the campus academic staff about the candidates. In the election six of the seven elective positions were won by staff who were active in MASA. Later, it became clear that the elected representatives were playing a very positive and responsible role, and in the mid-1980s all the representative positions were made elective.

Even though MASA gained a strong voice in the Advisory Committee, which spent the next three years formulating the rules and regulations governing the academic staff, the academic staff still did not have shared governance guaranteed by state law. Relations with the administration improved after Irving Shain, a chemist, succeed Young as Chancellor in 1977. Shain met with MASA leaders in January, 1978, and they were gratified that he showed concern about their problems. In particular, he agreed that it was unfortunate that 90 percent of the academic staff had meaningless titles of Specialist, and he indicated that he felt that there should be a much wider use of "indefinite" or continuing appointments rather than one-year

appointments and that there should be clear career ladders and proper pay scales. A MASA representative also spent three hours meeting with State Senator Fred Risser, who became a strong advocate for the academic staff in the legislature.

MASA continued to push for legal recognition of their governance rights, but year after year the legislature failed to act on bills sponsored by sympathetic legislators. Whenever it appeared that there were insufficient votes to pass an enabling bill, MASA would ask the sponsor to withdraw the bill, for fear that if it were ever defeated, it would never be considered again. MASA finally realized that most legislators had no idea what the academic staff was or the kinds of problems they faced, so they hired a lobbyist who knew his way around the legislature and who could explain matters to them.

Finally, after several years of futile efforts, a representative from Milwaukee called MASA and said that after a long, exhausting session battling over the budget, he believed he could attach the governance bill to the budget and it, like many other last-minute attachments, would sail through while fellow legislators were too tired to pay attention. MASA really wanted the lawmakers to act on the bill on the basis of its merits, but after years of frustration, they bowed to political reality and agreed to the stratagem. The bill enabling academic staff governance did pass and was approved by the governor (Tortorice, 2008).

On August 17, 1985, the Wisconsin Statutes were revised to include the academic staff: "The academic staff members of each institution, subject to the responsibilities and powers of the board, the president and the chancellor and faculty of the institution, shall be active participants in the immediate governance of and policy development for the institution" (Wis. Statutes, 36.09 (4m). After widespread consultations with the academic staff, two years later the Academic Staff Assembly, an institution parallel to the Faculty Senate, was established. MASA continued to exist as an independent professional organization, and in 1989 helped to found a lobbying organization, the Academic Staff Professionals Representation Organization (ASPRO), a not-for-profit professional organization to represent the interests of the academic staff to the Legislature, the Governor, the Board of Regents, and the public.

In 1985 the UW System also hired Hayes/Hill, a private compensation consulting firm, to develop a staff titling and compensation plan for academic staff. Over the years a great many jobs had come to be designated only as Specialist or Specialist-Academic Support, Specialist-Research Support or some other hyphenate. The Administration had earlier encouraged the use of the general term Specialist, believing that it provided for greater flexibility in personnel management. The system that Hayes/Hill devised had more descriptive job titles and specified promotional and salary ranges,

but it also specified salary maxima for each type of position at the insistence of the legislature. This caused some problems for UW-Madison, which tended to hire more highly skilled staff than the other campuses, and eventually a higher "distinguished" level was added, with a complex set of rules, to permit higher salaries (Wallace, 2009)

State law specified, "The board shall, with respect to academic staff, correct pay inequities based on gender or race" (Chap. 36:09(1)(k)(1). A decade before, Hayes/Hill had devised a similar compensation system for the Board of Regents of the State of Iowa. Originally they had placed most clerical workers and physical plant workers in the same job grade, but university administrators complained that they would be unable to hire enough physical plant workers at those wages. Hayes/Hill then raised the job grade for the physical plant workers. Two women at the University of Northern Iowa brought a class action gender discrimination suit against the university system. Even though there was an ample supply of physical plant workers available in the Iowa job market and even though there was no evidence presented that the universities had had difficulty in filling its openings, the courts ruled against the plaintiffs (Nelson and Bridges, 1999).

After the Hayes/Hill job classifications for academic staff were introduced in Wisconsin in 1987, members of the academic staff complained that the new system did not eliminate gender and minority pay inequities, as required by law. Chancellor Donna E. Shalala asked Robert M. Hauser of the Sociology Department to review the new academic staff title and compensation structure. Analyzing the Category A Academic Staff (non-instructional professional and administrative staff—the bulk of the Academic Staff), Robert and Tess Hauser found that there were pay inequities that could not be explained by differences in education, work experience, or the operation of an efficient free market. Gender alone accounted for a 13.7 percent deficit in women's salaries and minority status alone accounted for a 6.3 percent deficit in minority salaries (R. Hauser and T. Hauser, 1989, pp. I2-3). The Hauser & Hauser report led the university to take action to address the salary inequity issues.

The Quest for Further Reforms of the Personnel System

Academic staff positions generally required a higher level of professional qualifications and a greater degree of responsibility than classified staff positions, and they also received greater fringe benefits and avenues for advancement and salary increases. In fact, though, many of those in classified positions also performed highly skilled functions involving a great deal of responsibility, and the invidious distinctions between academic and classified staff often seemed arbitrary and unfair. We sometimes tried to get some

of our classified staff who were providing essentially professional services reclassified as academic staff, but it was extremely difficult to secure approval for such reclassifications in the state civil service system. The civil service rules were rigid and inflexible, and a long succession of Presidents and Chancellors complained that the rules designed for other state agencies were poorly adapted to the needs of institutions of higher education.

Finally, the state legislature responded to the University of Wisconsin's plea that it needed a more flexible personnel system because of the unique nature of higher education compared to other state agencies. It gave permission for the university to create a separate merit-based personnel system in Act 32 in the 2011-13 biennial budget. This action was not related to the controversial Act 10, which sharply limited the collective bargaining rights of government employees. A Human Relations Design Project Team was appointed for the university in the fall of 2011, and after widespread consultation in the campus community, it designed a plan for submission to the legislature for approval. The major proposed changes involved the classified staff. Under the plan they would be given a new title of University Staff, they would be hired through a new process tailored to the needs of the university, and a new grievance process would include principles of due process and just cause. There would be a higher minimum wage and additional compensation flexibility. Also many of the salaried staff who are exempt from the Fair Labor Standards Act would be given the option of moving to the academic staff (http://hrdesign.wisc.edu/news/hr-design-update-from-chancellor-david-ward).

The new Design Plan was originally scheduled to be implemented on July 1, 2013, but on May 23, 2013, the legislature's Joint Committee on Finance amended the Governor's bill to delay the implementation for two years until July 1, 2015. (http://hrdesign.wisc.edu). The fate of the Design Plan remained in doubt after conservative Republicans captured both the Wisconsin Senate and House in the fall of 2014. Then in January, 2015, Governor Walker rejected the Design Plan and announced a new plan in his 2015 budget to create a public authority out of the UW System that would be independent from the management of the legislature. The Republican Legislature, however, balked at Walker's plan to create an independent public authority. Republican legislators wanted to maintain legislative control over the university, particularly with regard to tuition increases. In the fallout surrounding the many political attacks on the UW System, however, the Human Relations Design Plan survived as specified in the 2011 and 2013 legislation, and the university did begin implementation of the plan on July 1, 2015. The UW-Madison personnel system is now separate from the state system as well as the UW-System's personnel structures. The new personnel system will affect the Classified Staff more than other positions,

since they are removed from the state civil service system, and they have been renamed University Staff. Every personnel category, however, will be affected by the new personnel policies. Full implementation will take place gradually after benchmarking studies are carried out regarding job title and compensation structures at peer institutions elsewhere. In announcing the implementation of the new Human Relations Design, Chancellor Rebecca Blank said, "The goals of HR Design are to design a 21st-century personnel system that will enable us to attract, develop and retain a workforce that has the right talent and is diverse, engaged and adaptable. This updated structure will help position UW-Madison to continue to be one of the world's great universities" (Blank, 2015c).

The Office of Human Resources at UW-Madison, in collaboration with the UW-System, is currently conducting a study of current job titles, compensation structures, and related labor market data for Academic Staff, Post-Degree Training Appointments, Limited Appointees, and University Staff. They will also study compensation structures for Faculty and all staff, plus compensation structures for graduate teaching, research, and program assistants. There are currently more than 1800 distinct job titles for the more than 30,000 employees in the System. Many of the job titles are redundant and do not accurately reflect the job duties and responsibilities. A rationalized system of market-informed job titles is essential for the creation of an efficient, fair, competitive, and sustainable personnel system ("Title and Total Compensation Study," University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2016?) In Feb., 2017, the university signed a letter of intent to hire Mercer Consulting to provide technical expertise in carrying out the title and compensation study. Mercer has a higher education unit that consults with some 390 colleges and university clients on developing and maintaining personnel policies to attract and retain faculty, staff, and administrators.

The Walker Administration also made changes in the personnel system for state employees. After 111 years of operation the state civil service system which had been established with the help of John R. Commons was terminated by the Republican legislature and Governor Walker in February, 2016. Though there was little or no evidence presented that state agencies had not hired the best people or that they failed to provide good service, and no systematic studies were conducted, the objective examination system was abandoned in favor of subjective resumé reviews that are vulnerable to favoritism, political bias, and corruption. An alarmed staff member in the State Division of Personnel Management wrote a memo warning that the new personnel system would "increase the number of qualified applicants inadvertently turned away and the number of unqualified applicants who inappropriately reach the interview stage. . . . Changes of such significance have never been made to the civil service system without being preceded

by a study" (Murphy, 2016). The memo was ignored and came to light only months later. The memo's author is no longer employed at the Division of Personnel Management.

Staff in Sociology and Rural/Community & Environmental Sociology

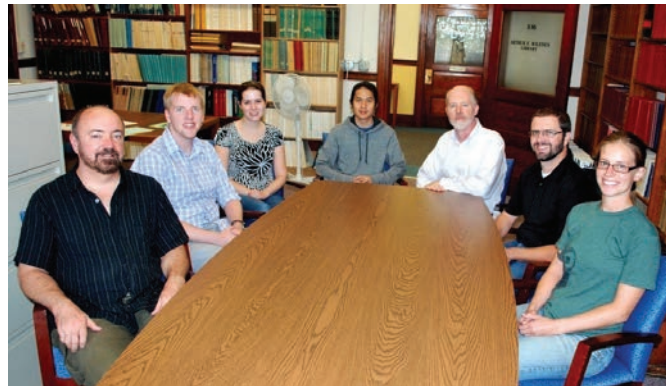
The many departmental administrators serving the two departments have been the unsung heroes of administration. They have gone by various titles over the years, but have always played a critical and underappreciated role in making the deparments run smoothly. They have until now been appointed as classified staff and thus have been part of the State Civil Service System. Thus, they have been burdened by inflexible job classification and salary structures that have caused the departments much frustration. Sociology was blessed with a number of dedicated administrators who worked in the department for long periods in its first six decades—Mildred H. Coleman, 16 years; Zenna C. Voegely, 29 years; and Mattie Morin, 18 years. Even since then, administrators have served from five to eight years. In Rural Sociology the first administrators also had long tenure—Josephine Kronenberg, 20 years; Leona B. Mader, 15 years; and Helen Silko, 7 years. Since that time there has been more rapid turnover. (See Table 21.)

Large numbers of academic staff and classified staff have also played an absolutely essential role in carrying out the missions of the departments. Rural Sociology and now Community and Environmental Sociology have always been smaller than Sociology and with fewer subunits. Hence, its number of staff has been much smaller. Currently university (classified) staff in Community and Environmental Sociology number only four, and these are partially shared with the Department of Landscape Architecture, also located in Agriculture Hall. There are seven Academic Staff, all attached to the Applied Population Laboratory.

Table 21. Departmental Administrators	
Department of Sociology & Anthropology	
Mildred H. Coleman	1929-1945
Emma B. Hartshorne	1945-1946
Zenna C. Voegely	1946-1958
Department of Sociology	
Zenna C. Voegely	1958-1975
Mattie Morin	1975-1993

Deanna T. Moore	1993-2000
Pat Whipple	2000-2008
Todd Anderson	2008-2013
Tina Hunter	2013-present
Department of Rural Sociology	
Josephine Kronenberg	1930-1950
Leona B. Mader	1950-1965
Helen Silko	1965-1972
Susan Ward	1972-1973
Bonnie Ortiz	1973-1975
Mary Miron	1975-1976
Elsie Benson	1976-1977
Bonnie Ortiz	1977-1978
Julie Antin	1978-1979
Marlene Skaife	1979-1995
Mary Ann Twist	1995-1997
Nancy Hilmanowski	1997-2005
Kari Straus	2005-2009
Department of Community and Environmental Sociology	
Kari Straus	2009-2011
Ken Scott	2011-present

SOURCE: STAFF DIRECTORIES, 1930-2005, UW ARCHIVES, AND DEPARTMENTAL RECORDS.



STAFF OF DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIOLOGY, SEPT., 2014 **(L TO R)** C&E STAFF: KEN SCOTT, DEPARTMENT ADMINISTRATOR; CARL DAUSCHMIDT, FINANCIAL SPECIALIST; MEGAN BANASZAK, STUDENT SERVICES; LEE DUONG, IT SUPPORT; APPLIED POPULATION LAB STAFF: DAVID EGAN-ROBERTSON, OUTREACH SPECIALIST; WILLIAM BUCKINGHAM, SCIENTIST; ROZALYNN KLAAS, RESEARCH SPECIALIST. APL AND OTHER STAFF NOT PRESENT: JAMES BEAUDOIN, SR., SARAH KEMP, ERIC DIECKMAN, DAVID LONG, RASHAUNA MEAD, SAI SURYANARAYANAN, DANIEL VEROFF (PHOTO BY R. MIDDLETON)

The Department of Sociology has a far larger staff. Only the current central office staff is shown in this picture:



SOCIOLOGY CENTRAL OFFICE STAFF, SEPT. 3, 2014
(L TO R) CHARLOTTE FRASCONA, GRADUATE ADVISOR; TED BABCOCK, UNDERGRADUATE COORDINATOR; TONI SCHULZE, FINANCIAL SPECIALIST & FACULTY SERVICES; PATRICK BRENZEL, FACULTY SERVICES; VICKI FUGATE, PAYROLL & BENEFITS SPECIALIST; DANA RASMUSSEN, ASSISTANT TO THE CHAIR; ELLEN JACOBSON, UNDERGRADUATE ADVISOR; TINA HUNTER, ACADEMIC DEPARTMENT MANAGER; ALICE JUSTICE, GRADUATE ADMISSIONS COORDINATOR (PHOTO BY R. MIDDLETON)

Zenna C. Voegely

The Department of Sociology and the Department of Community and Environmental Sociology have enjoyed the services of a long line of able Classified or University Staff and Academic Staff over the years—too many to name in detail, but I must mention at least a few of the more memorable ones—at least to me. Other faculty who had close working relationships with Academic and Classified or University Staff members might have a different set to recognize.

When I arrived in the Department of Sociology in 1963, the Department Administrator was Zenna C. Voegely (1906-1999). She had been in this position for many years past, long before the department moved into the new social sciences building in 1962. She ran an efficient, tight ship, and was very strict with the staff in the central office—all women—even insisting that they wear skirts to work. She was "old school," very formal in her relations with the chairs and faculty. When I was chair we always addressed each other as "Mrs. Voegely" and "Mr. Middleton," and she insisted that the office staff address the faculty as "Mr." (There were no women faculty members in the department then.) She was never insubordinate, but she had her own way of doing things and liked to preside over her domain in the central office with little interference. She always carried out the assignments I gave her without complaint, but I was careful not to intrude very far into her territory. I even typed most of my own memos to the faculty for the spirit duplicator (the "purple plague") and my own letters. I think I won her respect with my typing skills acquired when I worked my way through college as the secretary for a three-person socioIogy department. Graduate students were careful not to get on her bad side, but I was never aware of any case in which she treated a student unfairly. They were quite aware of her efficiency. Alan Kerckhoff, a student in the early 1950s, said a "source of stability was Mrs. Voegely who at least seemed to have everything under control in the main office" (Kerckhoff, 1978).

Mrs. Voegely also had a personal concern for her staff and was very good about educating and training them so they could be successful in their jobs. Janice Deneen said that she learned a tremendous amount from Mrs. Voegely about how to manage an office, and she went on to become a beloved office manager for the Center for Demography and Ecology. Ann Wallace was on the Academic Staff and not under Mrs. Voegely's supervision, but Mrs. Voegely nevertheless took her under her wing and helped her to learn the ropes of office procedure. I believe she was hoping to groom Ann to take over as Department Administrator when she retired, but Ann actually preferred to remain on the academic staff.

Mrs. Voegely was a member of the Classified Staff, like all university

department administrators in the state civil service system, with a formal job title of Administrative Assistant I. She had been in the position so long, though, that she had risen to the top pay grade and was blocked from further advancement. Ed Borgatta and I, when we were chairs, sought to have her reclassified as Administrative Assistant II on the grounds that Sociology was one of the largest and most complex departments on the campus. We made the same recommendation for four consecutive years, but, because no department administrators had yet been given the higher classification, our recommendations were always turned down. The state civil service system was rigidly bureaucratic and inflexible, and this was only the first of our struggles with the system to try to provide more appropriate rewards for highly deserving staff members.

The regard that the faculty and students felt for Mrs. Voegely was suggested by her impressive doll collection that was built with their donations. It started when Hans Gerth taught for a year in Japan and brought back a Japanese doll for her granddaughter. The collection grew when others, including Ed Borgatta, David Chaplin, Marshall B. Clinard, Joseph Elder, David Mechanic, Norman Ryder, and Bill Sewell, brought her dolls from Crete, Finland, Germany, France, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Yugoslavia, Ecuador, Peru, and Pakistan. Then Vimal P. Shah, an Indian postdoctoral student of Sewell, presented her with a prize collection of Indian dolls representing a wide variety of regions, social classes, and occupations, ranging from a rajah to a street sweeper, fisherman, and Punjabi bride (UW Archives 24/9/3 B224 Sociology).



KEY SOCIOLOGY OFFICE STAFF IN THE 1960S & 1970S
(L TO R) LORRAINE BORSUK, ANN WALLACE, JANICE DENEEN,
ZENNA C. VOEGELY FRANCIE'S RESTAURANT,
SEPT. 28, 1987 (PHOTO BY MIMI DEVAUL)

I was told by more than one person that David Mechanic's insightful article, "Sources of Power of Lower Participants in Complex Organizations,"

was inspired by the example of Mrs. Voegely (Mechanic, 1962). Mechanic argued that strategically located "lower participants" can sometimes amass personal power that is not a defined attribute of their formal position through control of access to persons, information, and facilities within the organization. Commitment, effort, interest, detailed knowledge of organizational rules and procedures, and a high level of competence to deal with problems and solve them flexibly without burdening "higher participants" all play a role in generating informal power. Those with informal power may be very important for the organization's success, but this kind of power can also be abused and used unfairly.

A few years ago I asked Mechanic if it was really true that Mrs. Voegely had inspired his article, which was written not long after he arrived at Wisconsin as an assistant professor. He said that she may have been one of many examples he thought of from his past experience, but his primary inspiration came from his research earlier in the Dorothea Dix Hospital in Raleigh, North Carolina. Mechanic was trying to get research access to a unit of the mental hospital that was run by a powerful aide who "ruled supreme over the place." After several meetings with the aide, he was getting nowhere. He then wrote a letter to the aide on a University of North Carolina letterhead thanking him for his time and emphasizing how important he was for the study he wanted to do. Mechanic said, "The next time I came to the hospital, I saw my letter framed at the nurses' station, and after that he seemed to be willing to do anything for me. I had the run of the place" (David Mechanic, personal communication, 2013). As a result of this experience he came to realize how little validation individuals in lower positions get in their lives and how much a little recognition means to them. This was a valuable insight that helped him to become an outstanding administrator, both in our department and later in building the 108-person strong Institute for



"MIMI" DEVAUL AND ZENNA C. VOEGELY, 1987
(DEANNA (DEE DEE) DEVAUL)



MATTIE MORIN, 1985
(R. MIDDLETON)

Health, Health Care Policy, and Aging Research at Rutgers University.

After Mrs. Voegely retired for reasons of health, she was succeeded by Mattie Morin, who no longer required women staff members to wear skirts. She served for eighteen years and was also a gifted administrator. Tina Hunter is the current worthy successor in the long line of Department Administrators.

Mildred ("Mimi") Devaul

One of the most beloved persons—faculty or staff—in the history of the Department of Sociology was Mildred Devaul, called "Mimi" by one and all. She was a native of New England but had an embracing warmth that belied the frosty and aloof stereotype of a New Englander. She and her husband Bob had spent some years in Chile while he was working as a geologist, and Mimi had a special relationship with many international graduate students. She invited one of our Brazilian graduate students, Maria de Salete Marinho, to live with her and Bob while she studied at the university. Mimi came to the Department of Sociology in 1963 at the same time as I did. She had a position at the front desk of the central office as a receptionist or greeter, answering routine questions or routing people to others for help. She also had secretarial duties, which she performed admirably when not constantly interrupted by the stream of people coming to the counter for help. Through it all she maintained a constant cheerful disposition, greeting faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates with warmth and trying her best to deal with their problems. Everyone knew Mimi and everyone loved her.

When Mimi finally retired after 22 years at the front desk, the chair originally scheduled the usual small-scale farewell celebration, but Joann Elder protested, saying that a very large number of people would want to attend. It was rescheduled as a surprise party at the University Club on July 10, 1985, 4:00-6:00 p.m., and it turned out to be one of the more memorable retirement parties in the department's history. Joe and Joann Elder and Bert Adams sang songs with appropriately doctored lyrics and gifts were presented by Cora Marrett and by graduate students Ivan Evans and Saraswati Sunindyo. Jerry Marwell and Bill Sewell made speeches, with Bill telling of the joking relationship he had with Mimi. Each morning they would vie with each other to see who could get to work earlier so that they could accuse the other of being late to work. Bill wanted to begin each day by exchanging pleasantries and jokes with Mimi in the central office.

Mimi treasured the memory of her retirement party for the rest of her life, and she compiled a scrapbook containing pictures that I took at the celebration and over 35 tributes to her written by faculty members, graduate students, and staff members. After Mimi and Bob died, their daughter Dee

Dee gave the album to the Department of Sociology. In looking through it I found my own tribute:

> In a very hectic and bustling office she has always maintained a calm serenity, charming everyone who ventured near her desk with her sweetness and cheerfulness. The thing that I came to appreciate most about Mimi, however, is something that lay below this very appealing surface—her great kindness, concern, and caring for other people, particularly when they were facing stressful problems. I know of countless kindnesses she has done for students, faculty, and others. . . . Who has not benefited from her largesse? I have discovered that every person thinks he or she is Mimi's personal pet. For over two decades I have received a lift every time I have gone into the main office and basked in the friendly warmth emanating from Mimi's desk.



MILDRED "MIMI" DEVAUL AND WILLIAM H. SEWELL
AT MIMI'S RETIREMENT PARTY, JULY 10, 1985 (R. MIDDLETON)

Toni Schulze and Patrick Brenzel

Mimi's successor at the front desk in 1985 was Toni Polglase Schulze. She joined the central office staff in 1980, just after graduating from East High School in Madison. Toni ably kept up Mimi's tradition of good-humored friendly service, always helpful and accommodating. After about fifteen years at Mimi's old desk, however, she finally moved to the less stressful adjacent front desk where she is now a specialist in financial services for the department. After more than 35 years she is still continuing to work in the departmental office. She is thus an invaluable source of institutional memory. In 2015 she received the College of Letters and Science's Classified Staff Excellence Award.

There were a couple of people who worked at the front desk for fairly

short periods after Toni, but they were then succeeded by another long-termer—Patrick Brenzel. He joined the department in 2002 and is still the incumbent, carrying on the tradition of friendly service of Mimi and Toni. Patrick received the College of Letters and Science Excellence Award in the Fall of 2016. Later in the Spring of 2017 he also received the campus-wide University Staff Recognition Award for his work on the Wisconsin Idea Course. It is an unusual accomplishment for a staff member to receive both awards in the same academic year. The department would have been a much colder and austere place without the cheerful helpfulness of these three—Mimi, Toni, and Patrick.



TONI SCHULZE AND PATRICK BRENZEL AT THE SOCIOLOGY FRONT DESK, SEPTEMBER, 2014 (R. MIDDLETON)

Janice Deneen

The record for longevity and loyalty among the staff was set by Janice Deneen. She joined the office staff in June, 1960, just after graduating from Central High School, which later morphed into Madison Area Technical College. She retired in January, 2003, after more than 42 years of service. When she first went to work most of the department offices were on the third floor of Sterling Hall, which was then served only by a freight elevator. Sociologists and anthropologists had offices on both the third and fourth floors, and Deneen worked for professors from both disciplines. On some days she worked on the third floor and on some days on the fourth floor, taking dictation from Joe Elder and some anthropologists. Her duties were to take dictation, transcribe the dictation, type handwritten manuscripts, and make carbon copies. Personal computers and copy machines were not yet available for office chores. After the Department of Sociology moved to

the new building on Observatory Drive in 1962 Deneen continued to work in the departmental office for a number of years. When the Center for Demography and Ecology received a Training Grant, however, she took a full-time position as an administrative assistant for the center and relocated to their offices, which occupied various other places in the building. In this position she became an institution. When she retired *Wisconsin Update*, the department's newsletter, paid her this tribute:



JANICE DENEEN AT RETIREMENT PARTY, 2003 (J. DENEEN)

> Ask any current or former CDE student to name the person who served as their guiding light in the struggle to get settled in our large, complex university, and you will doubtless get the answer, "Janice." She was the one who knew all the answers or if she did not, she knew who would. Deneen not only shepherded CDE's students through their postgraduate experience, but the faculty and staff as well. A fountain of knowledge, she was the go-to person for nearly any kind of question. With her positive attitude, she made the place work smoothly, always with the ultimate goal being to allow the Center's research to be done efficiently ("Janice Deneen Retires," Fall, 2003, p. 12).

Sandra H. "Sandy" Ramer

Another staff member who became an institution was Sandra H. "Sandy" Ramer, who served briefly in admissions but mostly as Graduate Program Coordinator from 1983 to 2010. She had studied journalism in college and had worked as a reporter before coming to Madison. The position required a sharp intelligence and attention to detail in managing a highly complex graduate program involving some 50 graduate faculty in two buildings and more than 200 graduate students. She had to monitor graduate students' progress through the program and make sure the faculty and students were up to date and compliant with the complicated curriculum requirements and Graduate School rules. Her outstanding performance over the years led Adam Gamoran to nominate her for the Frontline Award of the Student Personnel Association in 2003 when he was chair of Sociology. Pam Oliver, who was Director of Graduate Studies, said, "We would have a very hard time running the Graduate Program without Sandy." Elena Hsu, the Degree

Coordinator of the Graduate School called Ramer "one of the most dependable and conscientious graduate coordinators I have ever known." Gamoran emphasized particularly her manifold contributions beyond the normal call of duty:

> Our graduate students seek her out not only for advice on their program but also for personal advice on coping with stress, getting along with an advisor, or dealing with fellow students. She is often the first person to notice a student in trouble and to alert the Director of Graduate Studies or the faculty advisor of the situation. More than one student has called her the "saint" of Sociology graduate students.

In support of the Frontline Award nomination more than one hundred current or former graduate students signed a letter describing their appreciation of Ramer, and thirty of them wrote testimonials describing how she had helped them. I would have to include all of them to convey the full nature of her activities, but here is a sample:

> **Kelly Besecke:** Graduate school at a large university can become a maze of bureaucratic requirements, paperwork, and deadlines, but Sandy always smoothed every process. She seemed to always be available at a moment's notice to explain requirements, to help with filling out forms, to answer questions about procedures and logistics, and generally to put a personal face on the university system. . . . It might have been easy sometimes to take Sandy's consistent competency for granted. . . . One thing I could never take for granted, though, was the effect Sandy had on the atmosphere and character of the Department of Sociology. Sandy brings this enormous department together; in many ways, she is the glue of the department.
>
> **Jennifer Sheridan:** Sandy took away all of the uncertainty of dealing with the University bureaucracy, allowing the graduate students to focus on their academics rather than forms, deadlines, [dissertation page] margins, and other details. She sent out reminders, she had the forms ready; she used her personal contacts when necessary to help students avoid penalties for late, missing, or incomplete forms; she used whatever "tricks" she could to help students get



SANDRA H. ("SANDY") RAMER (S. RAMER)

> the signatures needed and the paperwork in. . . . What Sandy brings to graduate students in addition to smoothing these bureaucratic details is a more subtle form of support resulting from her long institutional memory. Sandy has been in the department for a long time. She knows the politics, the personalities, the history, the changes, and the unwritten rules, and she imparts this information to graduate students when it will help them.
>
> **Sarah Swider:** It is hard to verbalize all the help Sandy gives because first, a lot of times it is just a smile or a nice conversation when you need it and second, a lot of times it is helping you get through the hoops to make up for missing deadlines or not doing something that you should have.
>
> **Kristen Velyvis:** From the moment I arrived, Sandy has been an incredible help to me with every big and small problem I've come to her with. She's been totally available, even when she's overworked. Her interpersonal skills have been fantastic, as she's approachable, helpful and efficient—on email and in person. She's always behind the scenes making things work, and I'm very heart-warmed whenever we have a student/faculty gathering that someone usually thinks to thank Sandy personally, and she gets a bigger and louder round of applause than anyone else (faculty included). There's a reason for that!
>
> **James Yocom:** Each year Sandy Ramer coordinates dozens of prelim exams, thesis and dissertation defenses, progress reports, mailing lists, and much more—without ever missing a beat. Sandy can turn on a dime, weave crucial information out of electronic webbing, pirouette on a mountain of email, slay a bureaucratic hydra, appease Gods, bring light to the dark side of the moon, resuscitate plans and reanimate hopes. And make it look easy. She is an oracle, a coach, and a friend.

Ramer did receive the Front Line Award on April 23, 2003. It was obvious that she was performing a much broader and complex set of duties than specified in the job description for her civil service classified staff position. Multiple chairs over a period of many years tried to get her reclassified more appropriately as Academic Staff with a higher salary, but every request was rejected. The state civil service system was, and continued to be, massively immobile and inflexible, poorly adapted to personnel management in a complex university system. Ramer was finally reclassified as Academic Staff in January, 2006, only four and one-half years before her retirement in July, 2010.

Ann Wallace

Ann Wallace was an undergraduate sociology major in the sociology department between 1959 and 1963, and during her senior year she worked as a student hourly worker at $1.25 an hour doing coding for Richard A. Peterson, an assistant professor in the department. In 1963 the department received a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation for a Law and Society Program. The program needed an administrator, and Peterson offered the job to Wallace. Recognizing that a master's degree alone in sociology had little utility, she decided to take the job rather than go to graduate school. She had already taken courses with three of the five professors she would be working with: Harry V. Ball, Jack Ladinsky, Robert R. Alford, Allan A. Silver, and Peterson. There were few staff in this type of administrative role at that time, and in our inexperience, during her first three years she was improperly given the title of Project Assistant—the title that is reserved for graduate students working on a project. Finally, she was reclassified as a Specialist, but Wallace was not really aware at that time that she was Academic Staff.

Gradually Wallace's position morphed into Executive Director of the Law and Society Association, which was founded by Harry Ball before he moved to the University of Hawaii and involved many faculty from the Law School and Political Science as well as Sociology. When Sociology received an NIMH Training Grant in Social Organization later in the 1960s, she became the administrator for that program, directed by Robert Alford and Michael Aiken. In 1970 Alford went on leave to Amitai Etzioni's Center for Policy Research in New York City, and he arranged funding for Wallace to spend the year at the Center also. Afterwards Alford moved from Wisconsin to the University of California-Santa Cruz, and once again Wallace followed her relocated job. She was not happy at Santa Cruz, however, and when David Mechanic offered her a position administering Wisconsin's Center for Medical Sociology and Health Services Research, she was happy to return to Madison. She succeeded the very able Alice Peterson and Lorraine Borsuk in administrative positions with the medical sociology program. She remained in this position for four years until Mechanic moved to Rutgers University. Wallace showed exceptional ability in all of these positions and was highly esteemed by the faculty.

Wallace says that she was especially fortunate in her jobs and supervisors during her years working in the Sociology Department, and she was largely unaware of the many problems that academic staff workers faced elsewhere in the university. Around 1975, however, Joann Elder—her departmental colleague—recruited her into a small group of academic staff activists who had formed MASA (Madison Academic Staff Association) and

were advocating improvements in the status of academic staff. Wallace remembers gatherings at the Elders' dining room table with everyone working on mailings of informational newsletters to the academic staff. Wallace herself sometimes typed the mimeograph stencils for the newsletters. This activity opened her eyes to the wider issues involving academic staff, and she became a passionate advocate on their behalf during the rest of her 40-year career at the university.

Wallace's career took a turn in 1980, when she moved to the Dean's office in the School of Education. She reported directly to Dean John Palmer, and he gave her the charge of becoming the School's expert on academic staff matters. Her knowledge of the academic staff system enabled her to play a leading role in shaping the nature of the academic staff personnel system during a period of rapid change when academic staff were given the right of self-governance. Wallace represented her district in the Academic Staff Assembly (counterpart to the Faculty Senate) from 1989 until her retirement in 2005. She also became a charter member and long-time chair of the Personnel Policies and Procedures Committee of the Academic Staff (PPPC), which was responsible for drafting changes to policies and bringing them to the Assembly for approval. Among many other duties she also served on the Academic Staff Mentoring Committee, which organized a new mentoring program for academic staff throughout the Madison campus. She herself mentored a new staff member each year from the program's inception until her retirement. Wallace received the Chancellors Award for Excellence in Service to the University in 2000, and she herself endowed the Ann Wallace Career Achievement Award to recognize excellence among the academic staff. It was first awarded in 2003. After her retirement in 2005, Wallace continued to serve the Madison academic community as the Executive Director of the UW Madison Retirement Association until 2017.



ANN WALLACE AT A BADGER FOOTBALL GAME, 2009 (HENRY S. LUFLER, JR.)

CHAPTER 6

The Social Systems Research Institute (SSRI)

Guy Orcutt and the Quest to Build an Interdisciplinary Social Research Institute

In earlier chapters I discussed the failure of the University of Wisconsin to foster interdisciplinary research in the social sciences or establish a research institute for that purpose. It was only with the recruitment of the economist Guy H. Orcutt in 1958 and the founding of the Social Systems Research Institute that Wisconsin joined the ranks of other universities in pursuing this goal. Ironically, the initiative came just when the private foundations were beginning to lose their enthusiasm for funding interdisciplinary research programs.

Orcutt was a visionary economist and pioneer developer of microsimulation models of the economy, and he was already regarded as a star in the profession. In 1965 an article in *Science* listed the work of Orcutt and Lawrence R. Klein on computer simulation of economic systems as one of the sixty-two most importance advances in social science from 1900 to 1965 (Deutsch *et al.,* 1971, p. 454). The administration hoped that Orcutt would be a catalyst for the development of the social sciences as Ely had been at the end of the nineteenth century.

Orcutt's Education and Early Career

Orcutt was born in 1917 in a suburb of Detroit and entered the University of Michigan in 1935—first studying engineering but then switching to physics and mathematics. Under the influence of Geil Duffendack, a fellow physics and math student who later became his wife, he began to be more concerned about the problems of Americans who were suffering from the harsh economic conditions of the depression. These concerns were reinforced after he graduated when he spent the summer of 1939 in a Quaker work camp in a depressed coal mining area of West Virginia. At the end of the summer he returned to the University of Michigan to do graduate work in economics—without ever having had a single undergraduate course in the field. He quickly caught up, taking five undergraduate economics courses his first

semester. During the years of his graduate study he began to experiment with building analogue electrical-mechanical devices and using them to deduce the consequences of postulates of greater complexity than others had been able to do using verbal or mathematical approaches. He later wrote,

> During the development of my thesis, I began to question the wide separation between the neo-classical theorizing my machines were designed to aid and its empirical basis. . . . The center of interest shifted for me, from one of working out theoretical deductions based on elementary laws of postulates, supposedly grounded on factual observations, to a focus of finding and empirically verifying laws that might form the basis for a theoretical edifice (Orcutt, 1990, pp. 5-8).

Orcutt wanted to estimate relationships for serially correlated time series of data and develop tests of significance for these relationships, but the prohibitive labor that would be required led him to build another electro-mechanical device that he called his "regression analyser." He was unable to finish a working model, however, until after receiving his PhD at Michigan. He worked on it further after he joined the economics faculty at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1944. Between 1946 and 1948 he went to Cambridge University in England to work with Richard Stone, and it was there that he finally perfected his regression analyser and worked out satisfactory tests of significance for autocorrelated pairs of time series (Orcutt, 1990, pp. 9-13). Returning to the United States in 1948, Orcutt spent a year at the International Monetary Fund analyzing macroeconomic time series on international trade, and in 1949 he joined the Economics Department at Harvard. At Harvard he worked on statistical techniques to enable economists to make use of national accounts types of data, but he eventually came to realize that the aggregated national accounts data did not contain enough information to provide a suitable basis for the estimation and testing of models of economic systems. "Consequently," he wrote, "I became much more conscious of the need to research the behavioral responses of microeconomic entities if there is to be any reasonable chance of discovering the consequences of governmental actions" (Orcutt, 1990, pp. 13-14).

Orcutt turned his attention to microanalytic research, looking at the decision-making units of larger economic systems—e.g., individuals, married couples, households, firms, markets, school districts, government units, etc. (Orcutt, 1957). He spent the summer of 1956 on a Carnegie Fellowship at Michigan's Survey Research Center. He was much impressed with the quality of its data gathering using probabilistic samples, and he saw that the accuracy of simulations could be maximized with very large sample sizes: ". . . If samples of, say, 10,000 to 100,000 entities could be handled in a

computer, a highly useful representation could be given of the evolving state of a theoretical population involving hundreds of millions of units" (Orcutt, 1990, p. 16). Before this Orcutt had been thinking in terms of electrical analogue modeling and simulation, but with such massive amounts of data to process Orcutt concluded that mathematical modeling suitable for processing on a large digital computer would be necessary. His first large scale microeconomic computer modeling was carried out on an early IBM 704 in the Computation Center for the New England Colleges and Universities, which was created with financing by IBM in 1956. The model required ten hours of computing time to move the model forward 120 months. It became clear to Orcutt that the large commitment of resources necessary for his microsimulation model of the economy could not be expected from Harvard, and he would have to pursue his vision elsewhere.

> By 1958, it seemed clear to me that substantial development of microanalytic models of economic systems could not be achieved without the development of one or more research institutes of some magnitude. This need for such an institute or institutes derived from the need to organize and maintain a computer oriented library; from the need to have a long-run influence on the collection and organization of data by both government and other data collecting groups, such as the Survey Research Center; from the need to use modern statistical tools effectively; and, finally, from the need to mobilize a large computer programming effort and make effective use of very powerful computers (Orcutt, 1990, p. 17; Orcutt, 1961, p. 407).

He concluded that a research institute in a university independent from a regular teaching department could focus its members toward a common research objective and could provide the resources necessary for research that are ordinarily in short supply at the department level. An individual member's performance could be evaluated in terms of the degree to which the goals of the institute were furthered. University academic departments almost universally leave the choice of research topics up to the individual scholar, and evaluations are made in terms of external criteria determined by the academic specialty at large (Solovey, 1990, p. 96).

Orcutt believed that acquiring accurate data about micro-components of the economy was the major obstacle to constructing useful models. He considered probabilistic survey methods the best way of securing the necessary data—something that was outside the competence of most economists—and hence he was also committed to an interdisciplinary approach that drew on the contributions of sociologists, political scientists, statisticians, and other social scientists (Solovey, 1990, p. 93).

Wisconsin's Recruitment of Orcutt

In 1956 H. Edwin Young was chair of Economics at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and he deemed the time propitious to make a new effort to rebuild the department. President Fred had appointed historian Fred Harvey Harrington to advise him on the social sciences, and WARF was beginning to divert a small amount of its grant money to the social sciences. Solovey reported, on the basis of interviews with Young, Orcutt, and Robert Lampman, that there was a growing feeling among the Wisconsin economists that the department's traditional approach was growing stale and outmoded. Wisconsin had been one of the few strongholds of institutional economics since the beginning of the century, but interest in labor economics was fading, and it appeared that Wisconsin economics was falling farther and farther behind the directions in which the discipline of economics was heading (Solovey, 1990, p. 97).

Young became aware that Orcutt might consider moving from Harvard to found a special research institute, perhaps on the basis of his writings about the desirability of such an institute or perhaps through the academic grapevine. It seemed to him that Orcutt would be an ideal person to inject new life into the social sciences at Wisconsin. He approached the administration with the idea, and they were supportive. As natural scientists, they were particularly impressed by Orcutt's background in physics, mathematics, statistics, and computing (*Ibid.*)

In December, 1956, Orcutt, accompanied by Young, met twice with President Fred, with Graduate Dean Elvehjem also present for most of the second conference. Fred wrote in a memorandum that Orcutt made an excellent impression: "He has had an unusually fine background—both in the physical sciences and in the social sciences. Because of his fine background training and experience, as well as his Middle West background, it seems to us that every effort should be made to secure his services . . . ." William H. Whyte had just declined the offer of a position at the university, and thus Brittingham Trust Funds were freed up to make possible an offer to Orcutt of an annual salary of $18,000, with the understanding that this might be raised to $20,000 after he had been in residence for a year. This was a princely sum for Wisconsin at that time. An $18,000 salary in 1956 was equivalent to $159,292 in 2016 dollars. The offer was also to include $20,000 a year for five years from WARF funds to support Orcutt's research—for assistants, travel, publications, etc. Fred suggested that Orcutt "write his own ticket" with regard to teaching, but he expressed the hope that he would "take part in a limited amount of teaching, especially of freshmen" ("Memorandum Relating to Professor Guy H. Orcutt," UW Archives, 4/16/1 Box 310, Folder: "Orcutt").

Later that month the formal offer was extended by Young. Harvard made a counter offer with an even higher yearly salary, but Orcutt accepted the Wisconsin offer ("Young to Orcutt, Dec. 31, 1957," and "Orcutt to Young, Jan. 16, 1958," UW Archives, 4/16/1 Box 310, Folder: "Orcutt"). The deciding factor was Wisconsin's promise to assist him in founding the Social Systems Research Institute as an autonomous institute outside the departmental structure. It was given a mandate to establish affiliated research centers within social science departments, but it was to have a monopoly over all extra-departmental research efforts in the social sciences. It was understood from the beginning, however, that outside grants and contracts would have to play a major role in SSRI's long term survival (Solovey, 1990, pp. 97-98).

Orcutt joined the Department of Economics in 1958, and Jack Johnston, Donald Farrar, John Korbel, and Fred Raines followed him from Harvard. Planning immediately began for the founding of the Social Systems Research Institute., and according to Orcutt it was launched in the fall of 1959, though official records show 1960 as its founding date. Orcutt believed from the start that "a reasonable level of relatively unrestricted long term support was essential for the success" of SSRI—hopefully around one-third of the total budget. He sought a grant of $2 million over a ten-year period from the Ford Foundation to provide for the central core of the institute, but after a year of negotiations Ford granted only $400,000 to be expended over a three-year period starting in 1961. Nevertheless, it is significant that Ford finally saw an interdisciplinary program at Wisconsin that it liked. At the same time Orcutt submitted a proposal to the National Science Foundation requesting $600,000 for the first three years, but it made a grant of only $104,000, including 20 percent overhead, over a three-year period. Thus, Orcutt raised less than one-fifth of the flexible funds that he felt he needed, but he wrote,

> With the cooperation of the University, we proceeded to build as though we were starting a permanent development. We had missed obtaining the long run funds we so badly needed, but we believed that they would be more accessible to us after we had demonstrated what could be done (Orcutt, "An Evaluation Prepared for the Ford Foundation," pp. 8-9, UW Archives, 40/1/2-1 Box 48, Folder "Social Systems Research Institute").

He was wrong. It later proved even more difficult to raise long term flexible funds.

Orcutt's Impact on Wisconsin Social Science

Orcutt attracted a gifted group of economists to Wisconsin, including Arthur S. Goldberger, David Granick, Arnold Zellner, Martin H. David, Charles C.

Holt, Richard H. Day, Leonard W. Weiss, D. Lee Bawden, Glen G. Cain, Edgar L. Feige, Jan Kmenta, Harold W. Watts, Alan C. Kelley, and Burton A. Weisbrod. This brought a sharp shift in the balance between institutional and econometrically oriented economists, just as Young had hoped. Orcutt also played a significant role in the creation of a Department of Statistics, a Department of Computer Science, and what he characterized as "an extraordinarily good computation center" (Orcutt, 1990, p. 18).

When Orcutt first arrived the social sciences were spread out in different buildings without adequate space. When SSRI, Economics, Sociology, and Anthropology moved into the new Social Sciences Building in the fall of 1962 it was immediately apparent that there would be a need for still more space as each of the units grew. A building committee was established with Orcutt as chair, and with the aid of the SSRI staff it prepared a proposal to the National Science Foundation for a two-million-dollar Social Science Research Complex with 50,000 square feet of space for research and graduate training to be built as a wing to the Social Sciences Building. They asked for $1 million from NSF, with the balance to be provided by the state. In February, 1964, NSF notified President Harrington and Orcutt that it was granting $900,000 for the construction project, and the state subsequently added $1,198,800 of state funds ("SSRI Fourth Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1963-64," pp. 5-6, UW Archives, 7/9/00-4 Box 1; "NSF to Harrington and NSF to Orcutt" UW Archives, 5/1/4 Box 35 Folder "SSRI;" "SSRI Fifth Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1964-65" pp. 7, UW Archives, 7/9/00-4 Box 1). SSRI, Economics, Sociology, Anthropology, and the Industrial Relations Research Institute occupied the new wing in 1966. Orcutt had intended for the Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory to move to the building too, but it remained in separate quarters in Lowell Hall on Langdon Street. Harry Sharp, the director of the survey lab, seemed to be quite content to maintain some distance from the Social Sciences Building.

Building an Interdisciplinary Institute

Orcutt tended to see disciplinary boundaries as troublesome obstacles, and he was determined to build an interdisciplinary institute. Partly this was because he believed that research in economic modeling would be enriched by cross-fertilization from other social science fields, but it was also in recognition of academic political realities. He knew that if the institute focused solely on building an economic model and enhancing the careers of economists alone, there would be little incentive for non-economists to participate and it would become difficult for the administration to continue to show special favoritism toward economics.

Bill Sewell said that Orcutt insisted that he be co-Director of SSRI to

represent the rest of the social sciences, but he declined (Sewell Oral History Interview 5, 1988). Then in a further attempt to secure broad support in the university the Dean of Letters and Science and the chairs of Economics, Sociology, and Political Science were made members of the SSRI Executive Committee ("Social Systems Research Institute Fifth Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1964-1965," p. 2, UW Archives: 7/9/00-4 Box 1). A number of other influential scholars whose research interests were far removed from a quantitative systems approach were also included as SSRI members—perhaps for political reasons or perhaps to obscure the fact that SSRI was primarily an economics operation. In reading through all the SSRI annual reports in the archives I was surprised to discover that I was listed as a member between 1964 and 1967 and was claimed by them as a member of their Executive Committee, presumably because I was chair of Sociology during this period. I think I was totally unaware of this at the time, and I never attended any SSRI meetings, participated in any of its research projects, or made use of any of its research services.

By 1962-63 there were 57 members of SSRI from nine departments at the University of Wisconsin: Economics, Sociology, Political Science, Anthropology, Statistics, Agricultural Economics, Mathematics, Commerce, Urban and Regional Planning, and the Numerical Analysis Lab (later the Computing Center). There were also ten outside members from other universities ("SSRI Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1962-1963," UW Archives, 7/9/100-4 Box 1). The next year membership was restricted to members of Research Centers, along with certain *ex officio* members, so growth leveled off, but there were new members from Mathematics, Law, and History, making a total of eleven departments. In 1964-65 the same departments were represented with 62 members, plus another 10 members from other institutions ("SSRI Fourth Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1963-1964" and "SSRI Fifth Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1964-1965," UW Archives, 7/9/00-4 Box 1).

Though SSRI had grown rapidly, Orcutt was frustrated because membership was concentrated from two departments, Economics and Sociology, and he felt there were not enough members from some other key disciplines (Solovey, 1990, pp. 99-100). In fact, of the 62 University of Wisconsin members in 1964-65, 43 were economists who came from Economics, Agricultural Economics, or SSRI itself, and 8 were from Sociology. No other department provided more than three, and some of these were apparently "political" members who participated little or not at all.

Internally SSRI's major research activities in its first two years were carried out in three workshops: Systems Formulation and Methodology, Economic Behavior of the Household, and Economic Behavior of the Firm and the Market. By 1962 they were transformed into more permanent

organizational forms as Research Centers, and four additional centers were also established. Most of these centers were situated in the Department of Economics, but two were established in the Department of Sociology—the Center for Demography and Ecology, with Norman B. Ryder as Director, and the Social Behavior Research Center, with Edgar F. Borgatta as Director and sole member ("SSRI Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1962-1963" UW Archives, 7/9/00-4 Box 1 "SSRI Reports").

Sociology's Participation in SSRI

With Orcutt's urging, the Center for Demography and Ecology was established in the Department of Sociology in the fall of 1962, and Ryder was given a half-time appointment as Director. Because Sociology did not have sufficient funds to pay Ryder's half-time salary the first year, he was paid out of SSRI's flexible funds budget. The funds were returned to SSRI the next year, however, so the salary support was essentially in the form of a loan. The two other sociologist members of the Center, Leo F. Schnore and Stanley Lieberson, were also listed as members of SSRI. It is not clear that any of them except perhaps Ryder joined because of any real interest in contributing to Orcutt's simulation model of the economy. Ryder was very busy with his own research projects, and the research of Schnore and Lieberson had only a tenuous relevance.

Orcutt probably consulted with Ryder, for he mentioned him in the Acknowledgements section of his 1961 book, but Ryder did not contribute enough to be listed as a co-author of any section of the book (Orcutt, 1961, p. xviii). By the following year the Center for Demography and Ecology was no longer listed as a Center in SSRI, and presumably Ryder's half-time appointment disappeared. Orcutt was already worried about running out of flexible funds, but perhaps he concluded that the members of CDE had done little or nothing to provide the kind of input that he expected. SSRI still listed Ryder as a member of SSRI in 1963-64, but never after that. Schnore and Lieberson were never listed as members after the very first year ("SSRI Fourth Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1963-1964" UW Archives, 7/9/00-4 Box 1 "SSRI Reports").

The Social Behavior Research Center was supposedly focused on Borgatta's experimental small group behavior research, but other sociologists interested in this field, such as Gerald Marwell and David Schmitt, were not listed. This Center also disappeared from SSRI after one year, though Borgatta continued to be listed as a member of SSRI from 1962 through 1967 (*Ibid.*). During three of these years he was also Chair of Sociology, and thus at least an *ex officio* member of SSRI. The Social Behavior Research Center had even less of an existence than CDE as an SSRI research center. Borgatta

wrote me in 2013, "The Social Behavior Research Center had no physical existence!!! I do not believe it ever even had the reality of stationery."

Other sociologists who were listed as SSRI members at least once between 1962 and 1970 were William H. Sewell (1962-67), Harry P. Sharp (1962, 1969-70), Michael T. Aiken (1963-67), Robert R. Alford (1963-70), Jack Ladinsky (1963-67), Kenneth G. Lutterman (1963-67), Allan Silver (1963-64), Charles Perrow (1965-67), Kurt Finsterbusch (1965-67), Hal H. Winsborough (1965-71). Perrow and Winsborough served as "Department of Sociology Representatives." Alford was co-director of SSRI's Data Library and later, with Winsborough and Sharp, a member of the Data and Computation Center Policy Committee. ("SSRC Annual Reports," UW Archives, 7/9/00-4 Box 1). When I checked with most of the surviving members in 2013 I found that none of them had been much affected by SSRI. None remembered ever receiving any salary support or financial support for research, and only one or two may have used any of SSRI's computing or programming services. Two or three, like me, had no memory of ever being a member of SSRI.

SSRI Research Centers and Service Facilities

From year to year the number of Research Centers grew or contracted, and they often changed their names. After the disappearance of the Center for Demography and Ecology and the Social Behavior Research Center in 1963, all SSRI centers were of an economic nature and were located within SSRI itself or the Department of Economics. In 1963-64 there were seven centers; in 1964-66 they contracted to five but covered essentially the same areas. After Orcutt's departure in 1965 there was some further attrition until finally in July, 1971, all Centers were merged into one Center or Workshop ("SSRI Biennial Report, July, 1969-July, 1971" UW Archives, 7/9/00-4 Box 1).

During the early 1960s SSRI built an impressive set of centralized service facilities to support the institute's research activities, including a secretarial staff of eleven, a data library, and a computer division with eight professional programmers and ten part-time graduate student programmers (Orcutt, 1990, p. 19). This undoubtedly was a feature that attracted new members to join. Orcutt wanted the various Research Centers to have considerable autonomy, but he certainly never intended for them to drift away from the original goal of building a model of the economy. Yet this was what happened. Some faculty joined the institute to pursue research that was only remotely related to Orcutt's goal but took advantage of the opportunity to use its services. Solovey, who interviewed Orcutt years later, reported that Orcutt said he did not like to discourage a colleague who was pursuing important research, regardless of whether it contributed to

the development of the simulation model. Though SSRI was independent from the academic departments, it was the departments and the discipline at large that controlled the reward structures for individual researchers, and Orcutt discovered that he had only very limited control over the activities of the faculty researchers (Solovey, 1990, pp. 102-103).

SSRI was certainly successful in strengthening economics at Wisconsin. By 1967 SSRI counted more than 20 doctoral dissertations completed, 22 books published, over 150 articles published in SSRI's reprint series, 158 workshop papers, 423 workshop sessions, 54 general purpose computer programs written or modified by SSRI programmers, and 19 extensive data files deposited in its Program and Data Library Service (Holt *et al.*, "Organizational Experience of SSRI," 1967, p. 8, UW Archives, 40/1/2-1 Box 48, Folder "Social System Research Institute"). Research expenditures totaled $615,000 in 1963-64, $703,000 in 1964-65, and $876,000 in 1965-66. Funding was provided not only from the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Graduate School Research Committee, but also from USAID, the Office of Economic Opportunity, NIH, the Brookings Institution, the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Russell Sage Foundation, the US Department of Agriculture, and the U.S Treasury Department (Orcutt, 1990, pp. 18-19).

In spite of these successes, Orcutt was not able to make as much progress toward developing the microsimulation model of the U.S. economy as he had hoped. In the first few years he had been able to use flexible funds to target research in certain areas that contributed directly toward developing the simulation model, and many of the original members of the institute did contribute. By 1964 efforts toward building a simulation model of the United States Economy were carried out principally in Project MUSE, which was formally a part of the Center for Systems Formulation, Methodology, and Policy. It actually functioned as an inter-center project and was carried out by a relatively small group of economists, systems analysts, and graduate students directed by Orcutt, including Jan Kmenta, Harold W. Watts, Donald V. Steward, Martin H. David, David S. Huang, John J. Korbel, Glen G. Cain, Arthur S. Goldberger, Arnold Zellner, and Maw Lin Lee ("SSRI Fifth Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1964-65" pp. 21-25, UW Archives, 7/9/00-4 Box 1). There was a financial crisis in 1964, however, as the original pool of flexible funds ran dry, and the institute had to rely increasingly on funds raised by individual researchers through project proposals submitted to funding agencies and foundations. The members who joined later were thus much less likely to do research that contributed directly to building the simulation model.

Searching for Secure Flexible Funding

Orcutt believed that for long-term success, the institute needed to secure flexible funding amounting to about one-third of its total research expenditure. Orcutt set about trying to secure additional flexible funding, but the Ford Foundation indicated it would not provide further flexible funding. Orcutt asked the National Science Foundation for $2.5 million over a five-year period but received only $250,000 for 30 months. By this time Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie had largely abandoned their earlier enthusiastic support of interdisciplinary research in the social sciences and were now focusing on providing support for promising individual scholars and developing research and graduate training programs in top academic departments.

Orcutt and the SSRI Executive Council met with Vice-President Clodius in 1964 to seek an additional $100,000 per year of continuing flexible funds support from the university. They even hoped that this figure could be doubled by the time SSRI's total budget reached $1 million a year. They argued that SSRI had made substantial contributions to the university and that providing a large sustaining grant could leverage much greater support from foundations. In the written proposal they submitted they pointed to the strengthening of the faculty in Economics during the previous five years but tacitly admitted that little had been done to strengthen other social science departments: "The SSRI is anxious to expand the interdisciplinary character of its operations and enlist even greater participation of the other social science departments. Without broad University support this will be difficult to accomplish" ("Proposal from SSRI for General Support, pp. 2-3," UW Archives: 5/1/4 Box 35, Folder: "SSRI").

Even some of the SSRI Council members told Clodius that if they had to choose, they would prefer to have WARF funds distributed by the Research Committee to individual faculty members rather than in a lump sum to SSRI. The Graduate School Research Committee turned down SSRI's request and insisted that further requests not be made for flexible funds but only for specific research projects (Holt *et al.*, "Organizational Experience of SSRI," UW Archives 40/1/2-1 Box 48, Folder: "Social Systems Research Institute"). Dean Edwin Young did agree to devote $30,000 annually from the Dean's fund to SSRI, but he stipulated that the money must serve the entire Economics Department and not just SSRI (Solovey, 1990, pp. 106-107). Orcutt later complained,

> We received a great deal of praise and encouragement, but we didn't succeed in raising any long run, essentially unrestricted support. Some very modest salary support was given for a few key individuals on our secretarial and programming staff. However, from our standpoint, the

> net result was negative since acceptance of the support increased our service commitments by more than the support was worth to us. . . . For my part I am through with raising funds and in trying to operate a large research organization without a proper financial base. (Orcutt, "An Evaluation Prepared for the Ford Foundation," pp. 9-10, UW Archives, 40/1/2-1 Box 48, Folder: "Social System Research Institute").

The Graduate School also supplied $11,000 the first year and $25,000 thereafter for a Data and Computer Program Library (DAC) for all social scientists, with an independent broadly representative faculty committee. Robert Alford of the Sociology Department served as Co-Director in 1965-67. He was joined by fellow sociologists Harry P. Sharp and Hal H. Winsborough on the DAC Policy Committee in 1969-1970. DAC's initial holdings were based on SSRI's program and data collections, and SSRI's Computation Division supplied the space, recruited most of the staff, and supervised day-to-day operations. Again, this support was seen as a mixed blessing by SSRI's leaders, for it required SSRI staff to service requests of social scientists outside SSRI. In addition,

> . . . some members of the Sociology and Political Science Departments resented excess influence by economists in the spending of these University funds. . . . The University finances came in such a way as to involve the SSRI in the interdepartmental rivalries for funds and power (Holt *et al.*, "Organizational Experience of SSRI, p. 16" UW Archives 40/1/2-1 Box 48, Folder: "Social Systems Research Institute").

Other actions by the university also indicated declining support for SSRI. Orcutt had played the central role in securing funding to build the research wing of the Social Sciences Building, and he expected that SSRI would be given preferential treatment in the allocation of space. He wanted SSRI members and its service facilities to be clustered together in close proximity, but his wishes were largely ignored, and the Departments of Economics, Sociology, and Anthropology were given almost complete control over the allocation of space, excepting only the space for computing facilities. The university was also planning to launch a new large-scale social research program dealing with poverty, with funding from the Council of Economic Opportunity. Orcutt felt strongly that this should be a Research Center within SSRI, but instead the Institute for Research on Poverty was created as an independent institute with ample space in the new research wing. This was a particularly severe blow to Orcutt, who had a special interest in the organization of a large field experiment to test income maintenance programs—something that was to be the first major project of the new

institute (Solovey, 1990, pp. 107-110). SSRI's monopoly over extradepartmental social research organizations was thus broken.

Orcutt Gives Up and Departs

In 1965 Orcutt expressed his concern to the Ford Foundation that his inability to secure "unrestricted, long run support" was making it impossible to maintain data collection services, a data library, and computer programming services. He could no longer pay the salaries of staff members, and they were forced to become fund raisers to support themselves, submitting proposals to agencies for research that was often of little direct relevance to the project of creating a microsimulation model of the economy. In 1965 Orcutt recognized that he would not be able to realize his ambition of building a sustained interdisciplinary research program or constructing the kind of economic model he envisioned at Wisconsin (Solovey, 1990, p. 107-109). Orcutt resigned as chair of SSRI in the spring of 1965, and Charles Holt was elected to serve as the new chair. The university placed Orcutt on leave for a year while he went back to Harvard, but Orcutt never again returned to residence at Wisconsin ("Social Systems Research Institute Fifth Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1964-1965," p. 2, UW Archives: 7/9/00-4 Box 1).

In a 1967 paper on the organizational experience of SSRI, Charles C. Holt, Guy H. Orcutt, Martin H. David, Richard H. Day, and Roger F. Miller admitted that it had been a mistake for SSRI to form so many research centers and try to carry out research on such a broad front. They believed they should have focused more on short-term research goals building successful economic models rather than investing so heavily in institution building. They also conceded that there was little interdisciplinary research carried out within SSRI, even though there were many members representing a variety of disciplines other than economics:

> . . . the disciplinary boundary between Political Science, Economics, and Sociology proved sufficiently strong that the interaction was limited to only a formal relationship. . . There was relatively little interaction. The different disciplines tended to have different problems, tools, data, theory and language. It is clear that different disciplines are at different stages in the development toward quantitative models, so to some extent joint efforts tend to require the bridging of different subcultures. This is especially difficult for so intimate an activity as joint research. Misunder-standings, rivalry and even hostilities are to be expected (Holt *et al.*, "Organizational Experience of SSRI, pp. 13-14" UW Archives 40/1/2-1 Box 48, Folder: "Social Systems Research Institute").

The overall assessment by the SSRI leaders had a sour and somewhat petulant tone:

> To some of us the initial decision to establish SSRI looks after seven or eight years to have been wise. Perhaps it was ahead of its time. Recognition of the research need and support by the federal and state governments appear promising, but there is no point in individual professors trying to build a research institution if the University does not want one. Individual faculty members, no matter what their talents, devotion and resources, cannot successfully and probably should not try to build a research institute unless the University provides the necessary minimal support. . . .Although at one point it looked as if Wisconsin was an ideal site for such an institute, increasingly the University looks as if it wants its social science research to be in the thoroughly conventional, traditional, and safe mold—somewhere in the center of the good quality universities. It wants to catch up with the parade but not lead it in pioneering directions (Holt *et al.*, "Organizational Experience of SSRI," 1967, pp. 21-22, UW Archives, 40/1/2-1 Box 48, Folder "Social System Research Institute").

Orcutt's Subsequent Career

Orcutt first returned to Harvard for a year to teach econometrics, and write a paper with his daughter Alice for the Council of Economic Advisers on "Incentive and Disincentive Experimentation for Income Maintenance Policy Purposes" (Orcutt and Orcutt, 1968). Thus, even though he was not associated with the new Institute for Research on Poverty, he was still able to make his influence felt. He then worked for a year at the World Bank (IBRD) helping to design a financial model to be used as a management tool by the bank. When Robert McNamara became the new President, he wanted a very complex model built for 100 countries showing their need for foreign investment funds. Orcutt was asked to direct the project, but judging that it was an impossible task with the resources provided and within the expected time frame, he declined.

Shortly afterwards Orcutt resigned from the World Bank and joined the newly organized Urban Institute, where he was able to return to his project of developing a microsimulation model of the economy. This time, with a less grandiose vision, he was considerably more successful than he had been at Wisconsin, developing with the help of a number of other researchers the DYNASIM Dynamic Simulation of Income Model. In 1969-1970 he split his time between the Urban Institute and Yale University, where he was a visiting professor. From 1970 until his retirement in 1988 he was a Professor

of Economics and the A. Whitney Griswold Professor of Urban Studies in the Institution of Social and Policy Studies at Yale. He continued to work on microsimulation models and viewed with satisfaction the efforts of others in joining the quest (Orcutt, 1990, pp. 19-22; Watts, 1991, pp. 175-176).

SSRI After Orcutt

Though SSRI never achieved its original goal at Wisconsin of developing a viable microsimulation model of the United States economy, it did have a major effect in revitalizing the Department of Economics with the large influx of new researchers with an econometric orientation. This began to have an effect on the reputational ranking of the department, which stood at 13th in 1957 just before Orcutt arrived. By 1964 its ranking had risen to 10th, but after the departure of Orcutt and others, it only managed to remain at tied for 10th to 13th in 1981. By 2009 its ranking in the *US News* survey was little different—tied at 13th and 14th with Michigan.

After Orcutt left, SSRI did not die, but it contracted from a position as an autonomous extradepartmental research institute to a research service organization within the Department of Economics. At first, however, it made an attempt to continue as an interdepartmental social science research organization oriented toward quantitative systems models. Charles C. Holt, who succeeded Orcutt as Director of SSRI, came to see me when I was chair of Sociology in 1965 to discuss how he might induce more sociologists to participate in SSRI's program of research. I am afraid that I was not very helpful to him. I said that I was not aware of any Wisconsin sociologist at that time, with the possible exception of Norman Ryder, who had any real interest in working on econometric microsimulation models of the economy. To Orcutt and Holt it must have seemed that SSRI's goal of developing a model of the American economy was as broad and inclusive as all of social science, but to most non-economists the goal seemed too narrow to be the basis of an entire interdisciplinary social research institute. It seemed to reflect primarily the preoccupations and methodological predilections of econometrically trained economists. Furthermore, SSRI no longer had significant amounts of unrestricted funds with which it could begin to support research of sociologists or other members. They had to bring their own funding from outside project grants.

An institute more akin to BASR, ISR, or NORC no doubt would have elicited greater and more committed participation from those representing other disciplines. BASR was also unable to win the full support of its university administration, and it eventually succumbed. ISR and NORC, on the other hand, grew and thrived, largely because they were able to retain the overhead on the grants and contracts secured by their members. If Orcutt

had extracted a similar concession as a condition of his initial employment, SSRI might have enjoyed greater success, though not necessarily greater interdisciplinary participation. In any case, by this time sociologists had greater access to research funding from government agencies, foundations, and from WARF through the Research Committee and were able to find their own support for projects of their own choosing. In truth, SSRI had little direct influence on Sociology, but it had a substantial indirect influence by helping to build the computer science and statistics departments, improving computing facilities, bringing in econometricians who influenced a number of sociologists, and playing the major role in securing funding for a new research wing of the Social Sciences Building.

There was a lack of continuity of leadership in SSRI in the late 1960s after Orcutt's departure. Holt left for a position at the Urban Institute, and still later the McCombs School of Business at the University of Texas. He was followed as chair by Richard H. Day, who soon departed for the University of Southern California, and then by Martin H. David, who remained at Wisconsin until his retirement in 2001 and who was a member of the Center for Demography and Ecology. SSRI continued for several years as a general social science research organization with members from many departments, but soon after Orcutt left the leaders of SSRI abandoned his grand vision of constructing a microsimulation model of the U. S. economy, except as a very long-term objective: "Current research is primarily concentrated in various particular relationships, subsystems, and statistical and computational tool building rather than on large scale systems models" ("Social Systems Research Institute Biennial Report, Fiscal Years 1965-1967," p. 3, UW Archives: 7/9/00-4 Box 1). Finally, in July, 1971, under the chairmanship of Martin H. David, SSRI was reorganized, merging all Centers into one and drastically reducing official membership to sixteen—all economists ("SSRI Biennial Report, July, 1969-July, 1971" and "SSRI Biennial Report, July, 1971-June, 1973," UW Archives, 7/9/00-4). SSRI still exists today but does not originate research of its own and serves only to provide logistic and administrative services to researchers in the Department of Economics. It is financed by the College of Letters and Science and by a sub-budget of the Department of Economics. It continues to publish an extensive Working Papers Series. All of the papers in the series appear to be quantitative and highly technical studies by economists. Wisconsin sociologists today are largely unaware of SSRI's activities and perhaps even oblivious to its continued existence.

CHAPTER 7

Demography and Ecology and the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study

As the department grew larger, significant clusters of people in particular specialty areas began to form and in some cases reach a critical mass. The graduate program of the two departments became known for its enduring strength in several areas and also for a somewhat more fluctuating strength in a number of other specialty areas. As the reputation of a particular specialty area in the department grew, it became more attractive to new job candidates in that specialty. Thus, it improved our chances of recruiting the very best candidates in the market. We always tried to hire the best and did not hesitate to add strength to strength.

Center for Demography and Ecology

Beginnings of the Demography Program in Sociology

The Center for Demography and Ecology has been the most successful and robust organization within the Department of Sociology since the 1960s, partly because it has received generous funding from federal agencies but also because of outstanding leadership and the development of a collegial culture of cooperation and shared responsibility. From the 1920s to the mid-1950s the only field of sociology that received significant federal funding was rural sociology, but the National Science Foundation began to give grants for demography, mathematical sociology, and the sociology of science in the late 1950s, and the National Institutes of Health began to support demography in the 1960s.

Prior to this Wisconsin sociology was known primarily for its work in social psychology, and demography was not well developed. T. C. McCormick taught some classes in demography in the Sociology Department, but most of the demographic work was in the Department of Rural Sociology. George W. Hill had directed a massive WPA project in the late 1930s recoding the 1905 Wisconsin State Census to analyze ethnic and nationality characteristics, but then there was no more demographic research until Margaret Loyd Jarman Hagood came as a Visiting Professor in 1951-52. Douglas Marshall

came to the department in 1952, and he began to develop an extension program in demography, eventually founding the Applied Population Laboratory in the Department of Rural Sociology. Its work, however, was largely descriptive and was oriented more toward extension services than toward academic demography.

The fortunes of demography at Wisconsin took a great turn for the better in 1956 with the appointment of Norman B. Ryder in Sociology and Glenn V. Fuguitt in Rural Sociology. Ryder was a Milbank Memorial Fund Fellow in Population Research as a graduate student at Princeton University, where he received a PhD with a dissertation on "The Cohort Approach." He then taught at the University of Toronto for four years and subsequently worked as a demographer-expert in population statistics in the Canadian Bureau of Statistics. From there he went to the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems at Miami University for two more years before coming to Wisconsin as an Assistant Professor of Sociology (UW Archives 24/9/3 Box 80, Sociology, 1954-1964).



NORMAN B. RYDER (PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, OFFICE OF COMMUNICATIONS, ROBERT MATTHEWS, 1989)

Ryder had a reputation of being a little vain, sharp-tongued, and abrasive, but I found him to be warm and genuine, and he became one of my closest friends. He remained at Wisconsin for fifteen years, but returned to Princeton in 1971. I mourned his leaving.

Ryder was especially interested in developing and advancing the cohort approach, extending this classic demographic concept to sociological analysis. He published the landmark paper, "The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change," in the *American Sociological Review* in 1965. When he was interviewed for the Population Association of America in 1988 he said, "I've spent my whole professional lifetime as a salesman for the cohort approach" ("Norman Ryder, Renowned Demographer and Leader in Fertility Studies, Dies," 2010). When French demographer Jacques Vallin presented him with the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population Laureate Award in 2000, he told him, "You are the father of a method that no serious demographic textbook can afford to overlook" (*Ibid*.)

Substantively Ryder was mainly occupied with studies of American fertility and co-directed, with Charles F. Westoff, the National Fertility Studies of 1965, 1970, and 1975. Elements from these studies were incorporated by

the National Center for Health Statistics in its National Survey of Family Growth, and Ryder and Westoff prepared the core questions for the World Fertility Survey of the International Statistical Institute, which was conducted in some forty developing countries. Thomas Espenshade, a sociologist and demographer at Princeton, commented, "Ryder and Westoff became to fertility research what Rogers and Hammerstein were to Broadway musicals" (*Ibid.*). Ryder retired in 1989 and died in 2010.

In 1959 the demography and ecology group was strengthened further with the addition of Leo F. Schnore. Schnore had been a student of Amos H. Hawley at Michigan. Sewell learned about Schnore from Otis Dudley Duncan, who had been an undergraduate student of Sewell and was a long-time friend. Duncan wrote,

> I must confess I think he is really one of the best bets for a younger sociologist that I know of. He has salt and originality as a researcher, a really keen critical and theoretical mind, poise and composure . . . and a determination to be productive. His output to date is quite remarkable, and from what I know of his work and plans I judge he is just at the beginning of a real surge (Sewell, 1999).

Hawley and Philip M. Hauser concurred, saying that he was one of the two to four best in the country in the field of human ecology, regardless of age. Sewell persuaded the dean to authorize the offer of an Associate Professorship to lure him from Berkeley. Schnore accepted the offer and was highly productive and an excellent teacher in his early years at Wisconsin, quickly advancing to full Professor. His promise, however, was cut short by bouts of serious depression that interrupted his teaching and research, and colleagues sometimes had to take over and teach his courses. By the 1970s his illness became so serious that he had to take leave from the university, never to return full time. He was granted emeritus status in 1988 and died October 2, 1998, after years of tragic struggle with his illness (Sewell, 1999; Guest, 1999).



LEO F. SCHNORE, CA. 1966
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

Another budding star, Stanley Lieberson, was added in 1961, and he amply fulfilled his early promise. Lieberson received the PhD at the University of Chicago in 1960. He taught two years at the University



STANLEY LIEBERSON, CA. 1966
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

of Iowa before coming to the University of Wisconsin in 1961 as an Assistant Professor. He was well trained in human ecology and did important research on metropolitan dominance and changes in metropolitan dominance. His primary focus, however, was on race, ethnicity, and linguistic diversity. He was born in the multicultural city of Montreal and grew up in polyglot Brooklyn. He became interested in sociolinguistics and was a pioneer contributor in the field, investigating bilingualism, language conflict, and comparative diversity. Lieberson was highly productive at Wisconsin and advanced to full Professor status by the time of his departure in 1967. He then taught four years at the University of Washington, three years at the University of Chicago, nine years at the University of Arizona, and five years at the University of California-Berkeley, before settling down at Harvard from 1988 to the present. At Harvard he was Abbott Lawrence Lowell Professor of Sociology. He was elected President of the American Sociological Association for 1990-91, and he is a member of the National Academy of Sciences. In 2013 the Harvard Department hosted an evening during the ASA Annual Meetings to honor Lieberson's career. Speakers at the occasion included David Mechanic, Glenn Fuguitt, and Charles Hirschman.

When Lieberson arrived in Madison in the fall of 1961, there was not sufficient room for some of the sociology faculty in Sterling Hall, where most of the sociologists were situated. Schnore had an office near the Wisconsin Survey Research Lab, which housed the newly arrived director, Harry Sharp, in rented space in the bank building on the corner of University Avenue and Park Street. The space is now occupied by the School of Business in Grainger Hall. They became bosom buddies and remained so until Sharp's death finally parted them in 1997. Nearby on Park Street, in additional rented space, Fisher had one office and Ryder and Lieberson shared a second office (E-mail, Lieberson to Winsborough, June 28, 2002, CDE archives). The next year all the sociologists except Sharp moved to the new Social Sciences Building on Observatory Drive. The Wisconsin Survey Research Lab later moved to Lowell Hall on Langdon Street.

Founding of the Center for Demography and Ecology

Though there were three solid scholars in demography and human ecology in the Sociology Department by 1961, plus Glenn Fuguitt in Rural Sociology, they were not organized as a research center. Population research centers had earlier been established at other universities. The first was the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems established in 1922 at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, with Warren Thompson as Director and P. K. Whelpton, an early proponent to the cohort approach in analyzing fertility, as Associate Director. Leo Schnore attended Miami University as an undergraduate in the late 1940s, and Norman Ryder also worked for two years as a demographer at the Scripps Institute before coming to Wisconsin.

The Scripps center was followed in 1936 by the Office of Population Research at Princeton University, directed by Frank Notestein for the first seventeen years, then by Ansley Coale for the next 17 years, and by Charles Westoff for another 17 years. Ryder received his training in demography at this center. The Population Research and Training Center was founded at the University of Chicago in 1947 by Philip M. Hauser and included Donald Bogue and Evelyn Kitigawa. Stanley Lieberson, Karl Taeuber, and Hal Winsborough all were trained in this center. Donald Treiman, Karen Oppenheim Mason, Sheila Klatzky, and Nora Cate Schaeffer, who came to Wisconsin later, were also trained in demography at Chicago, but they were associated more with NORC than with the Population Center. Calvin Schmid founded the Office of Population Research at the University of Washington also in 1947. In 1967 it became the Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology under the leadership of Stanley Lieberson, after he moved there from Wisconsin. Later directors of this center included two graduates of the Wisconsin demography and ecology program—Charles Hirschman and Avery Guest. All of these centers came into existence long before there was federal funding of population centers, because they provided significant advantages in research and training—economies of scale, sharing of resources, and a useful division of labor (Winsborough, 2012).

There was a flurry of activity in creating new population research centers in the early 1960s, prompted in part by growing public concern about the rapid growth of world population. This concern reached a peak in 1968 when an alarmist but naive book, *The Population Bomb*, was published by Paul Ehrlich, a Stanford biologist, repackaging Malthusian arguments and predicting imminent catastrophe. The University of Michigan's center was founded in 1961, followed in 1962 by the center at the University of Pennsylvania, though Penn had long been strong in population studies before this, especially in its Department of Economics. Harvard followed in 1964, and Brown and the University of North Carolina in 1965.

The University of Wisconsin's Center for Demography and Ecology was initially founded in the fall of 1962, but for quite different reasons than the other centers. In Chapter 6, vol. 2, I described how the famous economist Guy Orcutt came to Wisconsin from Harvard with a vision of creating the Social Systems Research Institute as an interdisciplinary social research organization that would be composed of multiple research centers within Economics, Sociology, and perhaps some other departments. He wanted the various research centers to cooperate in building a microsimulation model of the U.S. economy that would be grounded in empirical reality and would enable social scientists to predict more accurately the consequences of various public policies. Orcutt was particularly interested in population modeling and securing demographic data for input into his microsimulation model of the economy. He had already worked on a household composition model during the year prior to his coming to Wisconsin. Most of the work on that model was apparently done on the IBM 704 at the Computation Center for the New England Colleges and Universities. It was not published until 1961, however, as the first book issued by the Social Systems Research Institute— Orcutt *et al.*, *Microanalysis of Socioeconomic Systems: A Simulation Study*. The book is primarily a presentation of a relatively simple demographic model of the U.S. household sector based on births and deaths of individuals and marriages and divorces of couples.

With strong encouragement from Orcutt the Department of Sociology founded the Center for Demography and Ecology in the Fall of 1962, and this center also became a component of the Social Systems Research Institute. Because Sociology had a "cash-flow" problem, SSRI paid half the salary of Norman Ryder to serve as Director of the Center the first year. Orcutt had substantial grants of unrestricted funds from the Ford Foundation and the Graduate School Research Committee in the beginning, but the support of Ryder was essentially a loan rather than a grant. The next year the funds were returned to SSRI, and as far as I can ascertain, no other sociologist ever received salary support from SSRI during Orcutt's time at the university. Leo F. Schnore and Stanley Lieberson were the only other members of CDE, and all three were listed as members of SSRI. Ryder was a distinguished expert on fertility and a pioneer advocate of the cohort approach in analyzing fertility—a technique with obvious application to computer modeling of household composition. Ryder had master's degrees in political economy and economics at Toronto and Princeton, and more than any other sociologist at Wisconsin at that time, he had an admiration for formal economic modeling. He was perhaps the sociologist most sympathetic to Orcutt's ambition to create a microeconomic model of the U.S. economy.

When the Social Sciences Building was completed in 1962, the new Center for Demography and Ecology moved into new quarters—Room 8102

on the eighth floor of the building—a room now occupied by the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study. The central part of the room contained tables at which researchers could spread out source materials, and the room was lined with bookcases that held a modest collection of census volumes and reference books. There were two offices in the corners of the room, one occupied by Ryder and the other by Schnore. Lieberson had an office down the hall opening directly on the corridor. A sign on the door of 8102 proclaimed that this was the Center for Demography and Ecology, but for the next five years this was about the only evidence that it was a center.

Training and Center Grants

One year after its founding, CDE was no longer a part of SSRI, and it lost whatever outside financial support it had. I have found no evidence that Ryder, Schnore, or Lieberson ever participated actively in SSRI's research program. Each of the members was busy pursuing a very active personal research program, and there was little or no collegial activity in the center. Ryder was particularly busy with important research that was about to flower with the National Fertility Studies of 1965, 1970, and 1975, and he took on the additional responsibility of Editor of the *American Sociological Review* between 1966 and 1968. Ryder was also a somewhat reserved scholar who was temperamentally unsuited to playing a strong leadership role in building an organization.

What little center activity that took place in CDE in its first years was stimulated more from the outside than from within. Sewell had been lobbying for the creation of a Behavioral Science Training Committee in the National Institute of General Medical Science in the early 1960s, and after it was established he served as its first chair. One of the areas in which it supported training programs—both predoctoral and postdoctoral—was demography. Sewell alerted Borgatta to the opportunity, and Borgatta, who was in his first year as Sociology Chair in 1961, put together a proposal for a CDE training program. Borgatta was always eager to build the department and wrote some of the proposal, with Ryder contributing as well. Ryder was specified as Principal Investigator, and other participating faculty were listed as Borgatta, Schnore, Harry Sharp, and Glenn Fuguitt (who did not know that he had been included). Borgatta and Sharp could not reasonably be described as demographers, but were apparently included to make the list of faculty participants look less thin.

The proposal to NIGMS was successful and CDE was awarded a five-year grant of $270,000 to support nine trainees a year. The grant also included some funds for faculty support, clerical assistance, supplies, equipment, and travel, and this and the renewed training grant were the primary sources of

financial support for the next eight years until CDE received a center grant. The training grant was awarded in June of 1963 but had a starting date of January, 1964. The progress report for the first year and a half listed four faculty—Ryder, Schnore, Lieberson, and Karl Taeuber, who had joined the faculty as an Associate Professor in 1965-66—and four trainees. The progress reports for the next two years listed the same four faculty, and a few new trainees (Winsborough, 2012).

As I related earlier, we made strong efforts to recruit a number of well-known senior faculty during my first year as Chair in 1965-66—with relatively little success. We focused on hiring at the assistant professor level after that, but when we believed that there was a "target of opportunity"—an excellent senior person whom we believed we had a good chance of recruiting—the dean was quite prepared to authorize a try. We were able to bring in Karl Taeuber, Charles B. Perrow, and Richard F. Hamilton at the tenured level in 1965 and 1966. Taeuber remained in the department until his retirement and became a principal leader and mainstay in the demography and ecology program. He became the nation's leading authority on racial residential segregation. His wife, Alma Taeuber, was also a demographer and made major contributions as a research scientist.

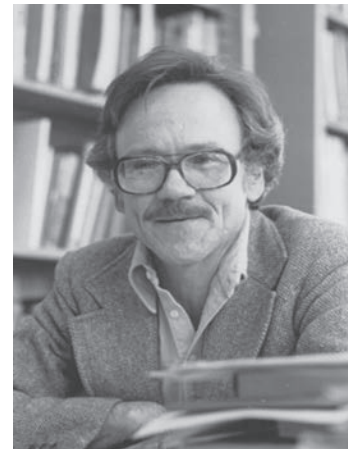


KARL E. TAEUBER
(UW ARCHIVES)

In 1966 Lieberson came to me and said that there was a really fine demographer who was "languishing away" at Duke, and he believed that there was a very good chance that we could persuade him to come to Wisconsin. His name was Halliman H. Winsborough. I knew little about the field of demography, and I had never heard of Winsborough, but Lieberson had known him as a fellow graduate student in the Population Center at the University of Chicago, and there were few whose judgment I trusted more than Lieberson's. I did not really believe that Winsborough was "languishing" at Duke, but Stan strongly urged us to try to recruit him. We brought him in for an interview, and the more we learned about him, the more enthusiastic we became.

Winsborough today says that he thought he was brought in specifically to take over and build the Center for Demography and Ecology, but that is not the way I remember it. We were initially just focused on recruiting the best senior person that we could find regardless of field. His assuming the directorship of CDE was more of an afterthought—but an obvious and

critically important one. Ryder, I think, was quite eager to be relieved of the responsibility, for he had an overwhelming work load as co-director of the National Fertility Studies and editor of the *American Sociological Review*.



HALLIMAN H. WINSBOROUGH, 1978, (UW ARCHIVES, NORMAN LENSBURG)

Winsborough's assumption that we recruited him primarily to be the CDE leader was understandable, because he had just written a successful demography training grant proposal to NIGMS for Duke University. John C. McKinney, the Chair of Sociology at Duke, had apparently seen the Wisconsin proposal, and he assigned Winsborough to write a similar proposal for the research center that eventually became the Duke Population Research Institute. At the 50th Anniversary celebration of CDE Winsborough recalled,

> They found me at Duke University. My main claim to fame was that I had written a training grant more or less imitating the one that they had written, and I had won it successfully at Duke. So I was hired to get the grant renewed and make the center grow and create a *Gemeinschaft* center. With everyone participating, we did just that (Winsborough, 2012).

Fortunately, he accepted our offer as Professor of Sociology and took over as the Director of CDE in the fall of 1967. The center was further greatly strengthened during the next twenty years of rapid departmental growth by the addition of Donald J. Treiman in 1967, James A. Sweet in 1968, Robert M. Hauser, Larry L. Bumpass, and Karen Oppenheim (Mason) in 1969, David L. Featherman and Sheila R. Klatzky in 1970, Aage B. Sørensen in 1971, Franklin D. Wilson in 1973, Doris P. Slesinger in 1975, Marta Tienda and Paul Voss in 1976, Robert D. Mare in 1977, Elizabeth Thomson in 1979, Alberto Palloni in 1980, Sara S. McLanahan in 1981, Judith A. Seltzer in 1984, and Lawrence L. Wu in 1988. This was an exceptionally talented group, and their achievements played a significant role in raising the reputational ranking of Wisconsin sociology. All of them came as assistant professors and worked their way up through the ranks. They all quickly achieved tenure at Wisconsin, with the exception of Oppenheim, who left after two years and pursued a successful career elsewhere. Gary Sandefur also came as an Associate Professor in 1984. More recent additions of demographers to Sociology

and Community and Environmental Sociology include M. Giovanna Merli (1999), Mara Loveman (2003), Theodore P. Gerber (2005), James Raymo (2006), Katherine J. Curtis (2007), Felix Elwert (2007), Marcia J. Carlson (2008), Jenna Nobles (2009), and Monica J. Grant (2009).

A number of those hired from 1968 to 1970 were students of Otis Dudley Duncan at the University of Michigan. When I visited Michigan on a recruiting trip in 1967, Duncan told me about four exceptional students that he had—Sweet, Hauser, Bumpass, and, in the next year's group, David Featherman, and I came away determined to add all four to our department as soon as we could manage the budget and not alarm others in the department with the invasion of demographers. Burt Fisher, a social psychologist who was also on the Junior Staff Search Committee, fully agreed. Burt suggested we start with Sweet, but we fully intended to move on to Hauser as quickly as possible. Unfortunately, he accepted a position at Brown just before we were able to make an offer. We did succeed in recruiting him a little later in 1969. Ryder thought Hauser was very bright but he told me he was something of a smartass on the basis of his paper "Context and Consex: A Cautionary Tale" (R. Hauser, 1970), which he had rejected as editor of the *American Sociological Review*. Fortunately, he did not stand in the way of an offer. Today Hauser recalls his introduction to Ryder with a rueful laugh:

> I was in exile in Providence, Rhode Island, for two years. . . . I wrote a paper once over a weekend and I was encouraged by my dissertation advisor, Dudley Duncan, to send it to the *American Sociological Review* where Norman B. Ryder was editor at that time. [He rejected it] saying that I had wasted the time of serious faculty scholars, a disgrace to the business. It was later published by the *American Journal of Sociology* (R. M. Hauser, 2012).



ROBERT M. HAUSER
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)



FRANKLIN WILSON
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

The rest of us thought it was an admirable methodological paper, which taught a useful lesson to statistically innocent sociologists, and after Hauser arrived, Ryder quickly came to admire Hauser's talents and serious scholarship and became a strong supporter.

With the recruitment of a number of outstanding faculty, the program in demography and ecology became one of the strongest in the department, displacing social psychology as the signature specialty of the department. After Winsborough stepped down as director of the Center, he was succeeded by a number of other gifted leaders: Karl Taeuber, James Sweet, Larry Bumpass, Robert Hauser, Franklin Wilson, and Betty Thomson.

It is remarkable that most of the core group of leaders of CDE remained together for decades, turning away the blandishments of offers from competing university demography programs. The continuity and stability of the Center no doubt played an important part in its success as it grew in size, resources, and complexity of operations. Faculty who joined CDE in later years have maintained this continuity, with strong leadership from James Raymo and others.



CDE DIRECTORS AND NOTABLE STAFF IN THE EARLY YEARS, 2003
(L TO R) ELIZABETH THOMSON, JEFFREY PETERSON, KARL TAEUBER, JAMES SWEET, LARRY BUMPASS. HAL WINSBOROUGH, JANICE DENEEN, ROBERT HAUSER, FRANKLIN WILSON (UW CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY)

Demography in Rural Sociology

Most of the demographers in the early days of the Department of Rural Sociology were engaged in applied work, mostly of a descriptive nature oriented toward extension. There were, however, three early academic demographers who went on to become stars in the field—Glenn V. Fuguitt, Doris Slesinger, and Marta Tienda. Fuguitt had been a master's student of T. Lynn

Smith, an eminent demographer and rural sociologist, at the University of Florida in 1952, and he came to Wisconsin to do doctoral study. He completed the PhD in 1956 with a dissertation on standardization of the fertility ratio, under the direction of Douglas Marshall.

Fuguitt immediately assumed a faculty position in the Department of *Rural Sociology*. He provided a useful complement to Ryder, since he focused primarily on population distribution, and did important work on population distribution and change in nonmetropolitan areas of the United States. He has studied long-term trends in urbanization and redistribution, and the factors associated with the growth and decline of cities, villages, and rural areas. He served as President of the Rural Sociological Society in 1970-1971, and as the first President of the International Rural Sociology Association in 1976-1980. He also was editor of Rural Sociology from 1965-1967 He continued teaching and doing research in demography at Wisconsin until his retirement in 1993.

Doris P. Slesinger's research was focused mostly on the health of minority groups and her manifold contributions are discussed in the section on Medical Sociology in Chapter 9, vol. 2.



GLENN V. FUGUITT
(UW ARCHIVES)



MARTA TIENDA
(M. TIENDA)

Marta Tienda's personal history is one of the most inspiring tales I know of—rising out of poverty and immense hardship as a child and youth to become a leading figure in her field. She has accomplished this by virtue of intense focus, self-discipline, and sheer hard work. I would add the contribution of a keen intelligence, but she modestly tends to deny it, saying that she just tried to work harder than other people. There is no question that she was and still is a dynamo of energy going at full speed for long hours every day. The details of her early life that follow are taken from a book-length biography published by Diane O'Connell in 2005 in the Women's Adventures in Science Series for young people and a shorter account by Judy Peet

in 2009. Tienda welcomes the telling of her story as an encouragement for young Hispanic women to aim higher. She has long been concerned that they have been lagging behind in higher education.

Marta's father, Toribio Tienda, was an undocumented Mexican immigrant who crossed the Rio Grande on a raft escorted by a "coyote" when he was 16 in 1941. He went to work in Texas picking oranges and grapefruit at one dollar a day. Later he landed a better job in a fruit-packing plant at 45 cents per hour and after that a still better job working for the Missouri Pacific Railroad. Eventually he married a young Mexican American woman and was able to legalize his status. Marta was born in 1950 and the family moved to Michigan the following year. Her father worked double shifts at a steel mill and a Ford plant and was able to purchase a small two-bedroom bungalow in a Detroit suburb. Marta's mother died from botched routine surgery when Marta was seven, and her father remarried to prevent the authorities from placing his five children in foster homes because he was away from home so much. Unfortunately, the new stepmother was abusive to Marta and her siblings. She says, "You know Cinderella? My stepmother made that stepmother look like the fairy godmother" (Peet, 2009.) During two summers strikes closed the plants, and the five Tienda children, ages 12, 10, 9, 6, and 5, had to do back-breaking work in the fields picking tomatoes to make ends meet. Marta, who was 10, had a quota of 40 gallons of tomatoes a day.

Though he had only four years of schooling in Mexico, Marta's father strongly emphasized the importance of education to his children, and all five graduated from high school. Three went on to get advanced college degrees, and later in life Toribio himself moved back to Texas and earned a high school diploma at the age of 74. Marta's original ambition in high school was to become a beautician, but a sympathetic teacher who recognized her ability, suggested that she consider going to college. It had never entered her mind, because she thought that only rich people could go to college, but the teacher convinced her that she could get a scholarship. She did win a full tuition scholarship and enrolled at Michigan State University, majoring in Spanish. She thought of becoming a high school Spanish teacher, but a student teaching experience and exposure to the realities of school bureaucratic indifference soured her on this option. During a summer job certifying migrant agricultural workers for food stamps and the experience of starting a day care center for them started her thinking of going in a different direction. She received a B.A., *Magna Cum Laude* at Michigan State in 1972.

Marta received a Ford Foundation Minority Fellowship for higher education and enrolled in the graduate program at the University of Texas-Austin in Spanish and Latin American Studies. One of the courses she took—her first in sociology—was an undergraduate course on modern Mexican society

taught by Harley Browning. She quickly realized that this was the type of study she wanted to do, and Browning, recognizing her promise, became her mentor. She soon enrolled in the PhD program in sociology and excelled in her work, receiving a PhD in sociology in 1976.

Tienda landed her first teaching job in the Department of Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin right after graduation, but before leaving Texas she married her Venezuelan classmate, Wence Lanz. The day before the wedding her younger brother, Juan Luis, a lawyer who worked with immigrants in Michigan, was killed in a car crash while driving Marta's car, which was totaled. The newlyweds were broke and without a car, but a neighbor from Michigan gave them enough money to make their way to Madison.

Tienda had previously tended to avoid work on minority projects, not wishing to be labeled the "Mexican-American sociologist." "But," she says, "after my brother's death, I felt I owed it to him to carry on his work with Hispanics. I soon realized, this is where I could really make a difference, improve people's lives" (Peet, 2009). In Madison her research was mostly focused on the Latino population in the United States and Latin America. Her Wisconsin research culminated in the 1987 landmark study, *The Hispanic Population of the United States,* coauthored with Frank D. Bean, who was then still at the University of Texas. This was part of the Census Monograph Series, *Population of the United States in the 1980s***.**

Tienda already displayed the intensity, energy, and hard work for which she became known in her subsequent career. At Wisconsin Tienda also became an outstanding teacher who was always willing to help graduate students, but she was very demanding, not tolerating procrastination, slipshod work, or lack of maximum effort. She was, however, even more demanding of herself and clearly wanted to increase her competence and make a real difference in the world. She quickly advanced to full professor in just seven years in 1983.

In 1989 Tienda left Wisconsin for a position as Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago and moved into the Ralph Lewis name chair in 1994. She won the respect of her colleagues and served as Chair of the Department of Sociology from 1994 to 1997. In a skit one time three Chicago graduate students simultaneously played her doing different things, portraying her as people perceived her—being active everywhere at once. In 1993 she and her boys went to Israel for three months, and she coauthored a book with Haya Stier while there—*The Color of Opportunity: Pathways to Family, Work, and Welfare* (2001). Her nonstop activity became even more remarkable after she and Lanz were divorced and she became a single mother with two young sons.

In 1997 Tienda moved again—this time to Princeton University as

Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs. Two years later she became Maurice P. During '22 Professor in Demographic Studies. At Princeton she has served as Director of the Office of Population Research and as Founding Director of the Program in Latino Studies. Her career has truly flowered in the years since she left Wisconsin. She has served as an editor or co-editor for numerous books, monographs, and special issues. She has also authored or coauthored over 200 scientific articles and chapters on US racial and ethnic groups, inequality, international migration, and other topics. She has received a long list of honors, including honorary degrees from Bank Street College of Education, Lehman College, and Ohio State University. She was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1993-1994 and was elected President of the Population Association of America in 2002. Other honors are too numerous to mention here.

Demography in the Turbulent 1960s

The purview of the field of demography prior to the 1960s was relatively circumscribed. In 1959 Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan defined the field in these terms:

> Demography is the study of the size, territorial distribution and composition of population, changes therein, and the components of such changes, which may be identified as natality, mortality, territorial movement (migration) and social mobility (change of status) (P. M. Hauser and Duncan, 1959, p. 2).

During the 50th Anniversary Research Symposium and Celebration for CDE held on October 12-13, 2012, Robert Hauser, citing the old definition, pointed out that the field has since burst through those boundaries to tackle a much wider range of topics. The young demographers who joined CDE were in the vanguard of this movement:

> Now one of the things that happened, here and elsewhere, in this "golden age of social science," is that we really changed that [definition] in a fundamental way. That is to say, we got to doing what most of us have been doing most of our lives—on the one hand thinking about populations, about population variability, and about the components of change and the like, and then seeking to explain those components. . . . (R. Hauser, 2012).

In 1978 Samuel Preston wrote that there were four principal traditions in demographic research—the Princeton, the Chicago-Berkeley, the

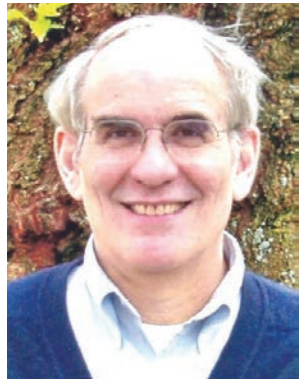
Pennsylvania-Brown, and the Michigan-Wisconsin traditions. He suggested that the Michigan-Wisconsin approach had become more predominant during the preceding decade and emphasized socioeconomic composition more than the others, giving it the most inclusive definition of the field (Preston, 1978, pp. 300-301).

During the 50th celebration there were several "Data and Decades" panels discussing the center's historical development. Sweet was one of the panelists and recalled the student protests, conflicts, and chaos that enveloped the campus from 1967 to 1970. He said, "The Vietnam War and opposition to the war was a central part of our lives during the late 1960s and the early 1970s." During this period growing numbers of young men were drafted and there was widespread draft resistance. Shortly after he and Winsborough arrived on campus a large number of student protesters occupied the Commerce Building (now Ingraham Hall) directly across the street from the Social Sciences Building to try to prevent the Dow Chemical Company, the maker of napalm, and the CIA from interviewing job candidates. When the students ignored orders by the campus police to clear the halls, the Madison City police, untrained in riot management, accidentally broke a glass window and started brutally beating the students with billy clubs. Sweet himself transported a bleeding student to the hospital emergency room. He went on to describe some of the other demonstrations and episodes of violence in the 1960s. Sweet concluded,

> So what's my point in all of this? Why recount this ancient history? We were here in 1967 through 1970 early in our careers, some of us getting trained, some of us doing research, trying to publish our stuff, trying to get tenure. . . . How did this work? How did we manage to launch a world-class demographic research and training center in this kind of an environment? It just amazes me how many of the students in the program later became extremely, extremely productive scholars and faculty members in major universities around the country. . . . How did this happen? How did they launch their careers in this kind of chaotic environment? That has perplexed me for many, many years (Sweet, 2012a).

Charles Hirschman, who was on the same panel, and who was a graduate student and demography trainee between 1967 and 1972, tried to answer the question. He suggested that the basic answer is that the graduate students in the program and the faculty, many of whom were not much older than the students, developed strong social bonds with each other. Within this group there was a simultaneous strong commitment to academic norms and professional values as well as a passionate engagement with the social issues of the day. He recalled,

> There was a lunch hour in the old library where graduate students every day came to lunch. They brought their brown bag and a drink, and faculty joined them, not all the time, but many of them did. We talked all the time. We talked about research, we talked about politics. Professional gossip was part of this kind of thing as well. It was really a community in which there was a lot of intergenerational socialization. . . . This was about the serious issues of the day, and we were all engaged in that. . . . You had to be a serious researcher, but you also had to be a citizen, because you were involved in all of these things (Hirschman, 2012).



CHARLES HIRSCHMAN
(C. HIRSCHMAN)



ROBERT D. MARE
(UCLA DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

David Featherman had similar reflections from his days as a young faculty member:

> Those years were the worst of times and the best of times because of the worst possible stuff that was happening out there that we had to contend with as real people in our working lives every day. There was probably less separation in our cohort between life in the real world and life in the intellectual world, maybe because at any moment we had to deal intellectually and socially and personally with all that stuff in our immediate environment. It was also wonderful for some of us to be able to work with our spouses so that the separation of family from work, that is now so problematic in contemporary times, worked in a different way for us (Featherman, 2012).

The Hausers arrived in the midst of the "troubles" in 1969. While Bob drove from Providence with a U-Haul trailer, Tess, 8½-months pregnant, arrived by plane and was picked up at the airport by Sweet. Tess recalled, "We drove past the Capitol and there were National Guardsmen every six

feet, with rifles, with bayonets, helmets, and gas masks, and I thought, oh my God, where have I moved!" (Taissa Hauser, 2012).

The demography graduate students of this period expressed their activism in typical academic fashion by founding a journal, *Critical Demography*. (Hirschman: "It was the first thing that came to mind!") It was published by a group of demography graduate students from the Universities of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Cornell who met at the 1969 meeting of the Population Association of America and formed a group called Concerned Demographers. It was first based at the University of Wisconsin, where Hirschman, James Zuiches, and others played an active role. The contributors were critical of the simplistic Malthusian "Population Bomb" types of analyses, but more importantly, they criticized the emphasis of the demographic establishment on birth control and family planning programs—individualistic approaches to what they saw as basic structural problems in societies that resulted in poor health and economic insecurity, which in turn brought high fertility By 1974, however, most of the founders of the journal had moved on to regular academic jobs, and the journal, facing budget problems and a lack of new recruits, ceased publication. Susan Greenhalgh, a Canadian anthropologist-demographer writing two decades later, attributed its demise to a kind of conspiracy of the demographic establishment to silence the critical voices of the radical students:

> Establishment members of the profession deployed a variety of social practices quietly but firmly to bring the students in line . . . . They published counter-criticisms and defended the status quo in the journal itself. They withheld financial and institutional support. More positively, they co-opted the students into the establishment with offers of faculty positions and all the benefits of membership in the disciplinary club. In short, they both forced and enticed the young people to give up their youthful idealism when they graduated and became faculty members themselves. . . . Facing a hostile environment and lacking financial and institutional support, the students had no way to carry on. After receiving their degrees, they were absorbed into the establishment and *Concerned Demography* died an early death (Greenhalgh, 1996, pp. 51-52).

In the panel discussion Hirschman referred to this article and vehemently rejected its thesis, quipping, "You might notice being absorbed into the establishment and being silenced are not quite the same thing." He had gone on to become the Director of the Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology at the University of Washington, and obviously believed that his voice had been amplified, not silenced. Zuiches went on to a number of high administrative positions and later became Vice Chancellor at North

Carolina State University, and other demography students from the early period became deans and influential professors at universities around the country. It is true, as Greenhalgh argued, that the field of demography, with its often applied emphasis and heavy dependence on government funding, has perhaps allowed less room for an alternative, critical tradition than many other fields of sociology. It is not true, though, that most demographers have ignored basic structural problems in societies that have had serious demographic consequences. They are quite aware of the underlying societal problems, but most do not see efforts to deal with these inequalities as inconsistent with support for birth control programs that help those who wish to limit the size of their own families.

Characteristics of the Center for Demography and Ecology

The success of CDE was due in large measure to Winsborough's early leadership in establishing several important principles of operation:

> First, the Center was to be a shared resource and a shared responsibility. We set up a steering committee on the model of a departmental executive committee. The committee owned the Center. The directorship was to rotate with a term of five years. Everyone was expected to take a turn. This was unbelievably revolutionary at the time. No other demography center operated this way. They were all "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" (Winsborough, 2012).

A second principle was that members were expected to share and cooperate. Research funds were to be "from each according to today's luck and to each according to today's need," and the availability of some flexible Center funds made this work. A third principle was that members were individually and collectively responsible for securing needed collective resources—data, books, computing facilities, and survey research facilities. Members then decided individually what was the most important work that they could do within the limits of the resources and funding possibilities available (Winsborough, 2012).

Many of those who spoke at the 50th Anniversary Celebration of the Center for Demography and Ecology talked about the special culture that characterized the center. Robert D. Mare, who came to Wisconsin in 1977 fresh from graduate study at the University of Michigan, recalled that Wisconsin was the place where he wanted to start his career, because so many people were doing important research in the field of social stratification, "and I wanted to be a part of that." He said that "I came for stratification, and I came away with demography." Working alongside the demographers

as well as the social stratification scholars, all of whom served as generous mentors, he experienced the interpenetration of the two fields and became deeply influenced by the Wisconsin orientation. He emphasized the special culture that he found in CDE:

> There was something about the culture . . . the extraordinary environment, on the one hand extremely serious and extremely about getting work done, and on the other hand . . . people are nice to one another, they respect one another. . . . CDE is not just about key individuals. It is an institution and a culture. People matter, but they are more than just particular individuals. This has never been a place that belongs to specific individuals. There's some sort of thing here that gets reflected in the students and visitors and people who are here for a while and then leave, and that enriched social demography in general and the social stratification aspect of it in particular (Mare, 2012).

Wendy D. Manning, a graduate student in CDE between 1985 and 1992 and now a faculty member at Bowling Green State University, also spoke glowingly from a student's point of view about the culture of the center:

> What was key was the culture . . . the research model of teamwork, and we learned how to work together, and the value of that. All of us were reasonably bright students, we possessed some quantitative abilities, we were serious . . . we studied for prelims . . . we worked on dissertations . . . and I thank all the graduate students and scholars for that experience as we challenged and supported one another. . . . They are more than just friends (Manning, 2012).

The early training programs in CDE and in the Center for Medical Sociology and Health Services Research were important not just for the trainees in the two programs, but for the whole department, because they came to serve as models for the training of graduate students in other fields as well. CDE Trainees were required to attend a weekly training seminar, and the demography faculty generally attended as well. At these sessions demography faculty or visiting scholars often talked, but demography students also made presentations and received critical feedback that was useful for their research. These training programs strongly influenced faculty to begin similar training seminars in the Sociology of Economic Change, Social Organization, and Methodology, and eventually there were regular training seminars for faculty and graduate students in most of the major specialty areas. The introduction of area training seminars was a major change in the culture of the department and in the way we trained graduate students.

They greatly facilitated the exchange of information and ideas among the graduate students and faculty in a specialty area and strengthened the social ties among them.

The training grants from NIGMS were primarily for the support of graduate student trainees and only marginally provided support for the population centers. Sewell served on the NIH advisory committee that drew up plans for the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD), which was founded in 1962 and later renamed the Eunice Kennedy Shriver NICHD. At first it focused mostly on Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities (IDD's), a particular interest of the Kennedy and Shriver families, but over time its scope of operations expanded. In 1967 a Social and Behavioral Sciences Branch was added. Wilbur Cohen, who had graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1934 and who had helped to design Social Security and other welfare programs, became President Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1968. That same year he established the Center for Population Research within NICHD and designated it as the federal agency primarily responsible for population research and research training. NICHD promptly started a program to support research infrastructure for population centers in universities.

The training grant from NIGMS and its renewal were the primary support of CDE through the 1960s, but when NICHD began its program to support center organizations directly, CDE submitted an application that was successful. It received its first center grant about 1971, and it continued to receive support from NICHD in subsequent years. This center grant was particularly important for CDE, because it enabled the center to acquire its own computer for data processing—an episode that I describe more fully in Chapter 8, vol. 2, in the section dealing with computing and quantitative analysis in the department. By this time the computing infrastructure provided by SSRI within the building had almost entirely disappeared. CDE's first computer was the entry level IBM 360, Model 30, which had limited computing power, but it went a long way in reducing dependence on the mainframe in the central computing center three blocks away. CDE began upgrading its computing facilities at every opportunity, first moving to an IBM 370 and later, with a grant from the National Science Foundation, to the excellent minicomputer Digital Equipment Corporation VAX 11/780. Upgrading computing facilities became especially important during this period because the Bureau of the Census announced that the 1970 census would be made available to researchers in machine readable form.

The center grant also made it possible to establish a specialized library for demography and ecology, which was built into a very useful collection under the able guidance of Ruth Sandor over a period of many years. Sandor

and Jane Vanderlin also published an international directory of population organizations in 1985. Unfortunately, during a recent period of a funding shortfall, the collection had to be broken up and dispersed, since there were inadequate funds for staffing the library.

Early Large Scale Studies

One of the first large-scale research projects by demographers at CDE was the Occupational Changes in a Generation Study (OCG) which began in 1971. This was basically a replication of an earlier study of 1962 data by "strange bedfellows" Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan. The original study had come about after Philip Hauser (Bob's uncle) wrote to Conrad Taeuber (Karl's father, who was Associate Director of the Census) suggesting that if they added one question on father's occupation to the March Current Population Survey (CPS), they would get an excellent basis for characterizing social mobility patterns in the United States. The question was added in the March, 1962, CPS, and Blau and Duncan were able to publish their landmark study, *The American Occupational Structure*, in 1967.

About 1970, Karl Taeuber, who was presumably in touch with his father, told Bob Hauser and David Featherman that the Bureau of the Census might be receptive to a proposal to repeat a similar study about a decade after the first, and he suggested that the two of them should collaborate (Featherman, 2012). Conrad Taeuber did become a supporter of the idea. Any project involving collaboration with the Census tends to be very expensive, and Hauser and Featherman had some difficulty in finding a funding agency. This was just following the time of the War on Poverty programs of President Johnson's Great Society, so they naturally thought that the Office of Economic Opportunity might be interested in a study of social mobility and the degree to which people were able to take advantage of economic opportunities. They were told, however, that there was "no national interest in the subject of social mobility" (R. M. Hauser, 2012). They finally were able to secure a large grant from the National Science Foundation in 1971—not from the main branch of the foundation but from a "hidden unit" called the Division of Interdisciplinary Research. The grant was for a little over $1.1 million (about $6.6 million in 2016 dollars), most of which went to the Bureau of the Census, and it was probably the largest grant for a social science research project up to that time (Featherman, 2012).

Questions were added to the March, 1973, CPS, including Blau and Duncan's questions from the March, 1962, CPS, plus some additional questions about social background and career beginnings. The basic findings were reported in Featherman and Hauser (1978), but the database was also employed by a large number of other researchers, both at Wisconsin

and elsewhere, for additional studies of various aspects of social mobility (R. M. Hauser, 1987). In the ensuing forty years, however, there have been no additional OCG surveys to see how mobility patterns are changing, and Hauser and Featherman's initiatives in this direction have consistently been met with the dismissal that "there is no national interest" in such studies. Hauser warned in the panel discussion, "It really is a different world, and there are no guarantees that the things we have done before will be sufficient to guarantee that we can keep on doing them in the future" (Hauser, 2012).



DAVID L. FEATHERMAN (UNIV. OF MICHIGAN INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH)

The next large study at CDE began when, in 1975, the Director of the Sociology Panel at the National Science Foundation approached Winsborough with the suggestion that he form a research group to create 1-in-100 public use samples for the 1940 and 1950 U.S. censuses and available Current Population Surveys from the period. The actual construction of the samples would have to be done by the Bureau of the Census, since the records were protected by confidentiality laws. An outside research group was needed, however, to prepare a grant proposal to secure the large amount of money required to finance the task and to oversee the operations of the Census in completing the work. Winsborough, Taeuber, Hauser, and Mare formed the research group and first organized a conference to detail the possible uses of the proposed samples in answering theoretical, historical, and policy questions. They published a report from the conference entitled "Old Wine for New Bottles," and included it with their research proposal. They were awarded a grant of $7.5 million (about $34 million in 2016 dollars) from NSF, nearly all of which went to the Bureau of the Census, to construct samples for the 1940 and 1950 censuses, but not for the CPS surveys. This was probably the largest grant ever made to the social sciences up to that time, greatly surpassing the grant for the 1973 OCG study. Winsborough commented that one of the most important outcomes of the project was that it made other grants look small in comparison—and thus it became easier for a time to get large awards. Another DEC VAX was purchased for the use of the Bureau of the Census in constructing the samples at their facility in Pittsburgh, Kansas. At the end of the project it was returned to CDE, which then gave it to the Department of Sociology for the use of researchers who were not members of CDE. In spite of budget cuts by the Reagan Administration, and many other hurdles and

misadventures in carrying out the work, eventually the public use samples were completed and released (Winsborough, 2012). They became the basis for a large amount of social research.

Another large-scale study at CDE was the National Survey of Families and Households. Studies of family and household structure before 1987 had been based on data sets that were not designed primarily for the study of families and households. The Center for Population Research of NICHD, however, *issued an* RFP (request for proposal solicitation) for such a study in the early 1980s. A proposal submitted by Larry Bumpass and James Sweet won the competition, and they designed, directed, and coordinated the project.

Bumpass commented in 2012,

> On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Center I want to emphasize that it was the resources of the Center, the intellectual strength and diversity of the faculty, students, and support staff that played an important role in our receiving the grant to first design the study and eventually carry it out. . .. We had a great sense of community and common effort, and at the same time it was expected and not unusual for critiques to be brutal (Bumpass, 2012).

Other CDE faculty and staff who played important roles in the study were Sara McLanahan, Judith Seltzer, Annemette Sørensen, Elizabeth Thomson, Maurice MacDonald, Vaughn Call, and Jeffrey Petersen (Sweet, Bumpass, and Call, 1988).

The study was longitudinal and conducted in three waves in 1987-88, 1992-94, and 2001-2003. Interviewing for the first two waves was carried out by the Institute for Survey Research at Temple University. The third wave was conducted by the Wisconsin Survey Center, which was directed by James Sweet. The national sample had a cross section of 9,637 households, plus an oversampling of African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, single-parent families, families with step-children, cohabiting couples, and recently married persons. This was a highly innovative set of surveys that covered a wide range of topics. It yielded the richest and best information yet on new forms of family formation, dissolution, parenting, and family relationships. A major objective of the researchers was to make the entire data set freely available to all researchers everywhere, as soon as possible (Seltzer, 2012). Over 850 studies have so far been published making use of the data—and probably many more, since CDE has stopped keeping further records of their use (http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/nsfh/design.htm). It is a study that truly revolutionized research on the American family.



LARRY L. BUMPASS
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)



JAMES A. SWEET
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

Growth and Broadening of the Center

In its beginning and during its early years, the Center for Demography and Ecology was mostly a creature of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology (later Community and Environmental Sociology). Later it grew through the addition of many new members from other departments and disciplines, becoming a true interdisciplinary research organization. It was less autonomous than the kind of research organization that Beardsley Ruml and Paul Lazarsfeld had envisioned, but it was clearly a more viable and vigorous organization within the bounds set by the structure of American higher education. At the time of the 1998 center grant 58 percent of the members of CDE were from sociology. By the time of the 2008 grant this had dropped to 40 percent (Thompson, 2008). In a reorganization, the Center for Demography and Ecology was transferred from its position as a subunit of the Department of Sociology to an independent status within the College of Letters and Science.

Today, CDE counts 67 faculty as members. A number of these have emeritus status, but that does not mean that they are inactive, and many continue to have grants and pursue active research. The largest number of members are from the two sociology departments, but there are thirteen from Economics, nine from Population Health Sciences (formerly Preventive Medicine), six from Public Affairs (La Follette Institute), five from Social Work, and at least one or two each from Global Health, Environmental Studies, Educational Psychology, Educational Policy Studies, Political Science, Consumer Science, Gender and Women's Studies, Statistics, and Journalism and Mass Communication.

In 2016 demographic research capabilities at the university were greatly augmented when the Wisconsin Research Data Center (WiscRDC) was established in the Sewell Social Sciences Building by the U.S. Census Bureau. It is a part of the Federal Statistical Research Data Center network, which makes it possible for researchers to access otherwise restricted confidential microdata from the Census Bureau, the IRS, the National Center for Health Statistics, and the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality. The key feature of this center is the ability to link individuals across multiple data sources, opening a world of possibilities for researchers. Brent Hueth from Agricultural and Applied Economics and Tim Smeeding from the La Follette Institute took the lead in securing the center for the university, and CDE and CDHA provided part of the funds to get the center up and running. It is anticipated that many faculty in CDE, CDHA, Sociology, and other departments will make great use of the facility.

CDE Staff

The Center for Demography and Ecology has always benefited from a dedicated staff. Janice Deneen was especially important in the first decades of the Center. (See details in Chapter 5. vol. 2.) Jeffrey Petersen has played a major role in the development of the Center for 32 years until his retirement in 2015. He served as Associate Director for Administration and as all-around troubleshooter with eight different CDE directors and two directors of the Center for Demography of Health and Aging (CDHA). He also helped to create Social Science Research Services (SSRS) to provide specialized,



STAFF OF CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY, 2014
(L TO R) VICKI SEKEL, JANET CLEAR, CAROL TETZLAFF, CAROL GILMORE, JEFF PETERSEN (UW CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHY & ECOLOGY)

high quality services to advance interdisciplinary social science research and served as its director until 2015. Jeff received the Judith S. Craig Distinguished Service Award from the College of Letters and Science in 2005. In 2015 Janet Clear succeeded Petersen as Director of the Social Science Research Service. Ruth Sandor presided over the CDE Library in outstanding fashion for many years, followed by John Carlson, until the library had to be discontinued after a cutback in funding. CDE staff members in 2014-2015 included Carol Gilmore, Department Administrator, Janet Clear, Jeff Petersen, Vicki Sekel, and Carol Tetzlaff.

Through all the changing policies of federal funding agencies over the years, CDE has remained strong and resilient. At the 50th Anniversary celebration, Betty Thompson read an e-mail she received from Karl Taeuber while she was Center Director (1999 to 2004) that summed things up:

> It's a pleasure to see that the ideas and hopes that Hal and I and others had thirty years ago have in so many ways been productive, adaptable, and continuously redeveloped . . . and how successful we have been in regenerating ourselves and disseminating spirit (Thompson, 2012).

This has continued to be true in the following years.



CURRENT AND FORMER MEMBERS, CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY, 50TH ANNIVERSARY RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM AND CELEBRATION, OCTOBER 12-13, 2012 (UW CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY)

The Wisconsin Longitudinal Study and Social Stratification Research

Sewell Initiates a Social Stratification and Mobility Study

One of the fields of sociology in which Wisconsin became most noted, starting in the 1950s, was social stratification and social mobility. The catalyst was William H. Sewell, who from the beginning of his career, had been interested in the extent and nature of social mobility and why some individuals moved up in social standing and others did not. In his reflections on his own career, he wrote

> I have never doubted that social structural factors, particularly socioeconomic, ethnic, race, and community background, influence one's life chances; but neither have I doubted that such social psychological characteristics as intelligence, motivation, and aspirations also play an important part. I thought that differences in career achievements might well be explained by variations in aspirations, resulting from differences in individual and social background characteristics (Sewell, 1988, pp. 134-135).

He began research in this area in the 1950s while he was still primarily resident in the Department of Rural Sociology. Sewell and his colleagues, Archie O. Haller and Murray A. Straus, analyzed a one-sixth random sample of all nonfarm seniors in public and private high schools in Wisconsin in 1947-1948. The data were collected by the Wisconsin Student Counseling Center as a part of a regular program of intelligence testing. They found that parent's occupational status and the student's measured ability both made independent and joint contributions to educational and occupational aspirations. The study had no information on educational or occupational attainments, so they could not investigate whether the background factors and aspirations had behavioral consequences (Sewell, Haller, and Strauss, 1957). Haller and Sewell also published studies of rural-urban differences in the aspirations of Wisconsin high school seniors about the same time (Haller and Sewell, 1957; Haller, 1958). While I was still at Florida State University before coming to Wisconsin, I was inspired by these three studies to collaborate with Charles M. Grigg in similar studies of rural-urban differences in aspirations of Florida high school seniors and ninth graders (Middleton and Grigg, 1959; Grigg and Middleton, 1960). Unlike in Wisconsin, we found that there were rural-urban differences in occupational aspirations for white males in Florida, but not for African Americans.

In 1956 Sewell's colleague, James Kenneth Little, from the School of

Education, invited him to collaborate in a study of all Wisconsin high school seniors in public, private, and parochial schools in Wisconsin financed by the U.S. Office of Education. The Soviet Union launched the Sputnik satellite into a low earth orbit in 1957, and this occasioned great alarm that the United States was lagging behind in technological development and needed to upgrade its educational system. Wisconsin, like many other states, sought to consolidate and upgrade its secondary educational institutions, and commissioned a study of future demand for higher education.

Sewell was very much interested, but he was unable to accept Little's invitation because he was due to leave shortly to go to India to spend a year as a Ford Foundation Visiting Professor assisting a number of universities in developing their graduate programs. When he returned he became Chair of the Department of Sociology and was too busy with administrative tasks to pursue further research on educational and occupational aspirations at that time.

By then Little's study was largely completed. His study had gathered information from 35,000 Wisconsin high school seniors in the spring of 1957 about their educational plans beyond high school, their occupational aspirations, and much background information (Little, 1958; Little, 1959). The questionnaires and coded IBM cards were sitting in storage in the basement of the Administration Building. Little, remembering Sewell's interest, offered him the questionnaires and IBM cards for further analysis. Sewell said, "I looked over these materials and found that they contained information that I could exploit on social background; school experiences; relations with parents, teachers, peers; and educational and occupational aspirations" (Sewell, 1988, p. 135).

Once again other plans delayed Sewell in beginning serious work on the high school senior data. He spent the 1959-1960 year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, but he took some of Little's data with him and began examining it, running numerous cross-tabulations with the help of his "research assistant"—his wife Liz. He shared his preliminary results with others at the Center, at Berkeley, and at UCLA, and received valuable criticisms and suggestions. Most of his time at the Center, however, was spent in finishing his book on the adjustment of Scandinavian college students in the United States. His mind throughout the year, however, was mostly occupied with thoughts about the new project, and he was eager to get started on it.

When Sewell returned to Madison in 1960 he submitted a research proposal to NIMH and received a generous grant for five years. The grant enabled Sewell and his associates, including particularly Vimal P. Shah, to draw a random sample of 10,317 individuals, recode information from the questionnaires, and secure additional information from public sources. He

added scores on measured mental ability of each student from the Wisconsin State Testing Service files. He constructed indexes from the questionnaires on the student's family socioeconomic status, the student's attitudes toward higher education, educational and occupational plans, and the student's perception of how significant others had influenced the educational plans of the student. He also was able to use secondary sources to measure a number of contextual variables—SES of each senior class, percentage of its members who planned to go to college, size of school, size and degree of urbanization of the community of residence, and distance of the student's community of residence to the nearest college or university. Finally, he was able to obtain a four-year average of parental income from 1957 to 1960 from the files of the Wisconsin Department of Revenue—a rare research coup that has required the maintenance of strict measures of security to maintain confidentiality. The acquisition of a good measure of mental ability and a highly reliable measure of parental income during adolescence proved to be especially important for the analyses that have been carried out over the last five decades (Hauser, 2009, pp. 32-33).

In the first years of the project Sewell, Haller, J. Michael Armer, and Vimal P. Shah in a series of papers examined the effects of community, neighborhood, school, parents, teachers, and peers on educational and occupational aspirations, net of socioeconomic background, measured intelligence, and gender.

Sewell and his colleagues soon began to plan a follow-up survey that would enable them to link the original data with subsequent educational and occupational attainments—the key outcome variables that had been missing from the earlier studies of aspirations. This was made possible by the presence of the student's name, address, and contact information in the questionnaire. A very brief postcard survey with parents of the sampled students was carried out in 1964, seven years after the student's graduation from high school. One side of a folded postcard asked about educational attainment, marital status, military service, and the occupation of the graduate—or the graduate's husband in the case of women. Sewell reasoned that the parents would be more likely to respond than the graduates. They secured an outstanding response rate of 87 percent after five waves of mailing and a telephone reminder. This level of response after a period of seven years was unprecedented and demonstrated the feasibility of large national longitudinal studies that were carried out later (Hauser, 2009, pp. 37-38).

The WLS had some obvious limitations in terms of generalizability due to its selection only of high school seniors in the state of Wisconsin at a particular point in time. Significant strata in American society were thus not included. About one-fourth of the youths in Wisconsin in the late 1950s did not graduate from high school, so they are missing. The population of

Wisconsin was largely white at that time, so African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians were also underrepresented compared to their presence nationally. Some 19 percent of the WLS sample was also of farm origin, a much higher level than nationally or in Wisconsin today (Sewell, R. Hauser, Springer, & T. Hauser, 2004). Finally, it deals only with a single cohort—the Baby Boomer generation—and cannot tell us how life chances for young people have been altered by structural economic and cultural changes in subsequent periods. Even so, the study offered unprecedented opportunities for analysis of complex social processes.

The Wisconsin Model

The formal title of the project was "Social and Psychological Factors in Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Achievement," but it soon became known simply as the "Wisconsin Longitudinal Study" or WLS (Sewell, 1988, p. 135). Initially the WLS focused on the ways in which students' school achievements and aspirations were formed and how these in turn influenced postsecondary education and occupational achievement. There was an emphasis on social psychological factors as mediating variables between social background, school performance, and educational and occupational attainment. It came to be known as the "Wisconsin model" of status attainment. It was essentially a social psychological elaboration of the Blau-Duncan model of intergenerational occupational stratification—an amalgam that grew out of the close personal and intellectual relationship between Sewell and Otis Dudley Duncan, his one-time student. Building on the OCG study of Blau and Duncan (1967), Sewell, Haller, and Alejandro Portes (1969) developed a linear causal model showing the effect of socioeconomic origins and measured intelligence first on educational attainments, and then on early occupational achievements, mediated by academic achievement in high school and such social psychological variables as perceived influence of significant others and educational and occupational aspirations. Additional papers in the same vein were produced by Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf (1970) and Sewell, R. Hauser, Springer, and T. Hauser, 2004).

The essential ideas of the Wisconsin model were summarized by Hauser, in his history of the WLS:

> Social background affects school performance. These two sets of variables affect social influences—the expectations and modeling behaviors of significant others. Social influences largely determine educational and occupational aspirations, thus carrying much of the influence of social background and school performance. Aspirations in turn have large effects on postsecondary schooling and occupational careers, and they

carry much of the effect of social influences, school performance, and social background (Hauser, 2009, p. 33).



THREE GENERATIONS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION RESEARCHERS: ROBERT M. HAUSER, WILLIAM H. SEWELL, OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN (UW CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY)

Bob and Tess Hauser Join the Project

Robert M. Hauser joined the WLS research team in 1969 and became Sewell's chief collaborator. When we were too late in offering an assistant professorship to Hauser in 1967 when he was a dissertator at Michigan, he accepted a position at Brown University. He was not happy there and described his experience there as "two years in purgatory." His wife Taissa ("Tess") was unable to find suitable employment and spent much of her time helping Hauser with his statistical analysis and typing his dissertation. Though I was no longer chair, I continued to push to add Hauser, Bumpass, and Featherman to our faculty. O. D. Duncan also recommended Hauser to Sewell as an ideal person to assist him on the WLS, and finally we were able to secure him for our department in 1969. Hauser said,

> Late in 1968, after we finished my thesis, I hit the jackpot, an appointment as Assistant Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. That was the dream of every doctoral student in my Michigan cohort, and I got it on my second try" (Hauser, 2014).

I thought it was Wisconsin sociology that hit the jackpot. Of the four Michigan graduate students Otis Dudley Duncan had identified to me as "future stars" when I made a recruiting trip to Michigan, we finally succeeded in

getting all four: Sweet (1967), Hauser (1969), Bumpass (1969), and, in Rural Sociology, Featherman (1970). They all eventually were awarded name professorships at Wisconsin.



ROBERT M. AND TAISSA "TESS" HAUSER
(R. HAUSER)

Sewell was a shrewd judge of talent, and he was very fortunate in surrounding himself with outstanding faculty collaborators and graduate students who worked with him on what he always called "the project." One of his best decisions, however, was to add Tess Hauser to the research staff of the WLS in 1970. Tess was trained in music and educational psychology rather than in sociology, but she quickly learned the skills necessary for managing an extremely complex operation. The importance of her contributions was not highly visible to outsiders, but much of the success of the WLS research operation over a forty-year period was due to her ministrations. A memorial resolution of the Faculty Senate praised Tess' accomplishments and stated, "Her work changed the discipline of Sociology, the UW-Madison Sociology department, and faculty, staff and students within the department in important and profound ways." The best appreciation of her role in the WLS was given by Bob Hauser as a part of a eulogy he delivered at the memorial service for Tess in Madison in 2014:

> From a humble start, with Josh in a portable crib next to her desk, Tess built a stellar career. From 1969 to 2009, she played key roles in the design, operation, and management of the WLS. . . . Tess made important scientific contributions to methods of survey research, including the development of procedures for the location of respondents in longitudinal studies that led to exceptional sample retention. She created specialized computer software for archiving longitudinal research data,

> and she designed and implemented systems for the storage and analysis of confidential Social Security earnings data that demanded a high level of protection. Dissemination of scientific publications and of the WLS data were also hallmarks of Tess Hauser's work, and this was another area in which the WLS set standards for the field. She designed the WLS web site, the first to provide public access to non-identifiable data and documentation from a large, ongoing longitudinal study. Its features now include a study description, user handbook, bibliography, publications, instruments, flowcharts, codebooks with marginals, detailed documentation, search functions, downloadable public data, and other user support services. . . . The short version is that Tess was for 40 years the heart and soul of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (R. Hauser, 2014).

Tess Hauser was awarded the Judith S. Craig Distinguished Service Award by the College of Letters and Science in 2003 in recognition of her scientific work and her mentoring of undergraduate and graduate students and assisting post-doctoral researchers, academic staff, and faculty and for her work in promoting gender pay equity for academic staff. She retired in 2004 but came back on the project and remained until 2011, when she finally left.

Robert M. Hauser, with his knowledge of econometric methods and structural equation models brought a new level of sophistication to the statistical analysis of the WLS data. Hauser's first work collaborating with Sewell worked the same vein as in the past, running recursive models with observable variables (Sewell & Hauser, 1972, 1975). In response to the critique by the economist Samuel Bowles of measurement in the Blau-Duncan survey, Hauser and Featherman began to do studies of measurement error, commissioning follow-up surveys of black and white men to obtain repeated measures of key socioeconomic variables. After correcting for measurement error they found that the process of status attainment was more similar among blacks and whites than was previously believed. This led them to seek ways to correct for errors in variables in the larger study.

In 1975 WLS conducted a telephone survey of graduates—the first direct contact with them since their high school graduation. In the survey many of the original variables were remeasured. Then Hauser, Shu-Ling Tsai, and Sewell were able to use **J**öreskog and S**ö**rbom's LISREL (Linear Structural Relations) program to estimate error-corrected models of status attainment (Hauser, Tsai, and Sewell, 1983). The estimation was a very tedious process in the early 1980s because of the relatively slow computational speed of computers in those days. The corrections were worthwhile, for they found that the original parsimonious version of the Wisconsin model was essentially correct and that the relationships were even stronger after error

corrections were applied. Furthermore, the corrections revealed unexpectedly that there were "essentially no differences in educational attainment processes among black, Hispanic, and white non-Hispanic youth" (R. Hauser, 2009, pp. 35-36).

Follow-up Surveys and Branching Out

The Wisconsin Longitudinal Study is certainly the most ambitious and longest running research project carried out by Wisconsin sociologists, but it has developed in ways that were quite unforeseen by the researchers at the beginning. The data were very rich even after the first follow-up survey in 1964, and became much richer in 1975 with the first telephone survey speaking directly to the graduates. This survey had an even better response rate of 90 percent—a remarkable achievement for an 18-year follow-up survey. It covered such topics as the composition of the family of orientation and of the current family, educational and work history, and social participation.

Additional data and variables for analysis have been continually added in at least six additional follow-up surveys with graduates, siblings, spouses, and widows (in 1977, 1993, 1994, 2003-2007, 2009-2010). Additional data have also been obtained from public or administrative records, graduates' earnings from 1957-1960, college characteristics, employer characteristics, death indexes, elementary and high school resources, Wisconsin health insurance plans, local health resources, Medicare enrollments and claims, worker's compensation records, other medical databases, and DNA samples. High school yearbooks were borrowed and used to ascertain extracurricular activities, ratings of facial attractiveness, and adolescent obesity. This unprecedented availability of a large number of social, social psychological, economic, and health variables for a large sample over a five-decade period has made it possible to pursue a large number of research questions that were not originally envisioned.

Sewell retired in 1980, but he continued to be a part of the project and was active in research in the subsequent years until his death. Hauser succeeded Sewell as Principal Investigator and Director of the WLS on Sewell's retirement and remained in this position until his own retirement in 2011.

Until 1980 renewals of research funding for the WLS were supported by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), justified by its focus on the antecedents and consequences of aspirations. The Reagan Administration, which came into office in 1981, had no use for such studies, and Hauser says ". . . we were summarily told that NIMH would no longer consider WLS proposals for support." The 1980s was a difficult time for the WLS, but the project managed to survive with a series of small grants from the National Science Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, and the University

of Wisconsin. The collection of new data was not possible during this period, but Hauser continued to work on analytic issues and the development of statistical models of repeated measurements and sibling resemblance (R. Hauser, 2009, pp. 38-42).

New Focus on Health and Aging

By the 1990s the original 1957 high school graduates were beginning to age, and Hauser and his collaborators realized that if the WLS were to continue, "it ought to focus on health, well-being, and retirement." Unfortunately, they had failed to gather any information at all about health in their previous rounds of data collection, but they nevertheless decided to change the direction of the project to emphasize the life course in broader perspective. They began to work with the National Institute of Aging, and since 1991 the NIA has been the principal source of funding.

NIA support made possible four major surveys of graduates and siblings in 1993 and 1994. These included one-hour telephone interviews and mail surveys that collected information on a much broader range of subjects, including marital status, child rearing, job history, social participation, psychological well-being, mental and physical health, wealth, and exchange relationships with parents, siblings, and children (R. Hauser, 2009, pp. 42-43). With financial support from the NIA, the focus of the study has increasingly been on issues of aging and health and the collection of biomarkers. The WLS is uniquely positioned to provide critical information on health because of its large sample size, its earlier collection of a massive amount of life course information, and because of its sibling design. In 2007 the UW Survey Center managed the collection of DNA from saliva samples using a mail-back Oragene kit from 8,141 graduates. They also fielded a similar biomarker collection effort with siblings of graduates.

Hauser retired in 2010 but came back on the project for another year before moving to Washington, DC, to become Executive Director of the Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education of the National Academy of Sciences. He had brought Pamela Herd, an Associate Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs, into the WLS a year before he left to groom her to succeed him as Director of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, and she became Principal Investigator in 2011. Hauser continued to be involved with some of the research, however, with a 25 percent appointment. The WLS continued to be supported by the Behavioral Social Research Program of the National Institute on Aging after the transition in leadership.

There was a new round of data collection between 2010 and 2012 supervised by Pamela Herd and conducted by the UW Survey Center. Interviews were conducted in person with some 12,000 subjects. This biosocial survey

permitted the acquisition of data of critical importance for biomedical research, and included anthropometric measurements and the collection of saliva samples in the privacy of people's homes, making possible DNA analyses and the examination of laboratory tests related to health. Specimens of hair, blood, and urine, however, were not obtained, though many biosocial surveys of aging are now doing this. The emphasis of WLS, however, was more on functional measures of such things as lung capacity, hand grip strength, walking gait, and sitting and standing exercises. Laptop computers were also brought into the homes and used to carry out full cognitive assessments, information of critical interest for an aging population. Income data from government tax records have been collected for some time, but in the latest wave additional information was sought from Social Security Records, Medicare Records, Tumor Registers, high school yearbooks, and voting histories. Some important new studies of subsamples were also being conducted, including a bereavement study of those who have lost a spouse to death. Subsamples of parents who had a child who died or a child with a disability were also studied. This is the first study of children with disabilities selected through random sampling (Herd, 2012).

The Wisconsin Longitudinal Study is no doubt the richest trove of longitudinal data that has yet been compiled in the social sciences, and it has been the basis for outstanding contributions of many Wisconsin faculty and graduate students in the fields of social stratification, life course, and health. John Kolb, the pioneer of longitudinal studies in sociology at Wisconsin, would have been proud. A great many graduate students worked on the study, and at least thirty-one PhD dissertations have been written based on project data. As of today there have been at least 10 books, 56 chapters in books, and over 500 articles in scholarly journals published using the data, which are available to the wider social science community. The Wisconsin Model has also been applied in a great many other studies with different data sets, with some variations in the variables included, and by and large the findings have been similar (Sewell, 1988)
http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/wlsresearch/publications/pubs.php?topic=ALL

The two sociology departments have also been home to much other research on social stratification and social mobility apart from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study. I described Featherman and Hauser's social stratification study, Occupational Changes in a Generation, in the section on the Center for Demography and Ecology in Chapter 7, vol. 2. Others who made notable contributions in social stratification research were Donald J. Treiman, Robert D. Mare, Aage B. Sørensen, Marta Tienda, Erik O. Wright, and Charles Halaby. Archie O. Haller not only was an important researcher in the early years of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, but he also did extensive work on social stratification and mobility in Brazil.

Center for Demography of Health and Aging

Beginnings of a Sister Demography Center

In 1973 most of the segment of NICHD concerned with adult development and aging was split off to form the National Institute on Aging (NIA). Like its parent organization, it too began a program of supporting research centers dealing with adult development and aging, particularly after Richard M. Suzman joined NIA in 1983 as Director of the Office of the Demography of Aging. He was a social psychologist with a PhD from Harvard and a Diploma from the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford. He was an unusually proactive and entrepreneurial government program director and often took the initiative in getting scholars to apply for funding for research and training programs that he believed were needed. Robert M. Hauser worked with him on an almost daily basis at the National Research Council before Suzman's death in 2015, praised him as ". . . without a doubt the most brilliant, effective program officer I have ever run into in the federal government" (Robert M. Hauser interview, May 25, 2013).

In the mid-1990s, while he was chief of the Demography and Population Epidemiology Branch, Suzman came up with the idea of creating centers for research and training in the demography of aging loosely attached to existing NICHD Population Centers. In effect this would provide an expeditious and economical way of adding an aging component to established population centers, with some sharing of infrastructure, resources, and personnel. He started by soliciting applications for a P20 exploratory or planning center grant, and a number of grants were made—all to universities with existing Population Centers. The demographers at UW-Madison, however, did not apply, because at the time there was no demographer who had a strong interest in aging. Hauser thought this was unfortunate, a missed opportunity, and when NIA decided to go ahead with P30 Center Core Grants in 1998, he made sure that Wisconsin submitted a strong application.

The Wisconsin application was successful, and a new Center for the Demography of Health and Aging was established as a sister organization to the Center for Demography and Ecology. It was one of fourteen NIA Demography Centers on Aging in the country. The new center made possible the formal organization of activities that, for the most part, already existed on campus, including data collection and research projects exploring substantive and methodological issues related to aging. CDHA's funding from NIA was substantially less than NICHD's funding of CDE, but there was a sharing of infrastructure, resources, and faculty between the centers. In fact, there was only one employee of CDHA who was not on the staff of CDE—a data archivist. Both CDE and CDHA had graduate student trainees, but the

training of the two groups was similar. The CDHA trainees had their own training seminar, but they were expected to attend the training seminars of both CDHA and CDE. CDE and CDHA were both originally Centers within the Department of Sociology, but later when CDE was moved to the College of Letters and Science to enhance its interdisciplinary character, CDHA followed suit, even though both Centers then had faculty from Population Health Sciences in the Medical School" (Robert M. Hauser interview, May 25, 2013).

The Director of CDHA was Hauser, who also continued as Director of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study. WLS, which had also come to be funded primarily by NIA, was at least nominally a component of CDHA, but in reality it was essentially independent. Hauser was leery of having WLS identified too closely with aging research, though that became an increasing emphasis as the original cohort of subjects aged. He thought that might limit the use of WLS data by general sociologists and other scholars if they came to think of it simply as an aging study. In fact, the organizational boundaries of CDE, CDHA, and WLS have always been ambiguous and unclear, and Hauser regarded this as an advantage, since it provided for greater simplicity and flexibility in the organizational interactions of the groups. There is, however, a clear boundary with the Institute in Aging at the University of Wisconsin, and CDHA and WLS have not been a functional part of it. David Featherman served as Director of the Institute on Aging in 1980, but in more recent years few of the demographers at CDHA and WLS have participated in its activities and have been only nominal members.

Hauser remained Director of CDHA until his retirement and departure to his new position as Executive Director, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education at the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. He was succeeded as Director of CDHA by Alberto Palloni, Samuel Preston Professor of Sociology, and after his retirement in 2014 by Professor Pamela Herd, from the Robert M. La Follette School of Public Affairs and the Department of Sociology. Like Hauser in the past, Herd is Director of both CDHA and the WLS.

The CDHA has been interdisciplinary from the start, though dominated by sociologists at its beginning, but over the years more and more scholars from other disciplines have become affiliated with it, at least to some degree. Their web site lists key affiliates from Sociology, Community and Environmental Sociology, Population Health Sciences, the Robert M. La Follette School of Public Affairs, Psychology, Economics, Educational Psychology, Social Work, Bacteriology, Medicine, and the Institute on Aging. Other affiliates represent Political Science, Psychiatry, Statistics, Actuarial Science, Consumer Science, Opthalmology, Oncology, Human Development and Family Studies, and Geriatrics. Not all of the affiliates are current, but have

had some connection in the past. In its first years all of the CDHA trainees were sociology graduate students, but in recent years graduate students from related fields, such as economics and population health sciences have been trainees.

Themes and Programs of the Center

The initial goal of the Center was to create links between social demography and biomedical and epidemiological research on health and aging, looking toward the building of a major research and training program in the demography of health and aging. Currently the major themes of emphasis are the following:

- Midlife development and aging
- Economics of population aging
- Inequalities in health and aging
- International comparative studies of population aging
- Investigation of linkages between social-demographic and biomedical research in population aging (http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/cdha/index.html)

The center makes use of three major data sets initially collected by other units at the university. The largest is the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS). It was initiated by William H. Sewell and carried forward by Archibald O. Haller, Robert M. Hauser, David Featherman, Pamela Herd, and many others. Initially it was conceived as a study of social stratification and social mobility, and no one anticipated that it would be a long-term longitudinal survey extending more than fifty years through numerous waves of follow-up surveys. No health and medical data were collected in the early waves, but as the cohort of respondents was followed through repeated surveys, the WLS morphed into a study of the full life-course. As the subjects began to age, health issues became increasingly important, and very extensive health and medical information began to be collected. This included genetic information and other biomarker data, resulting in an extremely rich database that permits linking health outcomes with earlier life characteristics and events. The WLS is still continuing with a strong emphasis on health research. Details of the WLS are discussed in the preceding section. Other major data collections are the National Survey of Families and Households, discussed in the section on the Center for Demography and Ecology, and the Wisconsin Assets and Income Studies (WAIS). In addition, Alberto Palloni carried out three major studies of Latin American health in affiliation with the CDHA.

The National Institute on Aging became the major funding agency for demographic research at Wisconsin, and it not only provided and renewed support for a center grant but also funded predoctoral and postdoctoral training programs related to demography and aging. During its first ten years funding from NIA grew to more than $10 million annually (*Wisconsin Update*, Summer, 2009). NIA also enabled CDHA to carry out other functions, such as supporting workshops and conferences of social scientists and biomedical scientists working on problems of aging. Examples are Palloni's Conference on Aging in Developing Countries: Building Integrated Research Agendas in 2007 and the Microbiome Workshop in 2013, attended by social scientists, geneticists, molecular and microbiologists, and researchers in infectious diseases from UW-Madison and other institutions around the country. The workshop focused on multidisciplinary approaches and collaboration in data collection and analysis. In addition, CDHA makes grants to support pilot research projects in the demography of aging. Among sociologists who have been awarded grants for pilot research projects or who have received other grants from NIA or NIH are Susan DeVos, Giovanna Merli, James Raymo, Michel Guillot, Jane Piliavin, Karen Swallen, Pamela Herd, Cameron MacDonald, Nora Cate Schaeffer, and Douglas W. Maynard (*Wisconsin Update,* 2002 & 2007).

CDHA also provides extensive data services enabling researchers to create, document, and distribute public use microdata for secondary analysis by outside researchers. Non-sensitive public use data are archived at CDHA and published to the BADGIR site at http://nesstar.ssc.wisc.edu/index.html. This service has been extremely important in the case of the data archives of the WLS and the National Survey of Families and Households, which have been utilized by large numbers of researchers at other institutions. CDHA also developed a secure data enclave for maintaining and protecting confidential data—essential for the health and personal data collected for studies by Center researchers. The Data and Information Services Center (DISC) directed by Jack Solock manages confidential data files and their access now. (http://www.disc.wisc.edu/restricted/index.html).

CDHA initiated a Current Awareness in Aging Research (CAAR) service in 1999 to keep researchers on aging up-to-date on current events and research on aging. One of its services is a daily E-Clipping service summarizing important news stories related to aging from newspapers around the world. A second service was a weekly blog that was changed to a weblog, updated daily, in 2012, with information on a variety of resources on aging:

- Data releases and updates.
- Reports and articles from government and non-government sources.
- Working papers, books, and press releases.

- Conference, employment, and grant announcements.
- Journal tables of contents.
- Updates in the bibliographies of major aging-related studies. (http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/cdha/CAAR.html)

Both services have become extremely important resources for researchers on aging. Currently in 2016 the E-Clipping service has almost 3,000 subscribers. Daily issues are sent out by e-mail containing links to between 25 and 40 newspaper stories in each issue. Since its inception more than 4,000 issues have been sent out with links to approximately 120,000 newspaper stories. The weblog site gets about 3,000 page views per day. CAAR also sends weekly notifications of updates to the weblog to service subscribers. Prior to 2012 the service sent out 621 issues of the information reports. Since then CAAR has made over 5,600 posts to the weblog. Jack Solock served as editor for both services the first two years. After that Charlie Fiss joined him as co-editor (Jack Solock, personal communication, March 4, 2016).

Alberto Palloni

Wisconsin's foremost scholar in the demography of health and mortality was Alberto Palloni, who arrived at UW-Madison as a young assistant professor and quickly built a stellar international reputation in the field. He was born in Valparaiso, Chile, on April 29, 1949, a year after his parents emigrated from Italy, traumatized by World War II and full of hope for the future. He attended a French Roman Catholic high school, Sacre Coeur, in Viña del Mar, and he says now that he would have probably followed a career in evolutionary biology if his teachers there had ever told him about Darwin. When he graduated from high school at age 16 he still had no firm direction. He was accepted by many schools and could have studied business, sociology, physics, philosophy, or literature. He chose sociology, partly because of the influence of a friend and partly because it gave him the opportunity to move to Santiago, an exciting prospect. As a sociology major at Catholic University of Chile from 1967-1971 he had his first encounter with demography in his first year, but it was not an auspicious meeting. It was the only course he ever failed, and it gave him a perverse feeling of pride—right up until he began graduate work in the United States and met Sam Preston. He also studied mathematics and statistics, and after graduating he did a year of postgraduate work at CIENES, an institution in Santiago founded by the Organization of American States for research and training in advanced statistics.

While at CIENES Palloni became interested in formal causal modeling. At first he planned to go to Italy for further training, but the Italian

statistician Vittorio Capecchi, who had studied with Hubert M. Blalock, suggested that working with Blalock would be a better choice. Blalock was in the process of moving from the University of North Carolina to the University of Washington in Seattle, but he arranged for Palloni to be admitted to the Washington sociology program. Palloni first went to a program at the University of Texas-Austin three months before the term started at Washington to improve his English. It was a fortunate development, for Pinochet's coup overthrowing the Allende government occurred during this time. At Washington Blalock introduced Palloni to the eminent demographer Sam Preston, and Preston became his primary mentor and advisor. Michael Hechter, James McCaan, and Herbert Costner also had a great influence on him, encouraging him to go beyond conventional thinking and entertain wild ideas.

Though Palloni had broad interests and did some work in criminology, population and development, and political sociology—always with an emphasis on modeling and statistical applications—his primary interest was in formal demography in the tradition of Preston, Ansley Coale, and Nathan Keyfitz. He employed his formidable gifts developed through this training to make trail-blazing contributions primarily in the domains of health and mortality. His dissertation developed highly technical methods to estimate child mortality from defective vital statistics, and the techniques were widely used for a time. Though a large part of his work dealt with health and mortality, he does not think of himself at all as a medical sociologist. Perhaps it would have been different if the group of sociologists seeking to change the name of the field from "medical sociology" to "the sociology of health" had been successful in 1974. They argued that the term "medical" misrepresented the core identity of the group, suggesting that the members were primarily concerned with the medical profession and pathology. They were outvoted, however, by those who believed the term "medical sociology" had already become too deeply entrenched to be changed (Bloom, 2002, pp. 236-237). It was an unfortunate and largely unintended narrowing of the field.

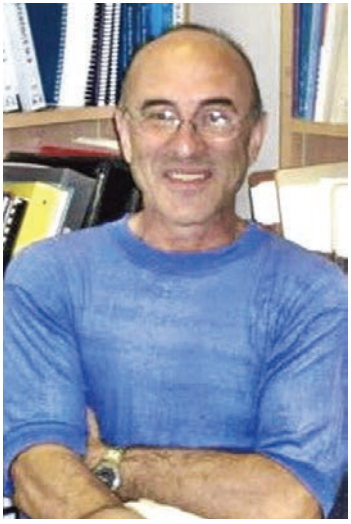
After teaching two years at the University of Texas-Austin and one year at the University of Michigan, Palloni joined the Wisconsin Department of Sociology as an assistant professor in 1980. Except for one year at the University of Chicago and a three-year period at Northwestern University, he remained at Wisconsin until his retirement. At the time of his retirement he held a name chair as Samuel Preston Professor of Sociology, named in honor of his mentor.

Palloni was an outstanding scholar in the field of health and mortality. He secured at least 33 research grants and contracts over his career and published three books and almost 150 research articles and book chapters, with at least another three books in preparation following his retirement.

He played an important role in the demography program at Wisconsin, serving as Director of both the Center for Demography and Ecology and the Center for Demography of Health and Aging. He was also a valued participant in the Sociology of Economic Change and Development program. He was elected President of the Population Association of America and served on research panels for a wide range of organizations, including the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the Pan-American Health Organization, and the National Research Council. He was a Guggenheim Fellow and NIH Merit Award Scholar, and is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences.

Most of Palloni's pre-retirement research was concentrated in four areas. First, he sought to formulate models for the study of the spread of diseases and determinants of health status and mortality among elderly people. He used microsimulation models to understand the diffusion of HIV/AIDS in Africa during the early stages of the epidemic, applied multistage hazard models to study the course of illness, disability, and mortality in the aging process and formal demographic models to understand the influences of early childhood on adult mortality and longevity.

Second was the study of health and mortality disparities in the United States and other high income countries, with special attention to education and ethnic disparities. He was a member of the 2013 National Research Council panel that issued a high-impact and rather dark account of health and mortality conditions in the US.



ALBERTO PALLONI
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

Third was a large scale, long-term project investigating health conditions and the demand for health care among the elderly in ten countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. There were three major data gathering projects: Health, Wellbeing, and Aging in Latin America and the Caribbean (SABE); the Mexican Health and Aging Study (MHAS); and the Puerto Rican Elderly Health Conditions Study (PREHCO).

Fourth was research on the effects of early conditions on adult health among adults in both low- and high-income countries. Among early conditions investigated were IQ, early growth, scholastic achievement, and exposure to infectious diseases in childhood.

Palloni retired in 2014, eager to pursue

a new career in the field of evolutionary biology. He entered a program to earn a PhD in genetics at UW-Madison, since the university does not have a program in evolutionary biology. He says of his plans,

> I am also planning to go back to Statistics and fine tune my knowledge of stochastic processes and Bayesian statistics. In my spare time I am finishing a sample of the many papers I never finished. I am completing two books, one on the history of mortality in Latin America (I started this when I was a grad student) and a book on formal models of delayed effects of early conditions on adult mortality. This project, which I started two months ago, is almost ready to ship out. Ah, I am also writing a novel/account set against the Chilean coup (Alberto Palloni, personal communication, February 18, 2016).

Palloni's mentor, Samuel Preston, wrote the following appreciation of his student:

> Alberto stood out from the very beginning as exceptionally intelligent and deeply committed to the highest standards of inquiry. When he was in the classroom, you'd better be ready to defend yourself and be fully conversant with every feature of every article on the syllabus. It was a foregone conclusion that he would have a brilliant career, and he has certainly lived up to that expectation (*Wisconsin Update*, Summer, 2015).

I would not bet against his making similar major contributions in his new career.

The Applied Population Laboratory

Antecedents of the Applied Population Lab

In the Department of Rural Sociology George W. Hill had conducted a massive demographic study of ethnicity in Wisconsin financed by the WPA in the 1930s, but little of the results were ever published, apart from a celebrated ethnic map of the state. There was little or no demographic research in either department for the next decade, though Thomas C. McCormick taught some classes in demography. In 1951, however, Margaret Loyd Jarman Hagood (1907-1963), an eminent statistician, demographer, and rural sociologist, came to the Wisconsin Department of Rural Sociology as a visiting professor. During the year she published an Experiment Station bulletin coauthored with Emmit F. Sharp, a graduate student in the department,

on rural-urban migration (Hagood & Sharp, 1951). The very next year she went directly to Washington DC to head Galpin's old agency, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, after Carl Taylor retired. The Division was killed soon after, but Hagood went on to play an important role in the planning of the 1960 U.S. Census. In recognition of her pioneering work in social statistics and demography she was elected president of the Population Association of America in 1954 and of the Rural Sociological Society in 1956 (Scott, 1980, p. 298). A whole generation of sociologists, however, best remember her as the author of *Statistics for Sociologists* first published in 1941. This lucid textbook introduced a generation of budding sociologists to statistical concepts. I was one of them.

Recognizing the need for an ongoing program of demographic research in rural sociology after Hagood's departure, Sewell brought Douglas G. Marshall back from the University of Minnesota in 1952. Marshall had been one of Kolb's students at Wisconsin and had written a dissertation in 1943 under Kolb's direction about Greendale, Wisconsin, one of the "green" cities of the Resettlement Administration (Marshall, 1943). Marshall was an enthusiastic promoter of applied demographic research, which he believed would greatly aid rural communities and the state as a whole. He traveled around the state giving talks about population research and how it could be used in planning. He also helped to found the North Central Regional Technical Committee on Population Dynamics in 1951 linking efforts in population research for thirteen North Central states. Marshall started writing and publishing in mimeographed form many short works taking census data, rearranging them, and presenting them in forms that would be widely understandable and useful. His demographic work was not highly analytic or sophisticated, but very useful for practical purposes.

The Lab Is Formalized and Expands

In 1965 Marshall formalized his activities by the creation of the Applied Population Laboratory, though it did not bear that actual title until around 1972. The Laboratory has had a robust life ever since, increasing in staff and functions. Paul Voss, joined the department in 1976 and directed the Applied Population Laboratory between 1990 and 2001, playing a major role in its development and professionalization. It came to be regarded by many demographers as the premier applied demography center in the United States. Today it is headed by Daniel Veroff, presiding over a professional staff of eight. Two are outreach persons supported by UW-Extension; the rest are from the academic side, with both College and soft-money support. Its current activities are described in this way on its website:

> The APL provides information solutions through a unique set of skills that unites applied demography; spatial information and analysis; community development and planning; and information applications. Over the last several decades, the mission of the APL has been to carry forward a program of applied demographic research and outreach to translate social and economic data into useful information for Wisconsin's citizens, policy makers, public agencies, private organizations and other state residents seeking to understand the demographic, social and economic changes taking place around them (http://www.apl.wisc.edu/about.html).

Though the Applied Population Laboratory carries out some highly analytic research, it has as its primary purpose an extension function providing applied research. More academic and formal analytic demography was provided within the Rural Sociology Department primarily by Glenn V. Fuguitt between 1956 and 1993, when he retired., and later by Doris Slesinger and Marta Tienda. Most of the academic demographers who have been in Rural Sociology have also been active participants in the Center for Demography and Ecology. Katherine Curtis continues to do research in demography today in the Department of Community and Environmental Studies.

CHAPTER 8

Computing, Methodology, and Survey Research

Computing and Quantitative Analysis

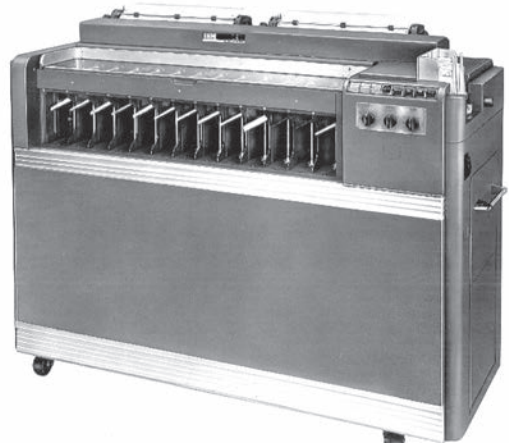
A Revolution in Research Technology

There was a revolution in sociological research that took place in the 1950s to 1970s because of technological developments in data collection and processing. When I was an undergraduate student at North Texas in the late 1940s my Department of Economics and Sociology possessed only a hand-cranked mechanical Monroe calculator. Later when I was a graduate student at the University of Texas in the early 1950s, sociologists there had access to a slightly better electric Monroe calculator, but it had limited functionality. By the late 1950s I was at Florida State University and could use the Center for Social Research's electric Friden calculator, about the size of a typewriter, which miraculously could actually do square roots at the touch of a key. They also had one of the small primitive IBM computers, that was about the size of two refrigerators, but it could do only simple computations. I think it was in the 1400 Series. To program it you had to take a big metal board out of the computer and plug in numerous short cables to give it instructions. It was so limited for sociological research that hardly anyone bothered to use it. I remember only one enterprising graduate student—William T. Liu—who successfully employed it to do some of the analysis for his dissertation.

Most quantitative sociological research in the 1950s and early 1960s involved cross-tabular analysis of survey data carried out with the aid of card counter-sorter machines. Statistical analysis usually did not go far beyond percentages, chi square tests, t-tests of significance, and analysis of variance. An engineer named Herman Hollerith worked on the 1880 US Census, which was hand-tabulated in a very slow, laborious, and error-filled procedure lasting up to ten years. He began to experiment with designing a data processing system based on the mechanical sorting of stiff cardboard cards with numerical data punched in them. His design won a competition set by the Bureau of the Census for a mechanical processing system, and his machine was successfully employed for the 1890 census, reducing a ten-year job to less than a year. Columbia University granted him a PhD on the

basis of his design. Hollerith secured patents on his tabulating and sorting designs and also on his later inventions of an automatic card-feeder and a keypunch machine. He started his own manufacturing company, and sold machines to census bureaus and insurance companies around the world. In 1911 Hollerith's firm joined with three others to form a new company that was renamed the International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) in 1924 (Austrian, 1982).

At Florida State University's Center for Social Research we had an IBM 101 Statistical Sorting Machine that could sort 80-column Hollerith cards in numeric or alphabetic sequence and arrange cards in any desired pattern of pockets. After I arrived at Wisconsin I was happy to find the same counter-sorter available in the Department of Sociology. Amazingly sophisticated analyses could be carried out with imaginative sequences of sorts. Samuel Stouffer and Herbert Hyman "wrote the book" on how to do this type of analysis, and they were noted for their ingenious subgroup analyses and their discovery of unexpected interactions. Most of my early quantitative studies were done with the IBM 101, and I became quite adept at using it. Michael T. Aiken was also an aficionado of the 101 and spent long hours standing at the machine and doing imaginative sorts and subsorts.



IBM 101 STATISTICAL SORTING MACHINE
(INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORPORATION)

Centralized Mainframe Computers Take Over

The computer revolution for researchers at Wisconsin began in the early 1960s with the Numerical Analysis Lab, which in 1971 became the Madison Academic Computing Center (MACC). Still later three autonomous data processing organizations, MACC, Administrative Data Processing (ADP),

and UW Telecommunications, were brought together in one Division of Information Technology (DoIT). Early mainframe computers included a Control Data 1604 in Computer Sciences, the first academic building in the U.S. dedicated to computing, and a Control Data 3600 in Sterling Hall. They were later replaced by a Burroughs 5500 at Computer Sciences, and still later by the Univac 1108.

The switching from one operating system to another created real hardships for graduate students and faculty who were trying to get statistical work done. Richard Campbell, who was a methodology trainee at the time, expressed his frustration in these words:

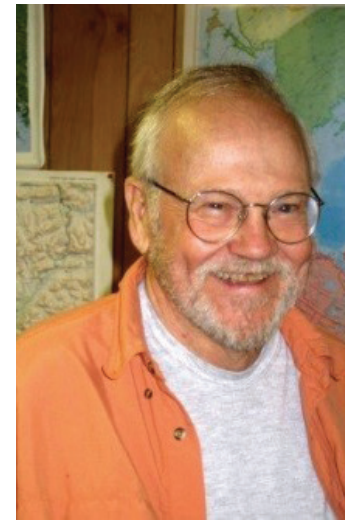
> The bad news was that the computer center insisted on using non-IBM equipment, first Control Data machines, then Burroughs and finally Univac. This meant that students had to learn multiple operating systems over the course of just a few years and all this was happening as large scale survey data such as OCG had to be handled on tapes rather than (thank God) cards, so one had to learn how to do tape setups and job scheduling, and just as you had it down for one brand of machines the computer center switched to another. Much of the software that accompanied the various methodological developments was written in FORTRAN for IBM machines. Porting that software to the Univac machines was a real pain for technical reasons. I spent the entire summer of 1971 converting an early version of Jöreskog's confirmatory factor analysis software, which was not easy to use in the first place, to the Univac 1108 (Richard Campbell, personal communication, June 2, 2013).

A statistical package called STATJOB was written by local computer scientists and was utilized by Wisconsin sociologists for most of their analyses, though the BMDP statistical package and other programs were also used occasionally. SPSS later displaced STATJOB, which fell into disuse and was no longer updated and expanded. For all these programs researchers wrote their own program instructions, punched them on IBM cards, placed them at the beginning of a stack of punched data cards, and carried them over to the Computer Center three blocks away to be fed into a mainframe's card reader. Turnaround might take a half day.

In the 1960s and 1970s Sociology was hiring large numbers of young assistant professors who had prior experience with computers and who had a quantitative orientation. Theodore Kemper, one of the young assistant professors, pushed the older faculty in Sociology to give up their attachments to their beloved IBM 101 counter-sorter machines, and learn how to use the mainframe computer and the STATJOB statistical software programs to do their analyses. Eventually the keypunch and verifier machines and the

counter-sorters disappeared from the Social Sciences Building.

Hal Winsborough played the major role in developing the outstanding computing facilities that faculty and graduate students began to enjoy. The Wisconsin department embraced the new computer technology without hesitation and became known for quantitative research, whereas the departments at Berkeley, Columbia, and Harvard lagged behind (Marwell, 2012). A strong impetus to improving computing facilities was the Bureau of the Census' announcement that the 1970 census would be made available to researchers in machine readable form. This called for extensive preparation by the demographers of the department in 1967 to get ready to handle massive amounts of data input. The physical location of the Burroughs computer three blocks away made the prospect of massive data entry exceedingly daunting. After doing a great deal of preparation with the Burroughs in mind, the demographers were exasperated when MACC announced that they were planning to switch again to a Univac 1108, meaning that most of their efforts in preparation had been wasted.



HAL H. WINSBOROUGH, 2004
(R. MIDDLETON)

Sociology Acquires Its Own Computers

At this point Winsborough began thinking about the possibility of securing funds to obtain a computer for the Center for Demography and Ecology itself. The officials at MACC were strongly opposed to this, since they wanted all academic computing centered on their own mainframe in the Computer Sciences Building. They also strongly favored a model in which each faculty member or student who ran a job on the central mainframe would be charged according to usage. There was, however, a precedent for a unit of the Madison campus having its own computer because of specialized needs. The Physical Sciences Laboratory was involved in building high-energy accelerators, and there was a need for a powerful computer to track a massive number of particle collisions and compute magnetic fields and particle trajectories. They secured an IBM 704 computer, then the largest non-military computer available, installing it first on the Madison campus and later in a larger $50-million facility near Stoughton, 13 miles southeast of Madison. The electron accelerator facility finally closed in

March, 2014, when it lost its $5-million annual support from NSF.

Winsborough reasoned that the demographers also had specialized computing needs in dealing with massive amounts of census data. The Center was submitting a grant proposal to the National Institute of Child Health and Development, and Winsborough found that they were willing to support a request for a computer for the Center. When he reported to NICHD that MACC was opposed to this, an official at the agency wrote a letter offering to let the Center rent off-campus space and operate the computer outside university jurisdiction and control. When Winsborough showed the letter to university authorities, they relented, perhaps because they did not want to antagonize an important government agency in NIH and perhaps also because they would not be able to charge overhead on this portion of the grant under an off-campus arrangement.

Winsborough talked to an IBM sales representative and settled on an IBM 360 Model 30—the bottom model and least expensive of the 360 line. It proved to be very good at reading in data, but it was very limited and slow in performing calculations. Researchers often used the Model 30 to produce tables and matrices, which they then carried or teletyped to the Computer Center for more robust computing. Later an IBM 370 was acquired with better computing capabilities. The financial cost of the computing was borne by the institutional grants, and faculty and students within the Center were not charged for computer usage. This established a policy that was carried into the future.

The computing needs of the Center for Demography and Ecology continued to increase, and finally in 1978, using funds from a National Science Foundation Grant, it was able to acquire an excellent mini-computer—a



IBM SYSTEM 360 MODEL 30 COMPUTER
(KAREN JAKPOR, 2013)

Digital Equipment Corporation VAX 11/780, which had just been introduced the previous year. It was a 32-bit mini-computer and one of the first one-MIPS machines (one million instructions per second), which led to its being used as a baseline to benchmark other CPUs. Because it was very reliable, powerful and user-friendly, computer scientists today still speak of it nostalgically. The price was relatively affordable also, a fraction of the cost of most other computers that had only slightly greater power.

A little later NSF also provided funds to the Center for a second VAX to be located in Pittsburgh, Kansas, to be used by the Personal Records Branch of the Bureau of the Census in creating 1-in-100 Public Use Samples from the confidential records of the 1940 and 1950 censuses. When the samples were completed, the Bureau of the Census returned the VAX to the Center for Demography and Ecology and shipped it to Madison (Winsborough, Data and Decades, 1960s/1970s, 2012). Under the terms of the first grant, use of the VAX was restricted to members of the Center for Demography and Ecology, which caused some tension with sociologists who were outside the center and were forced to continue to use the inconvenient mainframe in the Computer Center. The question arose, why was it that the social stratification research of Sewell, Hauser, Featherman, and others within CDE could be run on the VAX, whereas the social stratification research of Erik Wright outside CDE could not? Winsborough agreed that those outside the center had a valid point and persuaded the CDE Board to give the second VAX to the Department of Sociology, with ongoing financial support to be provided by the College of Letters and Science. A third VAX was also acquired by the Institute on Aging, and all three VAX computers were installed on the fourth floor of the Social Sciences Building.



COMPUTING COMMITTEE AND CDE STAFF WELCOMING THE VAX 11-780 **(L TO R):** BILL GATES, HAL WINSBOROUGH, KARL TAEUBER, JIM SWEET, JERRY MARWELL, TOM HEBERLEIN, LORI HAYWARD, JEFF PETERSEN (*WIS. UPDATE*, JULY, 1984)

Founding of the Social Science Computing Cooperative

In 1984 the Center for Demography and Ecology, the Department of Sociology, the Department of Rural Sociology, and the Institute on Aging began to share computing resources, and the Institute for Research on Poverty joined the group in 1989. The operation of the three computers was supported by funds from grants and from the College of Letters and Science, and computing was free to members of the units. The administration of the computer operation, however, was a nightmare, especially in adjudicating among competing demands for resources. When the administrator gave up and resigned, Winsborough decided it was time to organize a formal cooperative of user groups with a board of directors to set priorities and settle disputes. Each member group would make a financial commitment to sustain the operation of the cooperative, and there would be no fee-for-service charges to faculty and student members of the units. The cooperative was formalized as the Social Science Computing Cooperative in 1990 (SSCC). The Social Systems Research Institute, representing the Department of Economics, joined in 1996, the Wisconsin Center for Education Research in 2002, the Center for Demography of Health and Aging in 2003, the School of Education in 2008, the Center for Financial Security in 2010, and the UW Survey Center, the School of Human Ecology, and COWS in 2011. SSCC also serves some individuals in other units as well as the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, the National Survey of Families and Households, and the Havens Center, though these are not sustaining members. In 2006 the Social Science Microcomputing Lab was folded into SSCC, which now provides instructional computing support for the faculty, staff, and students of the Social Science Division of the College of Letters and Science. Budget cutbacks in 2015 forced the School of Education and the Wisconsin Center for Education Research to withdraw from SSCC, and this had a cascading effect, forcing SSCC to start charging for computer services and instructional courses for persons not in one of the formal member units of the cooperative.

The computing resources of SSCC have been steadily upgraded over the years since the three VAX computers were acquired. At CDE's 50th Anniversary celebration Rob Mare recalled that the stellar computing facilities at Wisconsin was one of the strong attractions when he joined the department in 1978:

> Anybody who was "in the know" knew that CDE had the finest computing facilities of any social science facility, certainly in this country and probably in the world, at least among university-based centers. At that time . . . computing was a huge stratification variable in what you could do. Indeed, my Michigan advisor said that a Wisconsin master's student

> could do more computing in a week than he could do in two years. And that was because of the magical things that especially Hal Winsborough and some of his cohorts had figured out how to do here that nobody else in the country for a very long time figured out how to do at their respective institutions (Mare, 2012).

Advanced computing is now more widely available, but SSCC has continued to upgrade its computing capabilities. Today the computing capacity of SSCC is equivalent to three super-computers. Winstat is the coop's Windows Terminal Server farm, which allows users to log into a Windows server remotely and have full access to the SSCC network and the software installed on the server. In 2013 nine new servers were added to Winstat that were much faster and with twice as much memory as the previous servers. The server software includes general purpose statistics programs, such as Stata, SAS, and SPSS, a large number of specialized programs, and general Windows programs such as Microsoft Office, Adobe Acrobat, and Macromedia Dreamweaver. Linstat is the Linux server cluster, linking three 64-bit Linux servers holding a variety of software programs. The Condor cluster has 48 CPU's running Linux, utilized primarily for long computing jobs or multiple jobs at the same time. A High Performance Computing Cluster known as Flash is used for parallel computing and jobs that can be broken into many pieces and executed simultaneously.

Over the years many staff members have made contributions to the operation of SSCC. Some important members in the past have included Ann



STAFF OF SOCIAL SCIENCE COMPUTING COOPERATIVE, 2015
(L TO R) SEATED: DANIEL BONGERT, NANCY MCDERMOTT, DIRECTOR, ANDREW ARNOLD, ASSOC. DIRECTOR, CAITLIN TEFFT. STANDING: OLIVER GIRAMMA, DOUGLAS HEMKEN, MARK BANGHART, CHARLIE MAURICE, RYAN HORRISBERGER, RUSSELL DIMOND. NOT PRESENT: ZACH HEISE (PHOTO BY R. MIDDLETON)

Cooper, Tom Flory, and Sandra Wald. Nancy McDermott was a member of SSCC for twenty years and served as Director during her last fifteen. She retired in July of 2015. The current Director is Andy Arnold, who has worked at SSCC for more than twenty years and was the original architect of Winstat. Russell Dimond followed Arnold as Associate Director. The staff as of 2015 is pictured on the previous page.

The William H. Sewell Social Sciences Building is fully wired for internet and SSCC server access, and Wi-Fi connections are available through DoIT. Members of SSCC may access the servers remotely either through terminals connected directly with the servers or through their desktop or laptop personal computers. Personal computers have, of course, been developing rapidly since the late 1970s when Xerox PARC made the basic technological breakthroughs, and much of the computing previously performed on mainframe and mini computers is now done on personal computers. Personal computers became immensely faster, and the cost of added memory and data storage dropped through the floor. Their increasing use was also a trend that was encouraged by Winsborough. There is much talk today of "cloud computing"—a kind of reverse movement back from the personal computer to a remote server that holds data and software and performs computing operations at a distance. In reality, though, "cloud computing" has always been a basic feature of the computer operation of SSCC. Probably a majority of the computing done by sociologists at Wisconsin has always been of the "cloud" variety, and in all likelihood this will continue to be the case.

An important feature of the computing cooperative is its training program consisting of numerous workshops and short noncredit courses to teach students and faculty how to make use of the computing resources and software available through the center. During the Fall, 2013, semester, for example, 39 workshops or short courses were offered with an unprecedented enrollment. Over 100 people registered for Stata for Researchers, creating a need for three sections. The SSCC staff members who teach in the training program also serve as consultants to student and faculty researchers.

The quantitative reputation of the Wisconsin department grew so much that it obscured the reality that a very substantial number of sociologists at Wisconsin were primarily qualitative researchers. Even the graduate students who were primarily qualitative in their orientation, however, acquired considerable competence in quantitative methods and the use of computers. Some of these qualitative students found themselves assigned to teach statistics in their first job, just because they had a Wisconsin PhD and were better trained in statistics and methods than many others in their department.

Methodology

Wisconsin Becomes a Methodology Powerhouse

Sociology at Wisconsin prior to the late 1940s was not noted for expertise in methodology and quantitative research—at least not in comparison with Chicago and Columbia—though Samuel Stouffer had spent a brief time at Wisconsin at the beginning of his academic career in the 1930s. Prior to that John R. Commons was regarded as the chief methodologist for sociology, and John L. Gillin, starting in the early 1930s, tried to apply quantitative methods in his criminological research, but with little theoretical direction. To fill the void left by Stouffer's quick departure, E. A. Ross hired Thomas C. McCormick, another one of William F. Ogburn's students, to teach statistics and methodology in 1935. He was a competent statistician and became the university's chief expert on statistics. Though he was reputedly a somewhat dull and uninspiring teacher, he led the quantitative side of the department in opposition to Howard Becker's influence on the qualitative side.

There was a substantial upgrade in Wisconsin's methodological resources when William H. Sewell joined the Rural Sociology and Sociology departments in 1946. Sewell was part of a new generation of methodologists in the field who were seen as worthy successors to Ogburn and F. Stuart Chapin. He started teaching the required graduate course "Research Methods in Sociology" and continued teaching it for 21 years until he became Chancellor in 1967. Otis Dudley Duncan, who had been a student of Sewell at Oklahoma A&M, was also hired as an Assistant Professor in 1950 but stayed only one year. In April, 1951, McCormick presented a paper on "Toward Causal Analysis in the Prediction of Attributes" in a research session of the Midwest Sociological Society chaired by Sewell. In the same month Louis Guttman, who had also studied with Sewell and was already considered one of the world's leading authorities on scaling and scale construction, gave two lectures on the Madison campus: "A New Approach to Factor Analysis" and "Facet Analysis: A New Scaling Theory" (UW Archives, 24/9/3 Box 79, Soc. Anth. Through July, 1953). A decade later Edgar F. Borgatta invited Guttman to return for further lectures on facet analysis in 1962 and a two-day workshop in 1965. Afterward, Borgatta wrote Guttman, "I consider this one of the most successful visits we have ever had from the point of view of getting communication on methodology developments to our graduate students and young faculty members" (UW Archives, 7/1/2-8, Box 11, Sociology, 1961-68).

The hiring of Borgatta in 1961 was another landmark in the development of the methodology specialty at Wisconsin. He introduced small group experimental research in the department and began to teach advanced

methodology courses, with a particular emphasis on factor analysis. To make sure that students thoroughly understood the logic of the procedure, he insisted on having his graduate students do a factor analysis "by hand" using a desktop calculator, an exceedingly tedious and laborious task before computer technology was well developed with "canned programs" available to do most of the work. Most of his students considered it a form of academic hazing, but it undoubtedly left a lasting impression on them. Borgatta had an even greater indirect influence on the development of methodology at Wisconsin by using his influence to increase the hiring of new young faculty who were quantitatively oriented and were familiar with the cutting edge of developments in social science methodology. He also became an important mentor to a number of gifted graduate students and guided them toward becoming methodological specialists.

George W. Bohrnstedt

Borgatta's most important early protégé was George Bohrnstedt, who worked closely with him on his research for several years. He completed his PhD before the methodology training program began, so he was never a formal trainee in the program but worked as an unofficial assistant to Borgatta and Heise in running the training program. Bohrnstedt benefitted from being Borgatta's chief assistant and collaborator in his research projects and held the position of Project Associate after he completed his degree in 1966. Word got out about his exceptional ability, however, and by 1967 other universities sought to recruit him. The University of Toronto was dangling a tenured appointment, Yale and Vanderbilt were sending out feelers, and Princeton expressed interest in bringing him in to replace the venerable Frederick F. Stephan. Borgatta desperately wanted to keep Bohrnstedt, and he asked me to try to get him a substantial raise in salary—above the normal ceiling for his job title—all coming out of his project grants. I was happy to do so, not only to aid Borgatta in his research, but also because Bohrnstedt was playing a very important role in helping to teach the advanced methods courses and assisting graduate students in the methods training program. I wrote to Dean Epstein, repeating Borgatta's words, "He is probably the finest student we have ever turned out, and Ed is anxious to keep him here next year to continue working on their joint research projects" (UW Archives, 7/1/2-5, Box 3, Sociology 1967-68). Borgatta also exercised his considerable persuasive powers on Bohrnstedt, who recalls,

> Ed counselled me in two ways. First, based on his experience at Cornell, he really did not want me to go to a private university. He strongly believed in public education and was a firm believer in free college

> education for all who qualified. Second, he said that while I could make more money by taking one of those jobs, if I could delay gratification and stay with him for two more years and get some publications under my belt, my career would be well on the way. So I stayed on as Project Associate (George W. Bohrnstedt, personal communication, March 30, 2016).

Bohrnstedt did stay on at Wisconsin for two more years, working with Borgatta, helping Borgatta and Heise with the Methodology Training Program, and furthering his own work on measurement, including the work that he later published on the measurement of change. Borgatta's advice was correct, for Bohrnstedt was able to take a position as a tenured Associate Professor at the University of Minnesota in 1969 without ever serving as an assistant professor. During his first year there he became unhappy with how the department's search for a new chair was progressing, and he prepared to leave. The department, however, asked him to stay and voted to offer him the chair, even though he was only 31 and had less than two years of professorial experience. He did serve as chair at Minnesota for four years, but tired of the "thankless job" of trying to restore the department to its former glory.

When Indiana University offered him a full professor position in 1973, he accepted and remained there until 1988. He also served as chair at Indiana for four years and directed a postdoctoral training program that focused on the measurement of mental health. After spending a year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford in 1986-87, David Goslin hired him to be Vice President and Director of the Palo Alto office of the American Institutes for Research in 1987. Goslin, the President of AIR, was also a sociologist with a PhD from Yale. Once more the Russell Sage Foundation played an important role relevant to Wisconsin sociologists. Bohrnstedt first met Goslin through Ed Borgatta at the Russell Sage Foundation, and they became fast friends. There he also met Howie Freeman, Stan Wheeler, Bert Brim, and Eleanor Sheldon—all important to him in his career. Brim was also Chair of AIR's Board at the time when Goslin was made President of AIR. Bohrnstedt remembers, "I spent many a Monday late afternoon there for the



GEORGE W. BOHRNSTEDT (AMERICAN INSTITUTES FOR RESEARCH)

famous "Sherry hour" where anyone of note in the social sciences showed up if they were in New York City (George W. Bohrnstedt, personal communication, June 3, 2016).

Over the following years Goslin and Bohrnstedt laid the groundwork for AIR becoming the largest not-for-profit social science research institute in the United States. At AIR Bohrnstedt conducted major evaluation studies of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), California's class size reduction initiative, the Gates Foundation's national small schools initiative, and the College Board's Equity 2000 program. Bohrnstedt retired as an operating officer at AIR in 2009 but continues to work three-quarter-time, largely on contracts with the National Center for Education Statistics.

NIGMS Training Program in Methodology in Sociology

In 1962, Congressional legislation authorized the creation of the National Institute of General Medical Sciences to support and conduct research and research training in the basic medical sciences and related behavioral sciences that had significance for two or more institutes or were outside the general area of responsibility of a given institute. In July, 1965, Borgatta submitted an application for a NIGMS Mental Health Training Grant on the subject of "Methodology in Sociology." This was an unusual step, for until then all of the government training and center grants had been from NIMH and NICHD. The request was for a total of $605,100 for the period from July 1, 1966, to June 30, 1973, with Borgatta serving as Program Director and David Heise as Assistant Director.

The proposal outlined the program's objectives in the following terms:

> The program is designed to provide a special avenue for concentration on the methodology that essentially establishes the status of the empirical science. The program is not conceived narrowly to be either statistical or numerical in orientation, but it is expected that substantial skills will be developed in these areas. The objective is to establish the participants firmly in the traditions of science, including questions of philosophical bases, values, etc., to provide adequate knowledge of statistical and numerical techniques with the corresponding computer application, and to attempt to provide an orientation for the furtherance of the science by improving the bases of research. Substantive interests of students will not be restricted. . . . (UW Archives, 6/1/2, Box 132, National Institutes of Health).

The proposal was funded, and the methodology training program began in July, 1966. Borgatta directed the program for the first three years, but in

the summer of 1969 he went on a two-year leave from UW-Madison and later decided not to return. The program was then taken over by Robert M. Hauser, who also brought Gerald Marwell on board. They co-directed the program from 1969 through the mid-1970s. In the meantime, however, NIGMS decided not to fund further social science programs and limit their support to strictly medical programs. Thus, when the program funds ran out in 1973, the methodology program was not renewed. Hauser and Marwell, however, continued to operate the training seminar even without methodology traineeships or program funding for several more years in the 1970s. Many of the participants held traineeships from other programs, research assistantships with the WLS and OCG projects, or with other forms of support. In fact, the program was perhaps at its most vigorous during the early to mid-1970s. With NIMH and many other agencies also abandoning support for most general social science training programs under pressure from the Nixon Administration, other training programs within the department, such as the Sociology of Economic Change, also had to find a way to operate with even less alternative funding than methodology had.



ROBERT M. HAUSER
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)



GERALD MARWELL
(R. MIDDLETON)

Methodology Trainees and Participants

One of the early methodology trainees was Richard T. Campbell. He had been exposed to punch-card technology when he served in the army in 1959-62 and he became interested in computers—not programming, but using "canned software" to get work done. He had no background in sociology but had taken some statistics courses in completing a master's in counseling. He was working in the office of F. Chandler Young, the Assistant Dean of Student Affairs at UW, compiling a large data file on the entering class of 1964. He learned that Borgatta had done a panel study on the same cohort, and he wanted to work with him in further graduate training. He asked Borgatta for

permission to sit in on the methods seminar sessions and began attending regularly. Borgatta became his advisor, and after a year-long "tryout" he was awarded a methodology traineeship in the fall of 1969. He sometimes went off methods funding when the Sociology Department hired him to teach a noncredit course for graduate students and faculty on using STATJOB, a package of statistical programs written by Wisconsin computer scientists long before SPSS was available. He had learned the programs thoroughly and proved to be an outstanding teacher. In recognition of his contribution, the department gave him a teaching award. I myself was an appreciative student in his STATJOB class, and he opened up the world of computing to me, helping me to break my dependence on the IBM 101 card counter sorter. Computing on a mainframe even with packaged programs was not easy then, requiring punching and verifying control cards, transporting trays of cards three blocks to the computer center, and then returning hours later to pick up the cards and output or resubmit after correcting errors.

Campbell became one of the most enthusiastic participants in the methods training program and he now says,

> Being a student in the department at the time I was there was a great privilege and a life changing experience. . . . I don't think I ever missed a methods seminar, including summers, from the day I entered the department until the day I left [in the fall of 1972]. To say that these were exciting times is an understatement, at least from the point of view of someone interested in quantitative methods. I would argue that in the course of ten years or so, beginning in the mid-1960s and ending in the mid-1970s, virtually all of what are now standard quantitative methods made their first appearance (with the exception of multilevel modeling, which appeared a little later) (Richard Campbell, personal communica-tion, June 2, 2013).

Campbell's list of some of the significant developments during the decade includes the following:

- 1966 Dudley Duncan's introduction to path analysis, with follow-up papers in the next few years by Duncan, Hauser, Heise, and others.
- 1968 Jacob Cohen's "Multiple Regression and a Data Analysis System" showing that multiple regression, ANOVA, ANCOVA, and many other statistical techniques were part of a common model.
- 1968 Lord and Novick's book *Statistical Theory of Mental Test Scores*, which put measurement on a rigorous basis.
- 1969 The first issue of *Sociological Methodology*, edited by Ed Borgatta.

- 1969 Karl Jöreskog's paper laying out the basics of confirmatory factor analysis.
- 1970 Jöresokog's *Biometrika* paper in which he laid out the foundation for what became the LISREL model.
- 1965-1972 Leo Goodman's long series of articles providing the basics of log-linear models, including latent class analysis.
- 1972 David R. Cox's paper, "Regression Models and Life Tables," that was the basis for the proportional hazards survival model.
- 1972 Nelder and Wedderburn's "Generalized Linear Models," a paper that generalized the regression model to virtually any kind of outcome, including dichotomies, ordered scales, counts, and the like.

The Wednesday evening methods training seminars run by Hauser and Marwell proved especially popular and attracted not only methods trainees but trainees from other training programs and graduate students with other forms of support who wanted to be informed about the latest developments in quantitative methods. Faculty members who made presentations or attended some of the sessions remember the students from the seminars as an exceptionally talented group with some of the brightest and most creative students we have ever had. In the absence of archival records, it is impossible to differentiate between the methodology trainees and others who attended regularly, but, depending on people's memories today, the following is at least a partial list of active student participants in the seminars. Their principal locations during their subsequent careers, if known, are shown in parentheses.

Duane F. Alwin (Indiana Univ., Univ. of Michigan, Pennsylvania State University)
Thomas A. Heberlein (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Richard T. Campbell (University of Illinois at Chicago)
Mary Jackman (University of Michigan, University of California-Davis)
Lowell Hargens (University of Washington)
Diane Felmlee (Pennsylvania State University)
Rachel Rosenfeld (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)—deceased
Robert Kaufman (Ohio State University, Temple University)
Morgan Lyons (Florida State University)
Charles W. Mueller (University of Iowa) —deceased
Paul D. Cleary (Yale School of Public Health)
William T. Bielby (Univ. of California-Santa Barbara, University of Illinois at Chicago)
Robyn Stryker (University of Arizona)

Paul D. Allison (University of Pennsylvania)
Steven Gortmaker (Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health)
Arne L. Kalleberg (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)
James R. Kluegel (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
Donna J. Eder (Indiana University Bloomington)
Blair Wheaton (University of Toronto)
John Finney (University of Puget Sound)
Michael Sobel (Columbia University Dept. of Statistics)
Charles E. Susmilch (retail business entrepreneur in Madison)
Gregory Elliott (Brown University)
Lee Haggerty (Portland State University)
L. Edward Wells (Illinois State University at Normal) —deceased
Nancy Dunton (University of Kansas Medical Center)
Robert Suchner (Northern Illinois University)
Larry Hotchkiss (University of Delaware)
T. Michael Carter
David Jackson (University of Maryland Baltimore County) —deceased
Geraldine Alfano
Richard D. Rodefeld (Michigan State University)
Robert Peterson

Two of the group—Bielby and Kalleberg—were later elected President of the American Sociological Association. Many of the others served as department chairs, journal editors, deans, or in higher university posts. Most regarded methodology as one of their fields of specialization for teaching.

The Wednesday evening methods seminar sessions were free-wheeling without any syllabus or course outline. Each week there was a presentation on some topic, sometimes by one of the graduate students, sometimes by the regular faculty participants (Hauser, Marwell, Heise, Bohrnstedt, or others), and sometimes by outside speakers, such as Leslie Kish, Dudley Duncan, Bill Mason, and Bengt Muthén. It was expected that each trainee would make at least one presentation a year, though some were more active. The nature of the discussion at the seminars was described by Richard Campbell in this way:

> The culture of the methods program encouraged people to talk and to ask challenging questions. I have heard various people use words like "highly competitive" or even "vicious" to describe the atmosphere, but that isn't my memory at all. It's true that if you were a student making a presentation you had better be prepared because questions and comments would rain down on you if you weren't (and even if you were), but in general, the seminar was oriented to solving problems, and you

could only do that with a fair amount of back-and-forth discussion. At the beginning, Ed Borgatta and Dave Heise certainly encouraged that and when Bob Hauser and Jerry Marwell took over the program that tradition continued. Marwell, who had an enormously inquisitive mind, could be counted on to ask questions that made you think about your work in totally new ways. But there were limits. I recall an instance during Arne Kalleberg's first year when I made some smart aleck comment in response to a question he asked. Bob Hauser took me aside during the break and suggested that I could be a little more gentle. Still, when I went to Duke, first as a post doc and later as an Assistant Professor, I had to learn that many people were taken aback by my habit of asking what I thought were polite but challenging questions in the Wisconsin style (Richard Campbell, personal communication, June 2, 2013).



RICHARD T. CAMPBELL IN CUBS DUGOUT, WISHING HE WERE THE CUBS' STATISTICIAN (BILL BRIDGES)

Campbell later moved to the University of Illinois at Chicago, where he continued to follow a career specializing in methods and statistics. The methods trainees were housed in a set of offices on the second floor of the building and shared a lunch room across the hall. There were daily discussions and sometimes heated arguments among the trainees about methodological issues, and this contributed to the development of strong bonds and a distinctive culture among them.

Arne Kalleberg was a methods trainee when he was a graduate student at UW from 1971 to 1975:

> The methods training program was a great experience for me. . . . What I remember most was attending the night seminars each week (which was the only real requirement of the traineeships). For the first couple of years, I sat through them without having much of a clue as to what the presentations were about or how to do the methods that were discussed. Hauser was always insistent though, that it was ok for the younger students to ask "dumb" questions. Then, after a few years, the light started to go on and I began to understand almost via osmosis, what was being said. I think I even managed to make a presentation myself. Being immersed with these smart people was a real confidence booster (Arne Kalleberg, personal communication, June 7, 2013).

William Bielby's view of the seminar was similar:

> I was a methods trainee from '72 to '75 but stayed in Madison two years longer at IRP (Institute for Research on Poverty) . . . . The active participants in the Wednesday methods seminar included a lot of students who were in other training programs. Cleary was in Med Soc, Steve Gortmaker in Demography, Paul Allison in Soc Org, but apart from where their paycheck came from, they were very much part of what the Methods program was all about. . . . The Wednesday seminar was "total immersion"—nothing was watered down for novices. And it was a special time in quant methodology, when econometrics, psychometrics, and path analysis/structural equation modeling were all coming together. After the funding went away, Bob kept the spirit intact by funding a lot of students on the Wisconsin [WLS] project. I'm guessing the last incoming cohort was around 1975, though the seminar was still going on when I left in 1977 (William Bielby, personal communication, May 27, 2013).

Gregory Elliott was also a methods trainee during the 1970s and attributed the shaping of his subsequent career to its influence:

> I was a Methods Trainee (1972-1977), under the guidance of Hauser & Marwell, and I can say that it was the highlight of my professional socialization at Wisconsin. Gerry told me, later in my time in grad school, that I was considered a risk, having come from a program in Mathematics without any substantive Sociology courses under my belt. It was, indeed, a challenging transition, but when I started my first book for the required Theory course (Weber's *Protestant Ethic*), I remember saying to myself, "I am home." The weekly seminar meetings were stimulating and challenging, in the best sense of those words. Each week, we examined a current publication (book or article), critiqued (constructively) master's thesis or dissertation proposals, followed a lecture on new techniques of analysis, reviewed faculty members' new ideas for research, and generally learned from the best in the field. In general, I learned so much from all my classes, but I also remember learning so much about the substance and the lore of Sociology from my interactions (in seminars and informally) from such professors (beyond Bob & Gerry) as Hal Winsborough, Bill Sewell, Maureen Hallinan, Andy Michener, Shalom Schwartz (who guided both my Master's Thesis and Dissertation), and Warren Hagstrom (who wrote me a letter after I took his theory course that helped me believe I had made the correct choice in UW-Madison). The students I met were also a source of comradeship and stimulation,

> especially my fellow trainees: Bill Bielby Jim Kluegel, Steve Gortmaker, Chuck Susmilch, Bob Petersen, Ed Wells, Mike Merloni, to name a few. Coming to Madison for Sociology was the best professional decision I ever made, and I will be forever grateful to my mentors, professors, and fellow students for all I learned. I have only fond memories (Gregory Elliott, personal communication, April 27, 2016).

Robert Kaufman, who was in the UW graduate program from 1974-1980, was not a methods trainee, but he was a regular attendee of the Wednesday night seminars and did a didactic presentation on log-linear models for the methods training seminar at one point. He remembered,

> Although I don't think I could cite any specifics, the Wednesday night seminars were invaluable in exposing me to a wide variety of statistical techniques and approaches to modeling. The seminars emphasized not only statistical theory and principles but also application and interpretation, and how some knowledge of principles was important to understand how to properly apply and interpret techniques. This laid the foundation for my own approach to teaching graduate statistics, which has always included both principles and applications as well as most of my publications on quantitative methods. The seminars also showed me the importance of trying to keep current with new developments. I distinctly remember one presentation at the methods training seminar one night by two of the graduate students. When we walked into the seminar room that night, there were two trays of brownies with a note card displayed in front of each. One note card read "With" and the other "Without." Another anecdote is about me. The relevant context is that the presentation was sometime within a year after the release of the first Star Wars movie, and that the connection of my presentation to Star Wars was unplanned and inadvertent but completely consistent with my well-known love of puns. I was doing a presentation on loglinear modeling, and filled two to three blackboards with formulas over the course of at least an hour. The end result of this was an expression for an odds ratio between two variables (R and D) which read something like:
>
> $$OR_{R(2:1)D(2:1)} = \tau^2_{R2,D2}$$
>
> My concluding verbal statement was that all that we need for constructing the odds ratio is the two-way parameter for R2D2.

Image of Sociology at Wisconsin

By the 1970s Wisconsin sociology had acquired a reputation as a highly quantitative department, due to several factors:

- The insistence that all graduate students should have a strong grounding in statistics and methods, even if their own research was more qualitative
- The presence of faculty members, such as Sewell, Borgatta, and Hauser, with outstanding reputations as methodologists
- The presence of many young faculty with strong training in the latest quantitative methods
- The presence of a strong training program in sociological methodology in the 1960s and 1970s

Most of the faculty at Wisconsin considered this to be a misleading stereotype, since a large number of the faculty were primarily qualitative researchers and some were "switch-hitters" working in both quantitative and qualitative modes, depending on the nature of the questions being asked and the type of data that could be used to answer the questions. By the late 1970s the Wisconsin sociology program, including both departments, was the largest in the United States, and the faculty took pride in having strength in many subject areas, some of which depended little on quantitative research. In 1988 the *Daily Cardina*l, one of the two campus newspapers, ran a story entitled, "Sociology Department Asked: Numbers or Principle?" (Weix, 1988). It reported that some academics at the ASA meetings that year charged that the field of sociology was becoming too technical to be useful to the public. They maintained it was too much concerned with research and that it was no longer addressing social problems. Raka Ray, who was then a graduate student in the department, told the *Cardinal* reporter that quantitative versus qualitative is heavily debated among the students, but the department has "already decided by emphasizing quantitative research." "Since the whole train of sociology is toward quantitative, it is important to know it and this is the best school to learn it," she said. The reporter also interviewed Charles Camic, who taught mostly theory and the history of theory, and he demurred:

> I don't think it was ever true of this University, and especially in the last few years—the trend has been to move toward qualitative research. The department tries to hire in areas of intellectual promise and then the tools—quantitative or qualitative—fit themselves in. . . . The diversity here is very large and involves both types of work (*Ibid.)*.

Erik Wright, who has done some quantitative research but whose main work is qualitative, argued that the question is miscast:

> I don't think the problem is too quantitative or insufficiently quantitative. The problem is too much sociology is driven by quantitative research methods instead of being driven by theoretical questions. . . . I think that what happens for students is that it takes so long to learn the technical side that when they step back and look at questions they want to answer, they are disappointed that their technical tools won't work. They want a return on their investments. People have a bag of tricks and then ask questions that their skills can answer (*Ibid.*).

To this day both quantitative work and qualitative work are both valued and respected by sociologists at Wisconsin. Outstanding work in either mode is recognized and rewarded.

Survey Research

The Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory

The first social science survey research organization at the University of Wisconsin was established as a part of the Department of Sociology in 1960. Albert J. Reiss, Jr. was brought in as a Professor of Sociology and Director of the Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory. Reiss stayed only one year, however, and went to the University of Michigan, where he pursued a career in criminology and urban sociology, as well as working on the Detroit Area Survey. He was replaced as Director by Harry P. Sharp, who was recruited from the University of Michigan. Sharp had received his PhD at Michigan and worked as a student and teaching fellow with the Detroit Area Study from 1952-1954. The next year he became the Director and served in that capacity for seven years, from 1955 to 1961—the longest tenure of any director in the 50-year history of the DAS. Each year he collaborated with faculty participants in the program to produce a string of scholarly papers (Converse, Meyer, *et al.*, 2002). When he moved to Wisconsin, Charles D. Palit, a statistician, was employed as the Lab's specialist in sampling.

The Wisconsin Survey Research Lab was a small operation located in the bank building at Park Street and University Avenue where Grainger Hall stands today. When the Sociology Department moved into the new Social Sciences Building on Observatory Drive, it remained in the bank building. It never was brought into the new Social Sciences Building to be close to Sociology, Economics, and Anthropology, as Guy Orcutt had hoped. Finally,

in 1972 the Survey Lab moved to Lowell Hall at 610 Langdon Street, two blocks east of the Memorial Union.

The Survey Lab did relatively few academic surveys for sociologists at Wisconsin, though I contracted with it to do personal interviews with separate samples of white and African American men in Milwaukee in the late 1960s. I had first sought a bid from Temple University's well regarded Institute of Survey Research in Philadelphia. I had specified a sample drawn from the city of Philadelphia, figuring that it would be cheaper for them to mount the survey in their home base. Their bid, however, was prohibitively high, in part because they wanted funds to hire bodyguards to accompany their interviewers in many parts of the city. I then turned to our own Survey Lab to do the survey in Milwaukee. Sharp and Palit did an excellent job and at a price far below the bid I received from Temple. I did not have enough grant money to hire a survey organization to carry out parallel surveys of white and African American men in the rural South, so I organized and supervised the surveys myself in Nash and Edgecombe Counties, North Carolina, with an area sampling scheme designed by Palit. Contrary to the expectations of most scholars, I found, using the Rosenberg scale, that the African American men had higher self-esteem than the white men in both Milwaukee and rural North Carolina when socioeconomic status was controlled. This was probably because the African American men were more likely to blame "the system" and discrimination rather than themselves for their failures.

The Wisconsin Survey Research Lab remained small and certainly did not compare with the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan or the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. Sharp was an affable, laid-back person who was content with managing a small operation, and had little drive to build it into a major social survey research center. He did not seem to mind having the Lab's offices physically separated from the Social Sciences Building—four blocks away on Langdon Street. Lowell Hall backed up to Lake Mendota, and during fishing season Sharp would often slip out the back door before work or during breaks to cast his line in the lake. If he caught a large fish, he would keep it in a bathtub that was still located in the office suite. The Survey Lab was later taken over by the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin and for the most part it ceased to do surveys for the academic social science community. Sharp remained a Professor of Sociology and continued to run the Survey Lab with Palit's help for Extension.

Winsborough, Sweet, and Birth of the UW Survey Center

A new academic survey center, the University of Wisconsin Survey Center (UWSC), came into existence in 1987, essentially as a spin-off from the

Center for Demography and Ecology. CDE had been growing in numbers and strength, and the demographers felt an increasing need to have the capacity to generate their own data as well as analyze existing data sets produced elsewhere, such as the Census and the Current Population Surveys. At CDE's 50th Anniversary Celebration James Sweet recalled,

> A little over twenty-five years ago, Hal Winsborough had another of his crazy ideas, that he pitched to the Deans of the Graduate School and L&S. I remember thinking, Hal, this will never fly and you should never ask the deans for something you know they are going to say no to. He decided that a world-class university with world-class social science departments ought to have an academic survey center. . . . So Hal said, "We're going to start a survey center, and the deans are going to pay for it." And so he pitched this idea to the deans, and they said yes! (Sweet, 2012b).

Sweet became Director of the Center on top of his other duties, and he soon showed a remarkable aptitude for survey work. According to a document issued by the Population Association of America, "Jim's expertise in innovative survey data collection soon became legendary. . . ." Charles Palit also came over from the Wisconsin Survey Research Lab to provide expertise in sampling.

In the beginning the Wisconsin Survey Center did just one thing—conducting a continuous national telephone survey, trying to get five to ten interviews a day, 365 days a year. All of this was done originally with Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) procedures. In the early 1990s the Center moved to the CASES (Computer Assisted Survey Execution System) software, which was developed by the survey methods group at the University of California-Berkeley. It is a comprehensive interviewing system that can be used to manage the collection, checking, cleaning, and coding of data in a highly efficient manner. The Continuous National Study (WISCON) included about ten minutes of core questions that remained constant and up to 20 minutes of additional questions. The survey was used for both instructional and research purposes, and it was particularly valuable studying short-term social change and experimenting with question sequences. WISCON continued from 1988 to 2002, when it was finally discontinued for lack of a stable source of funding. (http://www.uwsc.wisc.edu/national.php).

The Survey Center Begins Taking on Bigger and More Varied Projects

UWSC gradually started undertaking some other small-scale projects, such as a self-administered questionnaire study, but a turning point came when the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study suffered a crisis in connection with its planned 1992 wave. The UW Survey Lab had agreed to conduct the telephone interviews and mail survey, but after the grant had been funded, the Survey Lab suddenly doubled its charges for the survey, jeopardizing the whole study (Taissa Hauser, 2012). Robert Hauser, who was then Director of the WLS, came to Sweet and Robert Lee and asked whether the Wisconsin Survey Center would be able to conduct the study within the original budget. Lee did some quick calculations, and he and Sweet decided that they could do it. Sweet commented, "We thought it was a kind of liberal budget, actually" (Sweet, 2012b). This was a more ambitious project than had previously been undertaken by UWSC, that included telephone interviews and follow-up mail questionnaires to a sample of the original graduates and their siblings and shorter telephone interviews with the spouses of the graduates and siblings. The Survey Center, however, carried out the work very successfully.

UWSC has continued to conduct the surveys for the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, including a 2007 biomarker study collecting saliva samples from a sample of 8,141 graduates and also from siblings. The 2010-2012 wave is even more ambitious, since it involves in-person interviews with graduates and a sample of their brothers and sisters, and the collection of much more information of a biomedical nature—of great importance for an aging population now mostly over 65. More details are in the section on the WLS in Chapter 7, vol. 2, but it is obvious that the type of data being collected and the use of computers in the field interviewing and in carrying out cognitive assessments has required the development of innovative survey methods.

The use of laptop computers in field interviewing came about through the experience of Sweet and Bumpass in managing the third wave of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH). Charles Palit strongly encouraged them to equip the field interviewers with laptops to improve the quality of the data, so they purchased 133 laptop computers and shipped them off to the survey center at Temple University, which was conducting the interviewing. The use of computers in the field had never been done before, but it proved to be very successful. In working with the Temple staff, Sweet also learned a great deal about managing large scale survey research projects.

The Wisconsin Survey Center began to undertake more and more surveys, and its staff, its budget, and its expertise in conducting different types



UW SURVEY CENTER, FOURTH FLOOR OF STERLING HALL
(R. MIDDLETON)

of studies grew rapidly. It now occupies the fourth floor of Sterling Hall, where the Department of Sociology was partially located prior to 1962.

Today the Survey Center can undertake almost any kind of survey or survey-related activity—telephone interviewing, web-based surveys, instrument design and testing, computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI), mail surveys, coding of occupation and industry, interviewer training, focus group services, and tracing and locating services. Among the notable projects it has undertaken are the following:

- National Study of Families and Households (NFSH)—3rd wave
- Wisconsin Longitudinal Study—1992-1994, 2007, 2010-2012 waves
- Midlife in the U.S. National Study of Health and Well-being (MIDUS) National Children's Study
- Midwest Young Adult Study
- Wisconsin Family Health Survey
- Puerto Rican Elderly Health Condition Project
- 1910-1920 Puerto Rican Census Project (creating public use samples)
- Department of Health and Family Services Aging Study
- Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System Survey
- (http://www.uwsc.wisc.edu/index.php)

Nora Cate Schaeffer, the Sewell Bascom Professor of Sociology who was trained in survey research methods at the University of Chicago and NORC, succeeded James Sweet as Faculty Director. John Stevenson is the Associate Director for Research Services and is responsible for managing the overall operation of the many projects of the center.

The UW Survey Center is now the third largest academic survey center in the United States. It conducts around seventy projects a year, with an annual budget of 3 to 4 million dollars. Stevenson has overall supervision of 30 full-time and 150-200 part-time staff members, and he manages the budget, staff recruitment and development, and the preparation of cost proposals (http://www.uwsc.wisc.edu/dstaff.php).



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CHAPTER 9

Early Training Programs—Medical Sociology, Law and Society, Economic Change and Development

The principal sociology graduate training programs in the first decade after the turnaround began in 1958 were Medical Sociology, Law and Society, Demography and Ecology, and the Sociology of Economic Change. Demography and Ecology was discussed in Chapter 7, vol. 2. This chapter features the three other early graduate training programs, all funded by federal agencies or foundations. They were later followed by training programs in Sociological Methodology and Social Organization discussed in Chapters 31 and 33.

Medical Sociology and Health Services

David Mechanic—Founder

The first federally financed graduate training program in Sociology at Wisconsin was in the field of medical sociology and health services. It began in 1961, and for the next eighteen years it was under the able direction of David Mechanic. As Ronald J. Angell, one of the program trainees in the 1970s expressed it, "There is no doubt that he *was* the med soc program at Wisconsin. . . ." (Ronald J. Angel, personal communication, June 15, 2013).

Mechanic got his PhD in sociology at Stanford in 1959 at the age of 23. His advisor was Edmund Volkart, a social psychologist who joined the Stanford Sociology Department in 1954 after serving as the staff person on the SSRC Committee on Social Science and Psychiatry. At Stanford he found that there were already three or four others teaching the regular social psychology courses, so he decided to teach instead a course on the social psychology of health and illness. Mechanic arrived at Stanford as a graduate student about that time and decided to write his dissertation on illness behavior under Volkart's direction, though some of the Stanford sociology faculty objected to the topic. According to Volkart, "I remember we used to have meetings in the night, Paul Wallin, Dick LaPierre, myself, Dave, and I don't know if anyone else was involved, asking what is this dissertation all about?" (Bloom, 2002, pp. 139-140). Mechanic completed the dissertation and began to attract increasing attention as he published articles from it.



DAVID MECHANIC
(UW ARCHIVES)

Volkart's own interest in medical sociology also deepened, and he began working on a joint social science program with the Stanford Medical School. He ran into trouble with his own sociology colleagues, however, who were bent on developing a particular theoretical direction for the department, and they refused to approve any of the assistant professor prospects he wanted to hire—including Mechanic. In 1962 he escaped into university administration at Oregon State University.

Mechanic, after finishing his PhD, spent a year as a trainee in the new NIMH Postdoctoral Training program at the University of North Carolina doing research on mental health at the Dorothea Dix Hospital in Raleigh. While William Sewell was on leave at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in 1959-1960, Burt Fisher was chair of Sociology at Wisconsin, and he recruited Mechanic to join the Wisconsin department as an Assistant Professor of Sociology in 1960. Mechanic briefly met Howard Becker during his job interview, but did not move to Madison until after Becker died in June, 1960. Mechanic then moved into Becker's spacious office on the second floor of Sterling Hall. Becker's ghost did not inhabit the office, but his memory did. Mechanic was constantly regaled by Becker's former colleagues and students with jaw-dropping tales about Becker's abrasive personality and behavior. Fisher assigned Mechanic to teach Becker's history of sociological theory course and insisted that he use Becker's outline. Why he stipulated this, something that Mechanic surely regarded as an imposition, is a mystery to me, since Fisher was no admirer of Becker. By the following year Mechanic was fully engaged with his specialties—medical sociology and social psychology—and began a long career making his own theoretical contributions in those fields.

At Wisconsin Mechanic immediately got to work organizing a training program in medical sociology and health services with federal funding. The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) had recognized the importance of social factors in mental health and had supported research by social scientists for the past decade, but it had provided research training funds only for the clinical professions—psychiatry, psychology, social work, and nursing. In 1957, however, it funded two pilot research training programs for social scientists at Harvard University Medical School and the University of North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science. A third pilot

program was authorized for Washington University at St. Louis in 1958. In late 1958 a brochure was sent to the chairs of sociology and anthropology departments announcing the availability of grants for doctoral and postdoctoral training in mental health areas and "training of professional personnel from the mental health disciplines in the research methods of the social sciences." Twenty-two applications from institutions were received, and four of them were awarded five-year grants, to be activated in 1960. The Wisconsin Department of Sociology received one of the grants. At first the phrase "mental health disciplines" was interpreted narrowly, but it was soon greatly broadened to cover a great variety of subspecialties in the social sciences, including deviant behavior, social organization, social disorganization, the family, aging, etc. This approach was favored by all three of the Executive Secretaries of the Social Science Subcommittee at NIMH, including the third, Kenneth Lutterman, a former sociology faculty member from Wisconsin (Bloom, 2002, pp. 1173-175).

With strong Federal funding from NIMH, the University of Wisconsin established a Center for Medical Sociology and Health Services Research directed by Mechanic. It probably reached its peak by the early 1970s, but then it began to run into political trouble in Washington. In 1973 President Nixon announced in his budget message that all research training programs except those dealing with drugs and alcohol would be phased out over the next four years. He even impounded some of the funds that Congress had appropriated, until a court order secured their release. Congress then authorized a study by the National Research Council to determine the need for biomedical and behavioral researchers. It recommended stable funding for health and mental health research training but a shift away from predoctoral to postdoctoral training. There were 76 NIMH social science training programs in 1975, a majority of which were not narrowly directed to health or medical issues. The Office of Management and Budget was hostile to social science training programs in all agencies and was generally effective in limiting them, especially the general social science training programs of NIMH. The government-financed training programs that remained were largely of the postdoctoral rather than predoctoral variety (Bloom, 2002, pp. 249-250). The Wisconsin medical sociology-health services program remained strong, however, with funding from a second major training grant from the National Center for Health Services Research and Development. Additional funding of $269,230 was received from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation for the period 1976-1979.

Mechanic also played an important role in the development of the field of medical sociology. August B. Hollingshead, one of the pioneers in the field, convened an informal group of people interested in health and illness at the 1954 ASA meetings. It came to be known as the Committee on

Medical Social Organization. It had little formal organization but it did secure a place for medical sociology papers on the ASA program each year. By 1959, when the ASA authorized the formation of disciplinary sections, there were 280 participants in the Committee, 71 percent of whom were sociologists. An ASA Section on Medical Sociology was formed in 1959. Many of the leaders of the section in the early years were older mainstream sociologists like Hollingshead, Everett Hughes, and Edward Suchman, but soon younger sociologists whose primary research focus was medical sociology became the principal leaders. Mechanic was the eleventh chairman in 1970. At that time there was a crisis of funding for the section, since support from the Milbank Memorial Fund had run out. Mechanic proposed seeking funding from the Carnegie Foundation, with a change to a more policy-related emphasis studying health care delivery problems—something that was already a major emphasis in his own program at Wisconsin. Carnegie did support the Section, and medical sociology received a major boost, but national policy leaders in the ensuing years were not receptive to most proposals for reforms from the medical sociologists (Bloom, 2002, pp. 215-237).

The cutbacks in federal support for medical sociology during the Reagan years of the 1980s were especially damaging to the field. Ronald Mandersheid, who was an official at NIMH for twenty years, told Bloom, "The organization that you knew at NIMH as of 1975-1980, when it was a very dynamic, vibrant organization that was multidimensional, no longer exists." He believed it had become narrowly focused on neuroscience, and had become very conservative in its funding, leading most medical sociologists to abandon basic research about the reorganization of health care delivery. He also thought that our university programs in the field were not training people to make major contributions intellectually but only to be "hired hands" doing applied work on demand (Bloom, 2002, pp. 268-269).

This was essentially Mechanic's view too:

> When Reagan came into office, everything got redefined, and you had to be working on disease, not on just basic ideas. There is a lot of hostility to social science and to anything with "social" in it. . . . One of the things that has really hurt medical sociology is that, in the golden days, we had strong programs in the best sociology departments; at Wisconsin, Yale, North Carolina, and Columbia. All of these programs pretty much shut down, and we are not really training the next generation at the major universities. There are exceptions, like Michigan (David Mechanic, quoted in Bloom, 2002, p. 279).

Superficially, however, medical sociology has continued to thrive. Membership in the ASA Section on Medical Sociology grew from 224 at its

founding in 1959, to 693 in 1970, 1018 in 1980, 1080 in 1990, and 1019 in 2000. During most of its history it has been the largest Section in the ASA, representing as much as 9 percent of ASA membership in 1987 (Bloom, 2002, pp. 218, 241). Sociologists have also become less dependent on NIMH and NSF for research funding and have sought and received funding from a variety of other agencies, such as NICHD and NIA, as well as the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

Former Medical Sociology Trainees

During its heyday, the Wisconsin Center for Medical Sociology and Health Services Research developed one of the most important training programs in the field. It attracted a stellar group of predoctoral and postdoctoral trainees, a great many of whom have come to play major roles in health research and administration in the United States. Among them were Ronald C. Kessler (Health Care Policy, Harvard Medical School), Paul D. Cleary (Dean, Yale School of Public Health), William Eaton (Chair, Mental Health, Johns Hopkins), Linda H. Aiken (Nursing & Sociology, University of Pennsylvania), Janet Ruth Hankin (Chair, Sociology, Wayne State University), Philip J. Leaf (Bloomberg School of Public Health, Johns Hopkins), Ronald J. Angel (Sociology, University of Texas-Austin), Rick S. Zimmerman (College of Nursing & Assoc. Dean for Research, University of Missouri-St. Louis) , Sarah S. McLanahan (Sociology & Public Affairs, Princeton), Richard Levinson (Exec. Associate Dean for Academic Affairs, Rollins School of Public Health, Emory University), Doris P. Slesinger (Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin), and Bonnie L. Svarstad (Pharmacy, University of Wisconsin).

Richard Levinson was one of the early NIMH trainees in medical sociology. He came from the University of Connecticut in 1964, supported his first year on a teaching assistantship, but he was given a medical sociology predoctoral traineeship his second year. He remembered that Mechanic oversaw the program "with a light hand," and did not push the students to do anything in particular except to take the medical sociology seminar and perhaps one other related course and to seek out some opportunities to observe in health or mental health settings. His object was to encourage the trainees to become interested in applying sociology to mental health or health issues.

> I became interested in decisions related to mental health and institutionalization and carried out dissertation research on coping with children who were mentally handicapped or had developmental disabilities (called mentally retarded in that day) and related decisions to seek residential care for them. . . . The study was badly designed and David Mechanic, my advisor, helped me salvage it and get it done. . . . The

> training program had its impact on me because I viewed myself as a "medical sociologist" and taught the sociology of mental health at Indiana University and later, at Emory, a course called Sociological Aspects of Health and Illness. . . . So when I look back, I can see how my career, with its twists and turns, was launched by the NIMH training program. I owe so much to David Mechanic and UW for all this (Richard Levinson, personal communication, March 5, 2016).

Levinson started out in the Department of Sociology at Emory but later helped to develop a program in the School of Medicine to train people in health planning. He soon had an appointment in the Department of Family and Preventive Medicine, and with further development, it became a fully accredited School of Public Health in 1990. The Rollins School of Public Health is now considered one of the top ten schools of public health in the United States. Levinson is Charles Howard Candler Professor of Public Health and Executive Associate Dean for Academic Affairs.

Ron Kessler received his PhD in sociology at New York University in 1975, and after a period working as a Research Associate at the New York State Psychiatric Institute and the Center for Policy Research, came to Wisconsin as a Postdoctoral Trainee for two years in 1977 to 1979. Mechanic was on leave his first year there, but they were together during Mechanic's last year at Wisconsin. The nature of the program at that time, as described by Kessler, was fairly typical for most of the eighteen years that Mechanic directed it:

> During my one year at UW with Dave there was a weekly graduate student training seminar attended by all Dave's students. This was 20-30 people. One member made a presentation each week, mostly about their dissertations. Dave would offer suggestions for changes of various sorts and would lead group discussions about the presentations. The students also had lively discussions throughout the week amongst themselves on the presentation topics. A lot of these students had cross-training in social psychology and demography, which is the perfect combination for working in the kind of empirical medical sociology that Dave did. The fact that UW had world-class programs in both these areas was a unique strength. Dave himself was originally a social psychologist but over time turned into a brilliant policy analyst who made important contributions to theory on the organization of health care services. I get the impression that the strong UW program in organizational sociology had a big influence on Dave in this regard. The extraordinary success of Dave's program, then, was due partly to the intersection of three very strong core programs in social psych, demography, and organizations.

> . . . Dave's work became increasingly theoretical over the years and the biggest impacts of his work have been of a theoretical sort (Ron Kessler, personal communication, April 29, 2013).

Paul Cleary probably had the longest association with Mechanic, extending through most of the 1970s. In 1971 to 1974 he was on a National Center for Health Services Research and Development Traineeship in Medical Sociology, and in 1975-1976 he was on a National Institutes of Health Traineeship in Sociological Methodology. Mechanic did a lot of research on pathways to treatment of mental disorders and carried out a major epidemiological study at the Marshfield Clinic in northern Wisconsin. A number of trainees worked on the study and wrote dissertations from the study, including Cleary, who was a project manager for the Marshfield study. When Mechanic left Wisconsin to build a new program at Rutgers University, he brought Cleary with him. After three years at Rutgers he moved on to Harvard, where he became a Professor in the Departments of Health Care Policy and Social Medicine at Harvard Medical School. Since 2006 he has been Dean at the Yale School of Public Health and Director of the Center for Interdisciplinary Research on AIDS (CIRA).

Janet Hankin came to the Wisconsin program in 1971 after teaching for two years at Moorhead State University. She was initially offered a Teaching Assistant position, but when Mechanic offered her an NIMH Traineeship, she accepted, even though she knew nothing about medical sociology. She held it for three years from 1971 to 1974.

> I think we had 23 students in the program, including Paul Cleary, Bill Eaton, Jay Brodbar, Phil Leaf, Dan Myers, Kathy Stewart, and Margaret Diamond. Linda Aiken was a postdoc in the training program during my time there. We had weekly seminars, and also had to do participant observation research at Mendota State Mental Hospital. I moved through the program quickly and ended up using David's data to look at psychological distress and use of college health services. I had about the lowest R square in Wisconsin history! I think I was the first person to take the PhD exams in medical sociology. I landed at Johns Hopkins Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research in 1974 with joint appointments in Sociology and School of Hygiene and Public Health. David got me involved in the medical sociology section of ASA and I was secretary of the section fresh out of graduate school in 1974. I stayed at Hopkins (I was on soft money the whole time) 12 years and then moved to Wayne State University in 1986 when my husband was offered a tenured position in economics. I ended up chairing the Department of Sociology there. . . . (Janet Hankin, personal communication, April 26, 2013).

Linda Aiken was an atypical postdoctoral trainee who came from the field of nursing but with a PhD in sociology as well:

> I was a post doc for one year—1973-74 academic year. I went to Wisconsin specifically to work with David Mechanic, whose work I had read thoroughly and was highly relevant to my interests and background as a nurse sociologist. Also one of my professors at the University of Texas-Austin, where I got my PhD in sociology—Alex Portes—had U of Wisconsin ties and encouraged me to explore the possibility of working with David. David offered me a post doc position funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation which I accepted. A major strength of the Medical Sociology and Health Services Research Center was mental health services research. . . . I primarily worked with David because my interests at the time were not in mental health but more in the interface of health care workforce and organization and outcomes of health services, which was an interest of David's. That year I authored a chapter in a health services research book David was working on, finished several publications from my dissertation, and most importantly was introduced by the Center (mostly David) to the world of health services and policy research. The Center hosted visits from many nationally recognized health services researchers, some of whom I would reconnect with in various projects over my career. My year at UW was very influential in my career. David was an excellent research mentor, particularly in how to identify a research question worth asking and answering and in developing the policy and practice implications of research findings (Linda Aiken, personal communication, May 3, 2013).

Linda Aiken's postdoc year at Wisconsin led to a job as one of the early members of the program staff at the new Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and this served as a springboard to a distinguished academic career. She is currently a Professor of Nursing and Sociology and Director of the Center for Health Outcomes and Policy Research at the University of Pennsylvania. She received an Honorary Doctor of Science Degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1993.

Ron Kessler today speaks very highly of the Wisconsin Medical Sociology and Health Services program when it was in was in full flower in the 1970s. He ascribes its success partly to the leadership of David Mechanic but also to the core disciplinary strength of many fields that gave support to the program:

> When I think back to my experiences at UW, the exposure to inter-disciplinary work (psychology, psychiatry, econometrics and welfare

> economics at the Poverty Center) as well as to the three strong core disciplinary areas (social psych, demography, social org) stand out as the key ingredients that created so much excitement. Everyone was importing ideas from other areas into their own work, all the time having the strong touchstone of Dave's conceptual focus to define important research questions. I used the term "problem sense" above and I think that was the key to Dave's contribution. He had an uncommonly clear sense of the important research questions of the day in the chaotic field of health services research. He guided his students in targeting those questions for their research. With these questions in hand, the students were able to fall back on the core training provided in the department to create the conceptual and methodological tools needed to run with the ideas. Many of those students stayed with those same ideas for the remainder of their careers, while in other cases the ideas took them far enough into their careers to provide a firm foundation for subsequent shifts in focus (Ron Kessler, personal communication, April 29, 2013).

Mechanic was also proud of the interdisciplinary character of the Center for Medical Sociology and Health Services Research:

> We built the first major interdisciplinary group in the department by including faculty in our center from economics (Weisbrod and Andreano), Psychology (Leventhal) and Psychiatry (Halleck and Stein). My mistake at Wisconsin was not properly institutionalizing the Center and better insuring for the transition when I left. At the time, I recommended Ron Kessler to take over the Center but the department passed him over. . . . So I got Ron a job at Michigan and then he went on to Harvard, having become the most cited person in the world in psychiatry (David Mechanic, personal communication, April 27, 2013).

This was one of the greatest missed opportunities in the history of the department, and the medical sociology program declined after Mechanic's departure. The loss of his leadership was compounded by an increasing hostility toward sociology and government programs from the Reagan Administration in the 1980s.

When Mechanic moved to Rutgers University in 1979, he began to prepare to build a major program in medical sociology and health services research that would be fully institutionalized. He was determined not to make the same mistake he had made at Wisconsin. He wanted to build a program with a large staff and adequate resources so that it could survive the departure of any one leader. First, he accepted an appointment as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Rutgers from 1980 to 1984. This gave him

more control over faculty hiring decisions, and he was able to bring about a general reorganization of the college. In 1985 he established the Institute for Health, Health Care Policy, and Aging Research, and served as its Director from its founding until his retirement in 2013. He brought his old collaborator, psychologist Howard Leventhal, from Wisconsin to join him at Rutgers, and in subsequent years recruited two more Wisconsin psychologists and two of our own sociology graduates—Deborah Carr and Kristen Springer. Emily Greenfield, a Wisconsin graduate in Human Development and Family Studies, who did much work in sociology at Wisconsin, also joined the Rutgers Institute. Just before his retirement in 2013 Mechanic proudly told me, "I leave behind about 100 people, a new 50,000 square foot building with great facilities, and a place in great financial shape despite the present funding difficulties." There is no question that the Institute has been one of the nation's chief contributors to health care policy research over the last three decades, and Mechanic has been one of the most honored leaders in the field.

The departure of Mechanic in 1979 along with the increasingly hostile political climate in Washington, DC, marked a turning point in the medical sociology program at Wisconsin. Predoctoral traineeships in the area largely disappeared after 1980, but Wisconsin did not cease to be a center for research and training in the sociology of health and health services. The nature of the program, however, changed, with a new emphasis on multidisciplinary postdoctoral training and research on comparative health care systems. At least as important, several of Wisconsin's finest demographers began moving in an epidemiological direction within a life-course perspective.

James R. Greenley Succeeds Mechanic

The director of the postdoctoral training program for the next twenty years was James R. Greenley, a sociologist specializing in mental health, who joined the department in 1970 and assisted Mechanic in the training program in the 1970s. During two years while Mechanic was on leave, Greenley acted as Director of the Center for Medical Sociology and Health Services Research. A postdoctoral research training program in mental health that started in 1976 funded by the National Institutes of Health was continued under Greenley's direction. The program was not restricted to sociologists, but also included scholars from psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, law, pharmacy, philosophy, and social work. Sociology postdoctoral trainees prior to 1980 were Ronald Kessler, Michael Radelet, Marilyn Essex, Sara McLanahan, and James Robbins. Sociologists who were postdoctoral trainees from 1980 to 1986, when Greenley was in full charge of the program, were Douglas Maynard, Joy Newmann, Lisa Callahan, David McKee, Albert

J. Meehan, and Robert Davidson. McLanahan and Maynard were also faculty members in the UW Department of Sociology. Greenley also regularly taught a course on "Sociology of Mental Health and Illness" (UW Archives, 05/13 SZOEZ 1 of 2, Notice of Grant Awards).

Greenley's own research was largely concerned with investigating how the families of those with severe mental illness provided support so that their ill members could continue to live in the community, and also how the families managed to cope with the stress occasioned by the illness. He also did important work on health-seeking behavior in health and mental health. A major contribution was an eight-volume series that he edited on *Research in Community and Mental Health*.

In the fall of 1988 Greenley secured a large grant from NIMH to found a Mental Health Research Center. This was one of five centers funded by NIMH around the country, but the one at Wisconsin was distinctive in that it focused on systems of care in small cities and rural areas, whereas the others were concerned mostly with large urban areas. Greenley pointed out that the organization and financing of services for the severely mentally ill outside of metropolitan areas had been seriously neglected in previous research, and he proposed to develop a rich data base of information on the subject gathered from Dane County and eight other counties in the state. David McKee, who had been a postdoctoral trainee, became Assistant Director, and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth became Research Director (Mulbern, 1988). It was a multidisciplinary center with faculty researchers from disciplines across the campus, including sociology, psychiatry, business, pharmacy, nursing, social work, preventive medicine, and economics. In addition to constructing a database with interviews and questionnaires from mental health organization directors and staff, the center also supported the research of campus faculty researchers who needed funding to initiate



JAMES GREENLEY
(DIANE GREENLEY)



ODIN WALDEMAR
ANDERSON
(KRISTIN ANDERSON)

or complete their studies of the organization and funding of mental health services. In the grant renewal request for 1993 to 1998, Greenley reported that during the Center's first four years, researchers published 166 articles and books, made 148 scholarly presentations, and received $7.7 million in NIMH and private foundation grant funds. Over 2000 records of publicly served severely mentally ill clients had been added to its Core Data Base (UW Archives O5/13, SZOEZ, Box 1)

Tragically, Greenley died suddenly of a brain hemorrhage on Dec. 21, 1995, at the age of 51. Bonnie Svarstad, a UW sociologist who was a Professor of Pharmacy, became the new director of the Mental Health Research Center, with Mary Ann Test as Assistant Director, but funding from NIMH did not continue after 1997.

There was a strong spiritual side to Greenley, and he was very active in the Madison Friends Meeting (Quakers), the Northern Yearly Meeting, and in youth programming for the Friends General Conference. Both Jim and his wife Diane were passionately committed to improving the lives of the mentally ill. Diane was managing attorney for Mental Health Advocacy and served on the board of the American Civil Liberties Union of Wisconsin. Jim was a much beloved professor, whose slow and calm demeanor had a reassuring effect on students. He was noted for occasional silent pauses in lectures while he reflected on the issues he was discussing before proceeding—a practice that sometimes surprised students at first but which they came to appreciate and cherish as a basic part of Jim's careful and caring character.

Odin W. Anderson: Comparative Health Systems

Another outstanding medical sociologist who helped fill the void occasioned by Mechanic's departure was Odin Waldemar Anderson, who was a pioneer in research on health services and comparative health systems. He came as a half-time Professor of Sociology at UW-Madison in 1980 after retiring from the University of Chicago. Born July 5, 1914, in Minneapolis, he was orphaned when two years old and was reared by his Norwegian relatives on a dairy farm near the village of Blair, Wisconsin, about half way between Minneapolis and Madison. He spoke Norwegian before English and in winter skied several miles to a country school. He earned bachelor's and master's degrees at UW-Madison and a PhD in sociology at the University of Michigan in 1948.

Anderson began to do research on medical care and the provision of health services, and in 1952 became Research Director for the Health Information Foundation in New York. In 1962 the agency was renamed the Center for Health Administration Studies (CHAS) and moved to Chicago. Anderson

continued to serve as Research Director of CHAS, but he also became a professor in the Department of Sociology and the Graduate School of Business at the University of Chicago. When he reached the mandatory retirement age of 65 at the University of Chicago, he accepted the half-time position at UW-Madison. He also continued to teach and do research at CHAS, and during the next fifteen years had one of his most productive periods.

Anderson was one of the first important researchers on the organization of health services, and he followed Hollingshead as the second chair of the Medical Sociology Section of the ASA. He received numerous honors for his research, including the Baxter Allegiance Foundation Prize for Health Services Research, considered the highest honor in the field. He mentored graduate students who worked in more than thirty universities and served as a consultant to hundreds of administrators of hospitals and health care plans.

Anderson was a full participant in the Wisconsin Department of Sociology, teaching classes, advising graduate students, and participating in the social life of the department. He was a virtuoso harmonica player and often entertained his colleagues with Norwegian dance tunes, jazz, and blues at department parties. He even produced a record of his Norwegian tunes. He was also a gifted storyteller and had a marvelous sense of humor. He retired from UW-Madison in 1995, and he and Helen, his wife of 63 years, moved to Apalachicola, Florida, where their daughter Kristin lived. Odin died there, March 18, 2003, at the age of 88.

Doris P. Slesinger: Minority Health

Two of our own PhD graduates in the 1970s joined the Wisconsin faculty and made valuable contributions in medical sociology. The first was Doris P. Slesinger, who received her PhD in 1973 in demography but also had a traineeship in medical sociology

Doris P. Slesinger was born in 1927 and after graduating from Vassar followed her academic husband from New York to Washington, DC, Ann Arbor, and Milwaukee, raising a family of three sons. She picked up a master's degree in sociology at the University of Michigan in 1960, and at the age of 43 enrolled in the PhD program at UW-Madison in 1970. She described herself as a "late starter." During the next three years she commuted from Milwaukee to Madison by Badger Bus, using the bus as her work and study office. She was a medical sociology trainee and specialized in demography during her studies and received her PhD in 1973. The following year she joined the Department of Rural Sociology as an assistant professor.

Slesinger had an outstanding career, primarily as an applied sociologist. Her research and outreach activities were devoted mostly to the health and

well-being of minorities—African Americans, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, women, migrant farm workers, and the rural poor. Perhaps her most outstanding research dealt with the health and access to health care of migrant agricultural workers in Wisconsin, largely Mexican American. She was an author or co-author of four books and almost 100 articles and reports. She wrote a series of "Women's Health Brochures" in simple English and Spanish, and some 50,000 copies were distributed across the country annually. She was promoted to full professor in 1984 and was elected chair of the Department of Rural Sociology in 1987—the first woman to serve as chair of a rural sociology department in the United States.

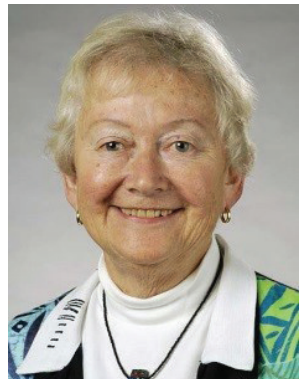
She also served as Director or Co-director of the Applied Population Laboratory from 1974 to 1987. In 2002 the Rural Sociological Society presented Slesinger with the Distinguished Rural Sociologist Award for lifetime career achievements ("Doris Peyser Slesinger Obituary," 2006). Slesinger was known for her extraordinary effectiveness in nurturing and advising graduate students, both male and female, but she had an especially close relationship with young women graduate students. As the Memorial Committee wrote after her death,

> Doris's attention to the cares, concerns, and intellectual nurturing of her students was truly special. There was always a strong bond of true affection and love between Doris and the many students she taught and the graduate students she advised over the years.

Slesinger also played an extremely important role in mentoring young women who were junior faculty members as they were seeking to enter what had been until then a largely male-dominated academic world. When the UW Women's Mentoring Program established an award recognizing outstanding mentoring, it not only gave the first award to Slesinger but named it the Doris Slesinger Award for Excellence in Mentoring.

Slesinger retired in 1998 but continued to be active. Between 2003 and 2006 she was an ombuds for faculty and staff on the UW-Madison campus, and from the time of her retirement until her death she served as a member of the Governor's Advisory Council on Migrant Labor. She died on Oct. 1, 2006, in Madison at the age of 78. Leann Tigges, the chair of Rural Sociology, wrote of her,

> Doris was in the generation of women professors who were always breaking new ground. Academic women in the generations that followed have had a somewhat easier time because of the pioneers like Doris who forged the way, fought the early battles, and established the precedents. Doris actively and continuously tried to make our way



DORIS PEYSER SLESINGER
(UW DEPT. OF RURAL
SOCIOLOGY)



BONNIE L. SVARSTAD
(UW SCHOOL OF
PHARMACY)

easier by her service as an advisor and mentor to women graduate students and junior faculty. I've witnessed the love and loyalty felt by these women for Doris, and in the past months their pain at losing her has been palpable. Doris provided what many professional women sought: an advisor, a collaborator, a role model, a protector, a steady and sturdy shoulder (Cautley *et al*., 2006).

Bonnie L. Svarstad: Social Pharmacy

Bonnie Svarstad received her PhD in sociology at Wisconsin in 1974 after holding a predoctoral traineeship in medical sociology. After working as a medical sociologist at the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Health Center and Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York City, she joined the faculty at Wisconsin as an Assistant Professor of Sociology and of Pharmacy. She had a long and distinguished career from 1976 until her retirement in 2004 doing research in social pharmacy, particularly on pharmacist-patient communication and patient adherence to drug regimens. She received the American Pharmacists Association Foundation Research Achievement Award in Economic, Social and Administrative Sciences in 1988 and the Pinnacle Award in 2004.

Douglas W. Maynard: Medical Communications and Interactions

Douglas Maynard's primary self-identity is not as a medical sociologist but as a conversation analyst and ethnomethodologist. These are methodological approaches, however, that can be applied in many different types of settings, and a substantial amount of his work has been focused on clinical

interactions regarding medical issues and disability. Maynard received a bachelor's degree in business at Oregon State University in 1968, but he switched to sociology in graduate school at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He received his M.A. there in 1975 and his PhD in 1979. He was strongly influenced by Harold Garfinkle, the founder and principle developer of the field of ethnomethodology, who was teaching at UCLA, as well as by other scholars developing new facets of the field. Maynard came to the University of Wisconsin in 1979 as an Assistant Professor of Sociology, even though up until that time most of the sociology faculty were highly skeptical of ethnomethodology. A few other young ethnomethodologists had been considered for positions earlier but were not given offers. Maynard's research and his approach to sociological questions, however, were well received, and the department was happy to add a specialist in one of the few fields that was glaringly absent and unavailable for students who wished to explore the new field. Within a short time Maynard won over even the most skeptical in the department.

In his first few years at Wisconsin Maynard's research and publications dealt with conversation analysis as a field or with negotiations in legal plea bargaining, resulting in a widely cited book. In 1981-1982, however, he became an NIMH medical sociology postdoctoral trainee at Wisconsin and began to study interactions between doctors and patients and clinicians and the families of the disabled. Since that time almost one-third of his publications have been in the medical sociology area, including his two most widely cited works, a book on *Bad News and Good News: Conversational Order in Everyday Talk and Clinical Settings* (2003) and an edited book, *Communication in Medical Care* (2006). Other fields he lists as research and teaching interests are social psychology, sociology of everyday life, sociology of technology and science, survey methodology and research, and sociological theory. Maynard was promoted to Professor in 1989, then taught at Indiana University as a Professor of Sociology from 1992 to 2000. He returned to UW-Madison in 2000 and became Conway-Bascom Professor of Sociology in 2006. He served as chair of the Department of Sociology from 2007 to 2010.



DOUGLAS W. MAYNARD, 1985
(R. MIDDLETON)

Law and Society

Law and Society was the first truly successful interdisciplinary training program in the social sciences at UW-Madison, though the medical sociology and demography programs later also developed a strong interdisciplinary character. It began in the early 1960s as a result of the financial support of the Russell Sage Foundation and the Walter Meyer Foundation, perhaps the personal influence of Edgar F. Borgatta with the Russell Sage officials, and certainly the extraordinary efforts of Harry Vernon Ball, a Lecturer in Sociology at UW-Madison, who served as a catalyst for the development of the field both locally and nationally.

Initial Catalyst—Harry V. Ball

Ball was born January 21, 1927, in Wellston, Missouri. He earned a B.A. (Phi Beta Kappa) in 1949 and an M.A. in sociology in 1950 at Washington University in St. Louis. He taught as an instructor in sociology at the University of Hawaii from 1951-1953 and served as co-director of the Honolulu Rent Control Study in 1952. After another teaching stint at the University of Missouri from 1953-1955, he received the PhD in sociology in 1956 at the University of Minnesota. His dissertation was on rent control and violations of rent control in Honolulu from 1940 to 1954, based on his earlier research in Hawaii. Arnold Rose was his dissertation advisor.

Following his experience investigating the rent control law and its violation, Ball began to explore the sociology of law and the broader law and society field further. He was a Fellow in the SSRC Research Training Institute on Legal Process in the summer of 1958 at the University of Wisconsin. The next summer in 1959 he was again a fellow at the University of Wisconsin in the Ford Foundation Institute on Law and Desegregation. In 1959-1960, he was an Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Pomona College, but was also a Fellow in the Ford Foundation Law and Behavioral Science Program in the University of Chicago Law School. As a result of participating in that program, Ball obtained a position as a Research Associate with the University of Wisconsin Law School in 1960-1961, recommended by Lloyd Ohlin, an eminent sociologist and criminologist at the University of Chicago. He joined the Field Survey Staff of the American Bar Foundation Survey of Criminal Justice at Wisconsin as a Research Associate working for Frank Remington, the Director. The field research staff also included Lloyd Ohlin, Michael Tonry, Herman Goldstein, and Don Newman. According to Jack Ladinsky "In my view, the ABF Survey of Criminal Justice, an epic set of empirical field studies, and the prior Chicago program and Wisconsin summer institutes—Harry was active in all of them—were the

real fountainheads of the Law and Society movement that Harry ultimately, almost single handedly, begot and nurtured into existence" (Jack Ladinsky, personal communication, March 12, 2016).

Ball continued as a Lecturer on the sociology of law in the Wisconsin Law School in 1961-62 (Ikeda, 2006; UW Archives, 24/9/3 B. 224, Sociology). Thus, Ball was already at the University of Wisconsin and had participated in many of the seminal events leading up to the launching of a new field when the Russell Sage Foundation decided to fund a program linking sociology and law at the university.

Founded in 1908, the Russell Sage Foundation had little influence on sociological research until Donald Young, a sociologist from the University of Pennsylvania, became President in 1948. He developed a new agenda emphasizing the application of social science research to support the professions of medicine, law, social work, and the arts of social practice in general. He brought in a number of other eminent sociologists, including Leonard Cottrell, Orville G. Brim, Eleanor B. Sheldon, Wilbert E. Moore, and Stanton Wheeler, transforming the nature of the foundation (Russell Sage Foundation, 2007). Edgar F. Borgatta also went to the Russell Sage Foundation in 1954, where he had loosely defined duties but spent much of his time assisting Young and Cottrell in their project of encouraging scholars to become involved in applied research related to the professions of medicine, law, and social work. He himself devoted himself mostly to social work at the foundation, but he also had a second position teaching sociology at New York University. In 1959, however, Borgatta left to go to Cornell, and in 1961 he came to UW-Madison.

From the 1960s forward there have been close ties between the Russell Sage Foundation and Wisconsin social science. When William H. Sewell resigned as Chancellor of UW-Madison in 1968 after a troubled year with demonstrations and battles with the Legislature and the Regents, he sought respite by spending a year on leave at the Russell Sage Foundation. Borgatta also took a leave from Wisconsin in 1969, living in a small Vermont town but spending one day a week at the Russell Sage Foundation. Today the President of the Russell Sage Foundation is Sheldon Danziger, who was an economist and Director of the Institute for Research on Poverty at UW-Madison in the 1970s and 1980s. The current Chair of the Board at the Russell Sage Foundation is Sara S. McLanahan, who was formerly a member of the UW-Madison Department of Sociology.

In the early 1960s the Russell Sage Foundation, under the leadership of Leonard Cottrell and Stanton Wheeler, deepened its commitment to encouraging the social sciences to study legal institutions, and this became its largest program. It granted more than $210,000 for a Russell Sage Foundation Program in Sociology and Law at the University of Wisconsin-Madison "to

further the development of cooperation in collaborative research between social scientists and lawyers, during a four-year period beginning with the academic year 1963-64" (UW Archives 6/10 & 11/1963). Harry Ball was named Program Coordinator for the program and given an appointment as Lecturer, an academic staff position, in the Department of Sociology. In addition to his duties as Program Coordinator, he was asked to teach the senior seminar in sociological analysis.

Harry Ball used his position to try to bring some organization to the emerging field of law and society. He, along with Robert Yegge and Richard Schwartz, founded the Law and Society Association in 1964, and Ball became the first President of the Association. Ball also founded the Association's journal, the *Law & Society Review*, and managed to secure a grant of $54,500 from the Russell Sage Foundation "to defray expenses incurred in establishing a Law and Society Bulletin during a three-year period ending in 1968" (UW Archives, 4/9/65). The first issue appeared in November, 1966, and Russell Sage continued to provide some financial support for its publication at least until 1982. The LSA was originally headquartered in Madison, and the *Law & Society Review* was also edited there in the beginning. Ball's organizational activities led Stewart Macaulay to remark, "Many played a role in the creation of the Law and Society Association in 1964, but Ball provided much of the energy and vision. Without Ball, something such as the Law and Society Association would have come, if at all, later and perhaps in a different form" (Ikeda, 2006). The Executive Office of the LSA moved to the University of Denver in 1971, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst in 1987, and the University of Utah in 2012. Today the Association has an average of 1400 to 1800 members each year, and around 2000 to 2500 people attend its annual meetings (Megan Crowley, personal communication, March 14, 2016).

The prominence of the University of Wisconsin in the Law and Society movement is shown by the fact that of the twenty-eight presidents of the Law and Society Association, ten were on the Wisconsin faculty at the time of their presidency, were formerly on the faculty, or received their PhD at Wisconsin:

Harry V. Ball (1964-65)
Lawrence Friedman (1979-81)
Herbert Jacob (1981-83)
Marc Galanter (1983-85)
Stewart Macaulay (1985-87)
Joel Handler (1991-93)
Austin D. Sarat (1998-99)
Lauren Edelman (2002-03
Howard Erlanger (2003-2005)
Malcolm Feeley (2005-97)

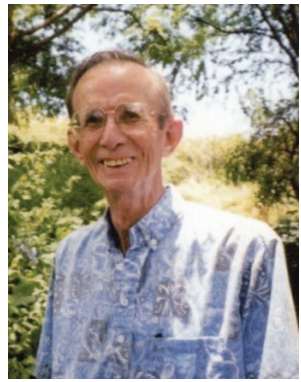
The university with the next highest number probably has three.

In 1961, the year after Ball came to the UW Law School, the UW

Department of Sociology hired Jack Ladinsky, who had written his dissertation on the legal profession at the University of Michigan. Ladinsky and Ball, both from St. Louis, were friends and had known each other at the University of Missouri-Columbia. When Jack and Judy Ladinsky arrived in Madison, Harry and Benna Ball helped them find an apartment at 701 N. Midvale Blvd., across from a university-owned farm where sheep were grazing in a pasture. The next year the Hilldale Mall was built on the site and opened in October, 1962. When I arrived in 1963 the farm had totally disappeared, and the farm activities had shifted to the university-owned Charmany and Reider experimental farms out on Mineral Point Road, which later were converted into the University Research Park in 1984.

When Ball was made Coordinator of the Russell Sage Foundation Program in Sociology and Law in 1962, four other UW sociologists were also involved in the program: Ladinsky, Robert R. Alford, Allan A. Silver, and Richard A. Peterson. They were all Instructors or Assistant Professors, except for Ball who was a Lecturer. None was tenured. Ann Wallace was hired to be Administrator for the program, and this evolved into the position of Executive Director of the Law and Society Association. Even though Ball was technically only Academic Staff and not an official member of the faculty, he wrote the grant proposal that secured the Russell Sage Foundation grant, and Jack Ladinsky read and commented on the proposal before it was submitted. Ball also secured additional funds for the program from the Walter Meyer Foundation (Jack Ladinsky, personal communication, March 25, 2016).

In spite of his very successful organizational efforts on behalf of the Law and Society program, Ball was never given a tenure track position at Wisconsin—an injustice in my eyes. I am unaware of any other case in which a staff member founded and secured funding for a major program and was almost immediately shown the door. I valued him highly and very much wanted him to remain as a colleague, but his nonfaculty status left it out of my hands at that time. As a first-year member of the faculty, I do not think I was even aware of his precarious position. I am told a senior professor in the department for some reason had a negative view of Ball and stood in his way for an appointment. He even told Ball directly that if he wanted his friend Ladinsky to get tenure, Ball would need to leave. This was clearly not the case, for we did not have "slots" for particular specialties, and we never hesitated to hire multiple specialists in the same area. Indeed, in 1964 the Department of Sociology hired another sociologist specializing in the sociology of law—Kenneth J. Reichstein—as well as, Anthony Costonis, who worked in both the Law and Society and Medical Sociology programs. In 1967 still another sociologist, Edward Silva, joined the sociology faculty and participated in the law and society program.



HARRY V. BALL
(JAMES V. BALL)



JACK LADINSKY, 1985
(R. MIDDLETON)

When Ball was offered a position in 1964 at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, a place where he had done research previously, he accepted and spent the rest of his career at that university. He did return to the Madison campus briefly as a senior faculty member in the National Science Foundation Law and Behavioral Science Institutes in 1968 and 1971. I maintained personal ties with him, and he influenced me in an indirect way to shift my chief area of international interest from East Africa to Southeast Asia after 1980. Ball went on to have an outstanding career at the University of Hawaii-Manoa. He taught very rigorous courses on the Sociology of Law and Law and Social Change, and he produced students who were well prepared to go to law school or work in jobs related to legal practice and research or corrections. He also served for a time as the director of the University of Hawaii Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Center. He was especially dedicated to serving the Native Hawaiians and developed post-baccalaureate bridge programs in medicine and law for this underrepresented minority. One of his major contributions was the collation, organization, and digitization of documents from Native Hawaiian law from the 19th and 20th centuries. The coded material includes documents concerning land use and tenure, criminal, civil, and administrative matters, newspaper clippings, other publications, letters, and photos. Documents in both English and the Hawaiian language are included. Ball was a founding member of the Friends of the Hawaii Judiciary History Center, and his research was used in the preparation of exhibits (Ikeda, 2006). After retirement he remained in Hawaii and died there on May 16, 2006, survived by his wife, Benna, children James, Christine, and Jeff, and nine grandchildren.

The Russell Sage Law and Society Program

The Russell Sage Foundation program was designed to train social scientists in the law and law professors in the theory and methodology of the social sciences. Russell Sage probably selected the University of Wisconsin largely because of the many faculty in the Law School who had a social science orientation and were interested in "law-in-action" as well as "law-on-books." The Department of Sociology at the time did not have a senior faculty member in the law and society area, but I suspect that Edgar Borgatta, who had worked at Russell Sage in the 1950s, may have used his influence with Cottrell to help secure the grant for Wisconsin. Wisconsin law professors in the 1960s who were strongly influenced by a sociological approach included Willard Hurst, Stewart Macauley, Marc Galanter, Lawrence Friedman, Frank Remington, Herman Goldstein, Joel F. Handler, and Robert Seidman. David Trubek and Robert Gordon arrived soon after and were also major figures in building the law and society program at Wisconsin. During the early period of the Law and Society program, Sociology had, apart from Harry Ball and Jack Ladinsky, only younger faculty who were novices in the area—Kenneth Reichstein, Anthony Costonis, and Edward Silva. Political Science, however, had a number of faculty who played an active role in the program, including Joel B. Grossman, Herbert Jacob, Kenneth Dolbeare, Stuart A. Scheingold, Herbert M. Kritzer, and Murray J. Edelman. Stanley I. Kutler from History could also be identified with the group.

The grant provided for graduate fellowships, interdisciplinary courses, faculty seminars, and modest research funds, but as the program developed, the faculty seminars became perhaps the most important activity, even though they were not originally contemplated as one of the core activities. After Ball left in 1964, Robert R. Alford served as Coordinator for the program and helped to organize the activities carried out. Two semester-long faculty seminars were conducted in 1965-66, a fall seminar on organization theory led by sociologists and a spring seminar on current issues in jurisprudence led by law faculty and law-trained sociologists. A third faculty seminar on social conflict and its resolution was held throughout the year. The three seminars included 14 law professors, 9 sociologists, and 9 political scientists, along with an occasional faculty member from history and commerce. In the summer of 1966 the Russell Sage program also provided a seminar in methodology and statistics for seven law professors and one historian taught by Burton Fisher of Sociology. It was designed to increase their "literacy" in statistical techniques and methodology, to equip them to use quantitative methods in their own research or at least become discriminating consumers of social science literature. The following year in 1966-67 there was a six-month faculty seminar on anthropological approaches to

law and politics coordinated by Herbert Lewis (Anthropology) and Robert Seidman (Law). Twenty-seven faculty members from seven different disciplines participated. The faculty seminars proved to be an especially fertile intellectual meeting ground for scholars from different disciplines, and they led to the initiation of several research projects conducted jointly by law professors, political scientists and sociologists (UW Archives, 7/1/6-7 Box 7, Russell Sage Foundation).

The Russell Sage program provided funding for traineeships for graduate students and law students. Quite a few sociology master's theses on law and society topics were completed but few PhD dissertations. Originally trainees from Law were expected to complete a master's degree in sociology, but because of stringent curricular requirements in the Law School, the requirement was modified to permit them to complete an LL.M. degree instead.

All students in the Russell Sage Program were required to take a sociology course entitled "The Sociology of Law," taught first by Harry Ball and then by Kenneth Reichstein, who departed in 1966. The following year it was taught jointly by Stewart Macaulay and Lawrence Friedman, both from the Law School. Many new courses on law and society topics were also introduced to accommodate the needs of students in the program. This included an administrative law seminar taught jointly by Michael Aiken and Anthony Costonis of sociology and Joel Handler of Law. Jack Ladinsky and Joel Handler taught a seminar on the legal profession, emphasizing the legal needs of the poor. Ladinsky also coordinated a summer seminar of readings in law and society for program trainees, with the students meeting weekly with one or more faculty members to discuss the assigned readings. Stewart Macaulay regularly included law and society topics in his "Contracts" courses. Lawrence Friedman taught a seminar on legislation dealing with the political dynamics of welfare programs. Herman Goldstein from Law introduced a seminar on "Problems of Policing" and a research seminar working on problems facing local police departments. Herbert Jacob, Stuart Scheingold, Joel Grossman, Kenneth Dolbeare, and Murray Edelman in Political Science also taught a variety of courses related to the legal process. Robert Seidman in Law taught a year-long seminar on African law, focusing on law and economic development in Africa. Joel Grossman directed three summer institutes in Law and Society. During the years that it operated, however, I believe the Russell Sage Program in Sociology and Law was less important in training students than in stimulating interdisciplinary intellectual interchange and research among existing social science and law faculty and influencing the development of the new field of law and society.

One student who went on to have a notable career in the law and society field was Ronald Pipkin. He was one of the earliest students in the sociology

of law program but was supported for only one summer in the Russell Sage program. When he was a second-year law student in 1963-64 he took Harry Ball's sociology of law course. Pipkin saw that Ball's position relative to the Law School was somewhat tenuous, and though he was able to teach law students, he was not permitted to give them numeric grades since he did not have a law degree himself. Ball encouraged Pipkin to enter the PhD program in sociology, and he did so, though he also completed his J.D. degree. He says today, "I really had no desire to be a legal practitioner and I liked looking at law and legal institutions in their social and historical contexts, which was rare in law school—with the exceptions of the great courses I took from Willard Hurst, Lawrence Friedman, Stewart Macaulay, Frank Remington, and Joel Handler." He was one of three students taught by Ball in a special, intensive, summer seminar on the sociology of law. He recalls,

> . . . The course ran for eight weeks, four hours a day (it may have been more, the days were definitely long). The reading assignments were intense and heavy—Weber, Durkheim, Parsons, Marx (both original and derivative works) and some contemporary writers. No lectures, just lengthy discussions. . . . He was a great teacher. . . . I'd never had any educational experience like it (Ronald Pipkin, personal communication, March 19, 2016).

After Ball departed for the University of Hawaii, Pipkin completed a master's degree with Ken Reichstein, but then Reichstein also left, and Jack Ladinsky became his advisor. He spent several years as a sociology graduate student taking courses mostly in social organization and political sociology and completing most requirements for the PhD except the dissertation. He worked for a time doing secondary analysis on an American Bar Foundation survey of private legal practitioners aiding poor clients. He became discouraged with the topic, though, because the ABF had quite thoroughly milked the survey in its initial analysis, and President Nixon was also threatening to abolish legal services in the War on Poverty. He decided to enter the job market as an ABD and was fortunate to land a position with a group of "elite law school trained lawyers" in the business school at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, who planned to create the first undergraduate liberal arts program in law in the country. The program they developed thrived, and Pipkin was able to incorporate much of the law and society perspective in its program. It became a Department of Legal Studies in the School of Social and Behavioral Sciences, and Pipkin served as chair for fifteen years. The university and department also supported bringing the Law and Society Association headquarters to Amherst, and Pipkin served as Executive Officer for twenty-five years, playing

a major role in the law and society movement and strengthening the association's finances.

The student from the Law and Society program at Wisconsin who has had the most notable career is Austin D. Sarat. He was a graduate student who earned a PhD at Wisconsin in 1973 in political science but also studied with Howard Erlanger in the Law School. He took a position at Amherst College and has had a highly productive and influential career there. He later also earned a J.D. degree from Yale Law School. He is currently William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Science and Associate Dean of the Faculty at Amherst College. He has received numerous awards and served as President of the Law and Society Association in 1998-99. His book, *When Government Breaks the Law: Prosecuting the Bush Administration*, was named as one of the "Best Books of 2010" by the *Huffington Post*. In 2008 Providence College, where he did his undergraduate study, awarded him an Honorary L.L.D. The citation included this passage: "Convinced that a vital understanding of the law is instructive for every citizen, you introduced and nurtured the interdisciplinary academic field in which legal education intersects with liberal arts studies in culture and the humanities. Our nation's higher –education and legal systems both are immensely richer because of your insight and influence."

Transformation of the Law and Society Program

After the Russell Sage grant ended in 1969 there was no longer funding for graduate student and law student trainees, or for interdisciplinary faculty seminars, and the Center became more concerned with undergraduate programs. The Department of Sociology, however, started bringing in a series of very talented sociology of law specialists, most notably Howard S. Erlanger (1971-2013) and Lauren B. Edelman (1986-1996), each of whom later became Presidents of the Law and Society Association. Erlanger had appointments in both Sociology and the Law School and worked with students from both units. Other sociology faculty who made important contributions in the law and society field at Wisconsin are Kenneth E. McNeil (1971-78), John Hagan (1980-82), and Mark Suchman (1993-2008). More recent law and society specialists include Joseph A. Conti (2009-present), Sida Liu (2009-2016), and Michael Massoglia (2012-present). They have continued to train sociology doctoral students in the Law and Society specialty. The University also offers a J.D.-PhD Dual Degree in Law and Sociology

Even before the Russell Sage grant was scheduled to end in June, 1969, the program faculty decided to transform the program into a new Center for Law and Behavioral Science in 1968. Jack Ladinsky and Joel Grossman settled on the new name, in part to make it clear that it included more

social science disciplines than sociology, but also because they feared that the Administration and other faculty would regard "Law and Society" as too "wishy-washy and unscientific" (Jack Ladinsky, personal communication, March 25, 2016). This was at a time when the Ford Foundation and some federal agencies were substituting "behavioral sciences" for "social sciences" in a quixotic attempt to appear more scientific. Robert Alford stepped down as Coordinator, and Jack Ladinsky became Director of the new Center, with Stewart Macaulay (Law) and Joel Grossman (Political Science) serving as Associate Directors. Stuart Scheingold (Political Science) also served in Grossman's place while he was on leave in 1968-69.

In 1976 the Center for Law and Behavioral Science became the institutional home of the undergraduate Behavioral Science and Law major and was directed by Jack Ladinsky for the next twenty years. Ladinsky also founded the Criminal Justice Certificate Program in 1993 to replace a long-standing specialized major in Correctional Administration within Sociology. The Correctional Administration program had been founded by sociologist John L. Gillin in the 1930s and was later directed by another sociologist, Michael Hakeem, from 1952 to 1983. The Behavioral Science and Law program was overhauled and renamed the undergraduate Legal Studies Program around 2000. Today there are more than 3,000 alumni from the various Legal Studies Programs and criminal justice programs that have been offered at Wisconsin, and graduates are found in leadership positions throughout the criminal justice system in Wisconsin and in many other states.

The Howard S. Erlanger Years

With the two undergraduate programs as its main components, the Center was renamed the Center for Law, Society, and Justice, thereby restoring "law and society" in the title. Ladinsky retired in 1999, and following three other directors between 1999 and 2007, Howard S. Erlanger became the Director. Erlanger came to the Wisconsin Department of Sociology in 1971 after completing his PhD in sociology at the University of California-Berkeley with a dissertation on violence in interpersonal situations, but also a strong law and society background, having worked with Philip Selznick and Jerome Skolnick at the Center for the Study of Law and Society at Berkeley. To deepen his knowledge of the sociology of law, he enrolled in the UW Law School and completed a J.D. while he continued to teach sociology. He was soon offered a joint appointment in the Law School and continued to work in both units of the University until his retirement in 2013 as Voss-Bascom Professor of Law and Professor of Sociology.

Erlanger's chief areas of interest in law and society were the legal profession, public interest law, law and organizations, and dispute resolution.

He taught the core courses on trusts and estates, with a heavy law and society context, emphasizing how legal rules interact with social dynamics and social institutions to produce different outcomes. He considered a sociological understanding as integral to the successful practice of law, and thus an integral part of legal training. From 1999 to 2013 he was Director of the Institute for Legal Studies, founded by David Trubek in the 1980s at the Wisconsin Law School. The Institute seeks to foster interdisciplinary work on law throughout the campus. Under Erlanger's leadership the Institute created its two signature programs, the J. Willard Hurst Summer Institute in Legal History and the Midwest Law and Society Retreat.

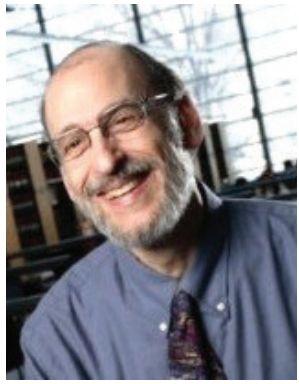
The Hurst Summer Institute in Legal History began in 2001 and has been held biennially ever since. It brings twelve junior scholars from around the world to Madison for two weeks in the summer. The fellows are beginning faculty members, doctoral students whose dissertations are completed or near completion, and recent J.D. graduates. They participate in seminars, meet legal historians, and discuss their own work. Lawrence Friedman chaired the first two sessions. The Midwest Law and Society Retreat began a year later in 2002 and is also held biennially. It brings together faculty and graduate students from the Midwest's diverse law and society programs for a weekend of intellectual exchange and community building. Participants discuss their research and receive feedback, discuss professional issues, and sometimes develop collaborative projects with scholars at other institutions.

Erlanger was a gifted teacher who won a number of awards for both his research and teaching, including two campus-wide awards for excellence in teaching—the Steiger Award in 1993 and the Underkofler Award in 2004. He also received the Stan Wheeler Mentorship Award from the Law and Society Association. The citation from the Wheeler award stated,

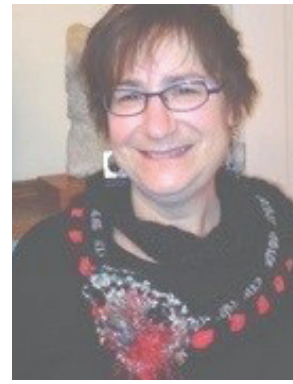
> Howard Erlanger is a mentor par excellence. He has devoted most of his career to fostering excellent law and society scholarship by mentoring young scholars, and for that, the field owes him a great debt. There is a vast network of young, and now not-so-young, law and society scholars whose research, writing, and academic well-being have benefitted from incredibly helpful mentoring by Howie (Citation from Stan Wheeler Mentorship Award, Law and Society Association).

The award was well deserved, but I would add that most of all, Howie is just a great human being, a wonderful colleague, endlessly helpful and considerate to a broad spectrum of people, including those who have disabilities and those who were worried about planning for their retirement. He served as President of the Law and Society Association in 2003-2005. Another signal contribution to the field has been his service as Review Section Editor

of the journal *Law and Social Inquiry*, for which he solicits and edits article-length essays that place one or more books into a broad context in the law and society field. Since 1982 he has brought over 500 essays to publication in the journal and he is continuing this work in retirement. After Howie's retirement Michael Massoglia of Sociology became Director of the Center for Law, Society, and Justice and its two component undergraduate programs ("Center for Law, Society, and Justice," n.d.).



HOWARD S. ERLANGER
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)



LAUREN B. EDELMAN
(UC BERKELEY SCHOOL OF LAW)

Lauren B. Edelman

Another stellar sociologist contributor to the law and society program at Wisconsin was Lauren B. Edelman. Lauren was an undergraduate student at Wisconsin and the daughter of Murray Edelman, one of our close associates in Political Science and the Poverty Institute. She earned a J.D. at the UC-Berkeley School of Law and a PhD in sociology at Stanford University in 1986. She then returned to Wisconsin and was an Assistant, then Associate, Professor of Sociology and Law from 1986 to 1996. When Edelman first started teaching Sociology of Law at Wisconsin, Jack Ladinsky gave her many loose-leaf notebooks filled with his handwritten teaching notes, including lecture notes, old dated jokes, newspaper articles, and various other items that might entertain a class. During the years she taught in Madison she gradually revised and updated the materials and typed them into computer files. She borrowed some PowerPoints from her colleague, Mark Suchman. Later, Catherine Albiston, a former student who taught law at Wisconsin, made other PowerPoints for the lectures. In later years, when Edelman began to have junior colleagues, she passed the materials on to them: "I would give them my files (on jump drives) and now many of them have revised the notes and passed them on to others. So Jack's notes have been 'paid forward' to several generations of law & society scholars"

(Lauren Edelman, personal communication, June 5 & 7, 2016).

In 1996 Edelman moved to the University of California-Berkeley as a Professor in the Jurisprudence and Social Policy program at the Law School. She served as Director of the Center for the Study of Law and Society at Berkeley (2004-2009) and was elected President of the Law and Society Association in 2002-03. She was Associate Dean for Jurisprudence and Social Policy from 2010-2013. She is currently Agnes Roddy Robb Professor of Law and Professor of Sociology.

Origins of the Law and Society Movement

In 2010 Edelman started a series of "conversations" with some of the chief leaders of the law and society movement in its early formative years, with various members of the Center for the Study of Law and Society conducting the interviews. The interviews were all video recorded and made available online ("Conversations in Law and Society," 2010-2015). Edelman herself interviewed three of the pioneering Wisconsin professors—Stewart Macaulay, Lawrence Friedman, and Marc Galanter. Louse G. Trubek and David M. Trubek were also interviewed by Jonathan Simon.

The recorded conversations are an invaluable resource for understanding how the law and society movement developed. It is quite clear from the recollections of these trailblazers that Willard Hurst, a legal historian at the Wisconsin Law School, was the chief influence and putative founder of the movement with his insistence that students needed to go beyond the letter of the law and delve into the dirty empirical details of how the law came into being and how it is used. Frank Remington, who was an expert on criminal law, also told his students that to understand criminal law they needed to ride around in squad cars and observe how the law was administered. Herman Goldstein did the same and even followed police on the beat himself to get a better understanding of how the law worked. Hurst was immensely respected within the law school, and his "law-in-action" approach strongly influenced many others in the law school, and this essentially social science approach to the law was backed up by colleagues from strong Sociology and Political Science Departments. Nationally, Hurst also played a key role in moving the discipline of legal history from the study of cases and doctrine to the study of historical events and processes.

Stewart Macaulay said that he had little exposure to social science before coming to Wisconsin, and he avoided taking any sociology courses when he was an undergraduate at Stanford, thinking of it as the "jock's major." After he came to Madison, however, he also was affected by the Wisconsin ethos and began to investigate how contract law was influenced and modified by personal relationships. He found that parties to disputes usually tried to

work things out without resorting to legal sanctions, which they tended to regard as a last, and most expensive, resort. He published the results, "Non-Contractual Relations in Business," in the *American Sociological Review* in February, 1963. No doubt Macaulay is one of the very few scholars without graduate training who ever published in ASR, but this article became one of the foundational studies stimulating the development of the law and society movement. Lawrence Friedman found the social science approach to law a refreshing change from his law school training. He recalled,

> I was predisposed to that line of thinking because when I went to law school, I thought this can't be all there is. I just found it so mindless, so boring. But that was the culture of the law school.

Though the law and society approach has been embraced at a number of American law schools, it has not seriously breached the walls of the elite law schools. Law schools, after all, are professional schools, and they are mainly concerned with producing practitioners of law, not broad-gauged scholars of law. A rival movement, law and economics, has achieved a wider acceptance because of its dedication to quantitative methods and the outward appearance of a more scientific basis, but the law and society pioneers are not that impressed with such claims and believe that the narrower and overly quantitative focus of law and economics is less informative.

The University of Wisconsin Law School has remained committed to the law and society or law in action approach throughout the last five decades since the end of the Russell Sage grant. In the late 1980s or early 1990s Ladinsky worked with Gerald Thain, the Associate Dean of the Law School, to set up a seminar for law students and graduate students called "Law-in-Action." Once a week a member of the law faculty would lecture to as many as thirty students on a topic related to Willard Hurst's ideas about law-in-action. Ladinsky attended many of the lectures and recalls hearing many fascinating stories of how the courts took on many controversial issues that stalemated legislatures and Congress should have dealt with but could not resolve (Jack Ladinsky, personal communication, March 26, 2016). It was notable that the speakers at the seminar included not just those faculty who were especially identified with the Law and Society approach but also more traditional, mainstream law faculty.

In addition to a long list of legal scholars who made seminal contributions in building the Law and Society program in the 1960s to 1980s, the Law School has added a large number of younger faculty since the 1990s who have fully embraced the approach. This includes a number of faculty who arrived in "cluster hires" designed to strengthen particular areas. A social science perspective on the law has now become widespread among the

Wisconsin law faculty. The 2016 web site of the school proudly displays a section on "Our Law-in-Action Tradition." It reads, in part,

> The hallmark of University of Wisconsin Law School is its "law in action" approach to teaching, in which students learn not only legal rules, but also why these rules evolved to address social concerns, and how those rules operate in the real world. That's what makes Wisconsin a different kind of law school. Every law school, Wisconsin included, will teach you the rules. . . . And knowing the rules is essential, but it isn't being a lawyer. . . . Solving a problem requires looking beyond the rules and into the entire set of relationships surrounding the dispute. Wisconsin is proud of its long tradition of teaching the "law in action." This means asking how people and companies and governments actually interact, and how the rules are part—but only part—of the influence on their actions. . . . Wisconsin isn't the only school that offers courses featuring a broader, more socially aware view of law. But it is the only school whose hallmark is the law-in-action approach to teaching. That's what makes Wisconsin a different kind of law school. That's why Wisconsin will make you a different—and better—kind of lawyer.

The Sociology of Economic Change and Development

First, a Personal Story

I grew up in a largely nonpolitical Texas family—my mother and father conservative Texas Democrats. The Republican Party was essentially nonexistent in the state then. When I was in high school, however, I discovered the periodical room in the library of the college only two blocks from my house, and I started reading regularly the *New Republic*—then a leftist journal edited by former Vice President Henry Wallace—*The Nation*, George Seldes' *In Fact*, and *I. F. Stone's Weekly*. I quickly became a progressive myself and caused many raised eyebrows when I wrote a regular column, "Viewing the News," for my high school newspaper. I spent the summer of 1948 after my high school graduation in an American Friends Service Committee ("Quaker") work camp in a small town—Mixquiahuala, Hidalgo—near the ancient Toltec capitol of Tula in central Mexico. The other participants were college students from around the country, along with an older leader, Glen Harry Fisher, who was a PhD student in sociology at the University of North Carolina. We worked mostly on helping to build a road down a cliff to the river below the town using primitive tools or our bare hands, but we also went on expeditions into the countryside to visit Otomi Indian villages off the roads. I was deeply moved seeing the extreme poverty around me and it instilled

in me a desire to do something about global poverty. It also crystallized my inclination to become a sociology major when I started to college at the end of the summer.

In college I began to read about the Mexican social revolution, which started in 1910 and was pushed forward by the revolutionary leaders Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa, who voiced the demands of the peasants for land reform. Reform initiatives were largely thwarted, however, until Lázaro Cárdenas became President from 1934-1940 and carried out the twentieth century's first major agrarian reform. Zapata and Cárdenas captured my imagination and became my heroes. When Nathan L. Whetten published his wonderful volume about the Mexican agrarian reform—*Rural Mexico*—in 1948, I devoured it. I took the opportunity to write a paper about the Mexican agrarian reform in one of my undergraduate sociology courses, and I wrote another paper on this subject for a course I took with Lowry Nelson when I first started to graduate school. Nelson had been a student of John Kolb, and he also participated in the conference that led to the creation of the Land Tenure Center at Wisconsin. Then when I was a doctoral student at the University of Texas I included Mexico as one of my cases when I wrote a comparative study of agrarian reforms for my PhD dissertation.

After finishing my PhD I spent a postdoctoral year at Oxford University in the Institute for Social Anthropology. I was nonplussed to discover that the Institute's Director, the venerable and crusty E. E. Evans-Pritchard, rejected the very notion that sociology or anthropology could be a science or that theory could play a role in social research. When I started applying for an academic position, I discovered I had prepared myself for a job in academia that did not exist—or very nearly so. There was no recognized field of the sociology of development in the 1950s, and very few colleges or universities offered any sociology courses dealing with development. There were only a handful with sociology courses focusing on community development, and they were usually in rural sociology and almost never dealt with community development in the poor countries of the world. There was much interest in economic development, stimulated by international economic aid programs, but this was almost exclusively the domain of economists.

At the end of World War II the United States adopted the Marshall Plan which between 1947 and 1951 gave $13 billion ($133 billion in 2016 dollars) in economic aid to Western European countries to rebuild their economies. The United Kingdom, France, and West Germany received the largest shares, but some sixteen nations received help. The aid was intended to rebuild war damage, remove trade barriers and promote trade, modernize industry, and prevent the spread of Communism, particularly in the case of Greece and Turkey. In separate programs Japan, South Korea, and Nationalist China also received aid. Until the Truman Administration established

the Point Four program in 1950, most of the poor nations of the world received little or no economic assistance from the United States. Aid to the poor nations gradually increased, and in 1961 the Kennedy Administration created USAID out of previous programs to serve as its main international development agency. An immense aid industry and bureaucracy quickly grew up, not only in US agencies but also in United Nations and international agencies such as the World Bank, the IMF, and the Regional Development Banks. They were largely controlled by the most powerful OECD nations and served primarily to advance their own economic interests, often at the expense of the nations they were purportedly assisting. Nearly all of the social science and senior administrative positions at the World Bank were held by economists, and it added a sociologist to its staff only after it came under increasing criticism for ignoring the wishes of local populations and forcing its own blueprints on reluctant recipients. One of the first sociologists who worked at the World Bank told me that he and a large number of the other social scientists who worked at the bank were Marxists and left-wing progressives, but he said they had little influence, since the top policy positions were nearly all filled by conservative economists, often from Latin America. But he remarked, cynically, that a majority of the staff "didn't give a damn" and were just happy to have secure, highly paid positions.

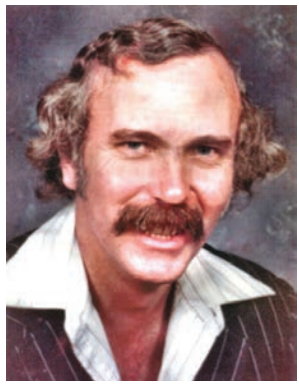
Beginnings of the Sociology of Economic Change at Wisconsin

I was not able to find an academic job in which I could utilize my training in international development, but after a year filling in for a rural sociologist at Kansas State College, who had gone on leave to serve as an "expert" on aid projects in Asia, I was able to move to Florida State University, where I could pursue my other major interest in race and ethnic relations. When a few years later I came to Wisconsin I found that the two sociology departments had no courses on the sociology of development, though there was an interdisciplinary PhD program in development studies that was loosely associated with the Land Tenure Center. There was also the opportunity for students in Economics and Agricultural Economics to study economic development, though with a much narrower focus than a sociologist would take.

Though there were no specific courses on the sociology of development, there were a number of sociologists with international and development interests who joined the two sociology departments in the 1960s. They were, with countries of specialty and dates of arrival, Donald E. Johnson (Brazil, 1960), Joseph W. Elder (India, Nepal, 1961), A. Eugene Havens (Colombia, Nicaragua, 1963), David Chaplin (Peru, 1964), Maurice Zeitlin (Cuba, Chile, 1964), H. Kent Geiger (USSR, 1964), Archibald O. Haller (Brazil, 1965),

William Flinn (land tenure & Latin America, 1966), David S. Wiley (Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, 1968), J. David Stanfield (land tenure in Latin America & the Caribbean, 1969). Rae Blumberg, a specialist in international development, joined the Rural Sociology Department in 1970, but she was not given the opportunity to teach courses in her specialty area. Sociology also added a China specialist, Charles P. Cell, in 1973 and two specialists in Latin American demography and development—Marta Tienda, 1976, and Alberto Palloni, 1980. With increasing strength and interest in the international area, we began to discuss the possibility of adding a set of courses on the sociology of development and beginning a training program in the area.

In the mid-1960s when I was chair of Sociology, we organized a meeting at the Chicago airport with interested faculty from Indiana University and the University of Illinois to discuss the possibility of developing a cooperative training program in the sociology of development, perhaps under the auspices of the CIC organization (Big 10 Universities plus Chicago). I no longer remember just who was at the meeting except for Allen D. Grimshaw from Indiana University, who was the most enthusiastic participant. His previous research had centered on social conflict and violence, but he was just getting into comparative cross-cultural research with field work in India. Nothing came of plans to develop a cooperative program, but each university developed its own program.



EUGENE HAVENS (SUSANA LASTARRIA-CORNHIEL)



JOSEPH W. ELDER (J. ELDER)

The first sociology of development course offered at Wisconsin was a graduate course, Soc. 725, in September, 1966. It was then titled "Societal Development" and was taught by Eugene Havens. I continued to teach race and ethnic courses, because I judged that we had a faculty shortage in that area but greater faculty resources in the development area. Kent Geiger taught Societal Development in 1967, but Havens taught it again in 1968

and 1969. In 1969 he also taught Soc. 940, a graduate Seminar on Societal Development. Havens belonged to a new generation of rural sociologists who analyzed rural poverty and inequality from a Marxist perspective. Like E. A. Ross, John Gillin, and Henry Taylor, Havens grew up on a farm in Iowa. He trained as a rural sociologist at Ohio State University and devoted his professional life to studying and trying to eliminate the causes of rural poverty, exploitation, and injustice. After serving as a Fulbright Lecturer in Colombia, he began to focus most of his research on Latin America, and began to formulate a Marxist analysis emphasizing structural constraints on Latin American development. He became a highly respected research scholar on Latin America and was in much demand as a consultant and lecturer. He taught in the Department of Rural Sociology from 1963 until his death from cancer at a young age in 1984.

NIMH Training Program in the Sociology of Economic Change

After World War II there was much research by social scientists on the social determinants of mental illness and the conditions underlying deviant behavior. In recognition of the need for greater understanding of the social factors related to prevention and treatment, the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) launched a research training program to increase the number of doctorates in mental health fields and to improve the quality of research in the mental health area. The Social Science Research Training Program began on a small scale in 1957 with support for 14 trainees at two universities. The program grew rapidly and by 1973 it was supporting 567 trainees in 77 programs, with a budget of $5.1 million. Forty-three of the programs were in sociology. NIMH at that time took a very broad view of factors related to mental health, and the programs covered fourteen quite varied subfields. After 1967 there was an increasing emphasis on methodological training and on training in cross-cultural comparative research. Four of the programs in sociology dealt with comparative social change and all twelve of the anthropology programs were concerned with the anthropology of cultural change. These cross-cultural programs provided supervised training both in the United States and abroad (Lutterman, 1975). The Wisconsin Sociology of Economic Change Training Program was one of the four cross-cultural sociology programs.

Our participation in the NIMH research training program, however, came at the very time when NIMH and other agencies with research training programs were becoming increasingly embattled. President Richard Nixon, who came into office in 1969, was generally opposed to federal funding of graduate education. He drastically reduced or phased out the graduate training programs of the Office of Education, the Social and Rehabilitation

Service (SRS), NASA, and NSF. The Office of Management and Budget proposed in 1970 that research training in NIH and NIMH also be phased out, but Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Councilor to the President on Urban Affairs, intervened and secured a two-year hold on the action while the continued need for research training support in health and mental health would be studied (Lutterman, 1983, p. 435). Moynihan, who had been an academic sociologist, served as an Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Kennedy Administration and the early years of the Johnson Administration. While he was in the labor department he issued a controversial report on *The Negro Family: A Case for National Action*, which emphasized the disintegration of the black family in America into a "tangle of pathology." Though he insisted that he was trying to demonstrate the need to provide better employment and economic opportunities for black men, many liberal academics denounced the report as "blaming the victim." Indeed, many Republicans did interpret it as justification for drastic changes in the welfare system rather than for programs to create jobs for minorities. Moynihan also favored welfare reform and supported Nixon's idea for a Guaranteed Annual Income. This endeared him to Nixon, and he became a member of Nixon's inner circle of advisors, one of the few who had done academic research related to social policy.

In his budget message in January, 1973, President Nixon announced that all research training programs except those dealing with drugs and alcohol would be phased out over a four-year period. No new trainees could be appointed, but existing trainees would be supported to the normal completion of their training, though with total funding sharply reduced each year. Nixon impounded the funds that Congress had appropriated, but a court order later secured the release of the funds. Congress then passed the National Research Act of 1974 authorizing the National Research Council to do a study of the national need for biomedical and behavioral research personnel. It recommended continued stable funding for health and mental health research training but a shift from predoctoral to postdoctoral training (Lutterman, 1975, p. 370; 1983, p. 435).

The Sociology of Economic Change Training Program was thus born in this precarious environment, when the long-term future of government support was uncertain and the budget situation from year to year was precarious. Our former colleague, Ken Lutterman, who was at NIMH, informed us of the possibility of securing a federally-financed program on comparative social change. We had been thinking about starting a program on the sociology of development, for we believed that we had sufficient faculty resources to do so on our own, even without doing it on a cooperative basis with other universities. Faculty chiefly involved in the initial work of mapping out the dimensions of the field and preparing a proposal for NIMH included

Eugene Wilkening and Eugene Havens in Rural Sociology and David Wiley and David Chaplin in Sociology. The faculty committee decided to name the training program the Sociology of Economic Change rather than the more conventionally understood sociology of development, primarily because the word "development" in the 1960s had become burdened with connotations, from modernization theory, with the notion of "stages of growth" following the historical model of Western capitalist development. The group at that time also wanted to include the study of economic change in developed industrial societies as well as in less developed societies, which usually were the central focus of development studies programs. Perhaps another consideration was a desire to avoid a contentious dispute with the Wisconsin economists over "ownership" of the term development. At that time in American universities development courses were found almost exclusively in economics departments and had a relatively narrow economic focus.

The program retained the name Sociology of Economic Change (or SEC, for short) for more than thirty years, but eventually over time it also became a program primarily concerned with less developed societies and their relations with the more developed societies. Originally it served partially as an umbrella providing shelter for those with a Marxist orientation toward societal change, but after the Class Analysis and Historical Change specialty took shape within the department, those with a primary interest in the advanced industrial societies gravitated toward it. In fact, during its first years the CAHC program was devoted almost entirely to studies of the advanced capitalist societies of the United States and Europe, and only later did it direct more attention to countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The development of the Economic Sociology specialty and the COWS program also absorbed students oriented primarily toward the industrial countries.

The Sociology of Economic Change program thus became, in practice if not in theory, oriented largely to the less developed countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Finally, the department changed the name of the program to the Sociology of Economic Change and Development to conform more to the common understandings of prospective graduate students. By then modernization theory was a distant memory, largely discredited, and department sociologists were less diffident about the normative implications of "development." The normative implications never bothered me; that was why I got into sociology.

The proposal submitted to NIMH was successful and was funded starting in 1971. It was the third federal training grant, after Medical Sociology and Demography and Ecology, that the sociology graduate program received. Like the demography program, it included faculty from both the Sociology and the Rural Sociology departments. Eugene Wilkening served as the initial director of the program, but a number of other faculty were

involved in the program, including Eugene Havens, David Wiley, David Chaplin, David Stanfield, and Ann Seidman in the early years, and Joseph Elder joined soon after. An SEC Policy Committee issued a policy statement in November, 1971, providing a rationale for the Sociology of Economic Change as a special field distinct from other specialties and arguing for the initiation of a PhD prelim in the field:

> . . . SEC is concerned first with the characteristics of societies, collectivities, and individuals which facilitate and which hinder economic growth and, second, with the social consequences of economic growth, stability, and decline and the distribution of those resources within society. These topics are a central concern for theoretical reasons in order to advance our understanding of the relation of society and the economic base and for pragmatic reasons in order to assist those who identify economic growth as an important goal. In short, SEC is the study of the social and individual causes and consequences of different levels of economic resources. . . . SEC is not congruent with the older field of "development" . . . . The development field was concerned with economic growth almost exclusively in non-Western areas, while SEC concerns society-economy relations in all societies.

The statement concluded that "SEC has both the distinctness and breadth to warrant a separate written PhD Examination." The department did authorize a PhD prelim in the field, and it became one of the most popular options of graduate students.

The NIMH Training Grant provided for secretarial and infrastructural support and funds to support a number of trainees and faculty advisors to accompany groups of students going overseas for field work. The intention was to provide training for graduate students to go to less developed countries to learn how to carry out research in places that had virtually none of the infrastructural supports for research that exist in this country. They were to spend a preparatory period in methodological, cultural, and language study, and then travel overseas to another country to carry out a research project for several months.

Trainees in Tanzania

The first group of trainees traveled to Dar es Salaam in Tanzania under the supervision of Ann Seidman, who had previous experience in the region. Unlike some of the later groups, however, it was able to spend only one summer—the summer of 1971. The trainees were Carolyn Baylies, Roger Friedland, David McGranahan, and Michael Patton. Friedland worked in

the state archives on the commercialization of maize farming as backup research for the Tanzam Railway—the 1160-mile line built with Chinese aid to permit Zambia to transport minerals to a seaport in Tanzania without transiting a nation controlled by a white supremacist government. Friedland recalled, "We all lived together in the German Ambassador's house for the summer. I remember that we listened to "Tommy," the rock opera, by The Who, I believe" (Roger Friedland, personal communication, May 31, 2013). Friedland later became a Social Organization Trainee with a strong interest in political economy. McGranahan produced a master's thesis on innovativeness and productivity in Sukumuland from his summer of research, and later became a senior economist in the Rural Economy Branch of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Baylies returned to Africa in 1973 to study the formation of an indigenous capitalist class in Zambia and the interrelations of class and state in the development process. She became a development specialist at the University of Leeds and continued to do research on Zambia throughout her life. Michael Patton had a distinguished career as a specialist in program evaluation at the University of Minnesota and received the Alva and Gunnar Myrdal Award for "outstanding contributions to evaluation use and practice" and the Paul F. Lazarsfeld Award for lifetime contributions to evaluation theory. All four trainees earned PhDs in sociology at Wisconsin between 1973 and 1978.

Trainees in Yugoslavia

John Delamater took the second group of five trainees to Yugoslavia for three months in the summer of 1972. He had spent a year in Yugoslavia five years earlier collecting data for his dissertation, and thus had the background and contacts needed to organize a field experience there. The trainees were selected in the spring of 1971 and included Robert M. O'Brien, who had previously been a Medical Sociology Trainee, Joan McAuliffe, Christine Lindner, Fred Ringenburg, and one other I have not been able to identify. During the months prior to departure they read widely about Yugoslav culture and enrolled in the Serbo-Croation language course. In November each student picked a research topic, and Delamater was able to pair each with a Yugoslav researcher in their area of interest. They all lived in Beograde during the summer, and three of the students were affiliated with researchers at the Institute of Social Sciences in the city. Four of the students produced manuscripts based on their research (John DeLamater, personal communication, Nov. 23, 2015).

McAuliffe wrote both a master's thesis and a PhD dissertation dealing with political culture and socialization in Yugoslavia. O'Brien had an additional NSF dissertation support grant and originally intended to conduct

interviews on self-management in economic enterprises. Yugoslavia's experiment in economic democratization, so different from Soviet practice, was a popular topic in the early 1970s as Yugoslavia had one of the highest rates of GNP growth in the world, at 4.5 percent, ranking behind only Taiwan, Japan, and China from 1950-1985. However, O'Brien's plans to conduct his own survey suddenly became politically impossible when President Josip Broz Tito made a speech criticizing the effectiveness of self-management as it was then being practiced. Near the end of the summer O'Brien discovered that Belko Rus, a psychologist at the University of Ljubljana in Slovenia, had collected extensive interview data on self-management in enterprises. Rus agreed to let O'Brien analyze the data for his dissertation, but Yugoslav authorities would not let him take the data out of the country. They would permit him to analyze the data freely while he was in Slovenia and to use the results without restrictions in his dissertation. To be able to take advantage of this offer NIMH permitted him to remain in Yugoslavia for another nine months, providing support as if he were back in Madison completing his dissertation. He and his wife moved to Ljubljana, and then to Lake Bled, about 35 miles northwest of the capital in the Slovenian Alps. He commuted to the University of Ljubljana where he did his computer analysis of the quantitative data from the survey. He returned to Wisconsin for a final year to complete his dissertation, but during this time his interests turned increasingly toward methodology, though he did teach courses on social change early in his career. O'Brien began to attend the methods training seminars and hang out with the methods graduate students. It was his third training program, and it was very important for his professional development (Robert M. O'Brien, personal communications, Dec. 1 & 2, 2015). He went on to a long career in criminology, an interest he picked up at his first teaching job at California State College at San Bernardino, and in methods at the University of Oregon. The other three Yugoslav trainees did not complete the PhD program, but Ringenburg became vice president of transaction services for CUNA Services Group.

Trainees in Zambia

The next year David Wiley took the third group of trainees to Zambia. In addition to NIMH funding, he secured additional support from the Ford Foundation and WARF, and he was able to bring six trainees to carry out a research project in Zambia from February through August in 1973. The trainees were Antoinette Brinkman, Ralph Coates, Joseph Conaty, Howard Garrison, Robert Lay, and E. G. Nadeau. Wiley had conducted his Ph.D. dissertation research in Zambia in 1967-1968 on social stratification and religious affiliation where denomination was highly correlated with socio-economic

status, and he was familiar with social conditions in the country.

Zambia had the most rapid rate of urbanization in Africa in the 1960s, and "informal settlements" with self-built housing and dreadful social conditions had sprung up around all the major cities, particularly Lusaka, the capital, and the string of copper mining towns in the "Copperbelt" near the Katanga border. These squatter settlements were generally lacking in secure land deeds and had little or no piped water and grossly inadequate sanitation, resulting in high rates of disease. Under Wiley's direction all the trainees worked on a single project, specifying the conditions of life in the shantytowns. To do so, they designed and carried out a survey of male and female heads of households in the shantytowns in Lusaka, Kitwe, and Ndola. Aerial photographs were utilized to draw a probability sample of 3200 household heads.

The project faced several daunting challenges. According to Wiley,

> First, we had to obtain permission for the interviews first from the *Ministry of Housing and Local Government*, the University of Zambia, and political party chairpersons and, in some cases, traditional chiefs or other authorities in each community before we distributed leaflets in local languages to each house to indicate the nature of the survey, our permissions, and the need for the interview and potential benefits and anonymity guarantees for respondents. Each interview was completed jointly with one of our U.S. interviewers with a Zambian sociology student fluent in one of the local languages. A major complicating issue was that the primary language for interviews in Lusaka was chiNyanja but in the Copperbelt it was chiBemba. They were very different languages, though there were speakers fluent in both languages in all communities (David Wiley, personal communication, Dec. 26, 2015).

The arrangement with the University of Zambia was that in return for the help of their students for translating and interviewing, the Wisconsin trainees would teach them about the intricacies of sampling and survey research. After the research team decided on the questions to be asked and drafted them into an English version, they had to go through a double-blind translation and retranslation process using the bilingual Zambian interviewers—a long and tedious process. In Madison the trainees had studied chiBemba using tapes and a Zambian tutor, but their language training was inadequate for conducting interviews. With six trainees participating, more and more questions were added to the interview schedule until it became very lengthy and eclectic.

The Zambian government wanted to replace the shantytowns with a "sites-and-services" scheme that would provide serviced land with secure

titles on a low-cost or rental basis instead of fully serviced housing. House plots would be laid out in an orderly fashion with roads and water lines, but individuals would be required to build their own houses on the plots. At the time, many governments saw this as the solution for the burgeoning shantytowns and squatter settlements in less developed countries. The plan was formulated while the price of copper was high on international markets, but after the price of copper began to plunge, Zambia realized it needed outside aid to pursue the sites-and-services strategy. In the end it did not prove an effective solution to the informal settlements problem in Zambia or elsewhere.

Wiley, Lay, and Nadeau were based in Lusaka, the capital; Coates and Conaty were in Kitwe, a mining center; and Garrison was in Ndola, another mining center near Kitwe in Zambia's Copperbelt. The trainees were somewhat apprehensive about how they would be received because of the government's periodic episodes of forced squatter slum clearance, which would naturally lead slum residents to view outsiders asking questions with suspicion. This was also at the end of the Vietnam era, and they feared that America's image had suffered greatly from involvement in the war. They found, however, that generally the American national image was shaped more by Hollywood than by Washington, and they were almost always treated with friendliness and respect by the Zambians. Garrison said that he and his fellow trainees learned as much from their day-to-day experiences as they did from their surveys. Garrison remembered,

> In the rigid class structure of post-colonial Africa, we continually (and often inadvertently) violated social norms for white people. Riding on the buses, pregnant women would get up and offer me their seats. In these situations, our rejection of our assigned place was disruptive but it also distinguished us from the British expatriates and the other ex-patriots who were in Zambia at the time enjoying the privileges of race and class to the maximum (Howard Garrison, personal communication, Nov. 24, 2015).

Conaty also described his time in Zambia as "an amazing educational and personal experience":

> Looking back on what we did and how we did it—riding in Zamcabs (the local taxi cabs) at 90 miles an hour on dirt roads, pulling ourselves across rivers on rafts, suddenly coming upon camps of uniformed Chinese soldiers building the Tanzam railway from Lusaka to Dar es Salaam, waiting in the market for a delivery of carrots, reaching one's hand into a community bowl of *nshima*, or seeing a young child's look

> of horror and fright at their first look at a *Mzungu*—I loved it all (Joseph Conaty, personal communication, Dec. 12, 2015).

Conaty ran into trouble right away, because he wanted to interview copper miners living in company housing provided by Anglo American Corporation-Zambia, a subsidiary of the $4 billion industrial giant Anglo American P.L.C. The miners lived in the company housing, but shantytowns grew up in surrounding areas for the workers' families. Though the Zambian government had acquired a 51 percent stake in the Zambian company in 1969, Conaty still had to secure the permission of the CEO to do the interviews:

> I was escorted into his office which was about 50' by 50' with one wall entirely made of copper. The CEO was concerned that our interviewing was going to cause labor unrest among the workers who labored under extremely dangerous and arduous conditions. I showed him a copy of the questionnaire and talked him through it. I must have struck him as naïve and innocent in the extreme. After a while and multiple cups of tea, he said it was OK to go ahead; he would tell his people to give the interviewers access to the mine housing (Joseph Conaty, personal communication, Dec. 12, 2015).

During the next two decades as the world price of copper fell, there was little reinvestment in the copper mines, and in 2002 Anglo American pulled out of Zambia, though it returned in 2013.

Garrison had one particularly distressing experience with an officious local political leader in Ndola, even though the project and field work had earlier been cleared with the local leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP):

> One day we were stopped by a group of rough looking fellows with guns. I was with a group of interviewers, nearly all of whom were University of Zambia students. As we stood there wondering what to say or do, one interviewer, Patson Mambwe, the nonstudent whom we hired locally, stepped forward and confronted the armed group. He informed them that his mother-in-law was head of the UNIP women's auxiliary in the township and that they had better treat us with respect. We were told to appear on the next day at UNIP headquarters, and Joe Conaty came in to Ndola to help us. When we arrived, we were escorted into a huge room and introduced to the local party boss. Our explanation that we had clearance from the party leadership drew an angry response. Our interrogator explained that he was the top man and that he knew nothing of our work. After a long and frightening exchange, he finally

> agreed to let us go and continue our work. It turns out that he had just returned to work after being incapacitated for several weeks following an automobile accident (Garrison, *ibid*.)

After the meeting in Ndola, Conaty returned to Kitwe, where the press was accusing Coates of being some sort of foreign agent. He and Coates had to meet with local officials to explain what they were doing:

> We went to one of the shantytowns at night and were escorted into a circular mud shanty and seated facing some officials. A single lit candle sat on top of a metal oil drum between Ralph and me and the officials. As my eyes adjusted to the darkness and light, I realized that seated around the entire inner perimeter of the hut were at least a dozen men with guns! Ralph and I must have passed another test of naivety and stupidity because we were allowed to proceed with the field work (Joseph Conaty, personal communication, Dec. 12, 2015).

These were reminders of the politically precarious position of social research in many less developed nations, but it was only a precursor for more serious political difficulties faced by the entire group at the end of the project, though most of the trainees never learned what happened. Wiley, the project leader, described it as a "very untoward event":

> Near the end of the project in August as we were completing the 3,200 interviews, I was called into the *Ministry of Home Affairs and Local Government* and told by the Permanent Secretary that, even though they had approved our study originally and, indeed, wanted the data from the study in applying for a World Bank loan for squatter housing upgrading and improvement of access to clean water and sanitation,"... the Government did not like our plan to publish materials on their unfortunate and unsightly squatter townships," which we knew they considered as an embarrassments and which many in the government termed not "decenti" (indecent). They even had planted trees along main roads adjacent to the informal settlements to hide them from public view. Originally, we had received the permission from the Permanent Secretary and the University of Zambia for conducting the project, which many in the ministry wanted to use in obtaining a multi-million-dollar World Bank loan for upgrading the areas with piped water, sanitation, and upgrading of houses. They applied utilizing data we provided and later obtained the World Bank loan, after we had returned to the U.S. But, they told me, "You are not to publish professionally from the data or you and all the trainees will be banned from any future entry into

> Zambia." The only compromise I could obtain after a long negotiation was that the Ph.D. trainees could complete their dissertations from the data as long as I personally did not publish from it. Fortunately or not, I honored the agreement and, in fact, sadly, have never returned to Zambia, abandoning it and, instead, developing projects and university partnerships in Senegal, Mali, Ethiopia, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. But I learned painfully much about what one needs in formal written contracting with recipient countries and agencies at the beginning of projects – both in the U.S. and abroad (David Wiley, personal communication, Dec. 26, 2015).

After returning to Madison, the trainees, who had developed strong bonds, agreed to pool all their financial support and share equally during the next academic year. Coates observed, "Each month some of us would write checks to others to create our own little income equality. Someone should have done a social psychology dissertation on what it took to negotiate and sustain this arrangement." The project completed about 3200 interviews. The trainees continued to code the interviews and process them for computer analysis. They compiled a report on the housing survey that was submitted to the Zambian Ministry of Housing and the library at the University of Zambia. Brinkman, Coates, and Lay did not complete the PhD program, but Conaty, Garrison, and Nadeau wrote dissertations on Zambia. Garrison was the only one of the six trainees who used data from the survey in his dissertation on the ethnic and social class bases for friendship, which drew on the earlier work on social networks done by social anthropologists. Conaty stayed on an extra month to collect his own data on factory workers to test Robert Blauner's "industrial man" hypothesis in the Zambian context.

Nadeau had little interest in the topics covered in the large urban survey, since he was more interested in rural development. After most of the others left Zambia he and his wife stayed on for another six months while he studied agricultural cooperatives for his dissertation. This was a formative experience for him, and he went on to have a long career teaching and doing research on the international cooperative movement. Over a forty-year period he worked in more than twenty countries and became one of the nation's foremost experts on cooperatives. Susan Londergan Springer worked on the Zambia data in Madison, but wrote her own thesis on Nigeria.

Trainees in Nepal

Because of NIMH's budgetary turmoil during the phase-out period, the funding for the next year's group was late and Joe Elder had to select three trainees from among those graduate students who had not yet received

support for the following year, whether or not they had yet shown any commitment to the field of international development. He recruited David Gillespie, Bryce Smith, and Mary Evans (now Sias) to be SEC trainees and to go to Nepal for a field experience during the 1973-74 academic year. During the first semester they studied Nepali and took courses on the sociology of economic change. During the second semester they flew to Kathmandu and rented a flat as headquarters for the group. Joe and the trainees remained there for about a month studying Nepali and conferring with faculty at Tribhuvan University who were helping them design a research project in the Terai, a dry scrub savanna flatland area in the south of Nepal. Then Elder, the Wisconsin trainees, and Tribhuvan graduate students flew to the Terai to conduct interviews with participants in the Punarvas land-resettlement projects. They spent about two months in the field living in tents. At the beginning of the project Mary Evans did not know what a sleeping bag was. She found out.

By May Elder and the trainees returned to Kathmandu to a house reserved for Fulbright scholars to process and analyze the interviews and prepare a report. In the end they produced a 306-page book that was published in 1976 by Tribhuvan University Press (Elder *et al.*, 1976). Smith also used his time in Nepal to gather material for a master's thesis on a Tibetan Buddhist training center in Kopan monastery near Kathmandu that made a contribution to organization theory, but he dropped out of the sociology program after completing his master's. Gillespie and Mary Evans Sias completed sociology PhDs, but did not write either a master's thesis or a PhD dissertation in the SEC area. Evans Sias taught in Texas for a few years but then went into university administration at the University of Texas-Dallas. Since 2004 she has been President of Kentucky State University in Frankfort, KY.

The NIMH Training Grant was phased out after the Nepal group, along with other NIMH training grants in the social sciences. After federal funding dried up, the training program had little organized activity apart from the teaching of two courses until the 1980s.

Joseph Elder had a long-standing interest in the development area, for he had done field work in India and had written his dissertation on how a new sugar cane processing mill affected the economy and social life of an Indian village. He was able to find a job at Wisconsin as a South Asia specialist rather than as a development sociologist. He was heavily committed to teaching in Wisconsin's new South Asian Studies program, and, as a Parsons student, also teaching sociological theory in our graduate program. Nevertheless, we were able to have him teach some of our sociology of development courses, especially in the early years. He felt that he needed a refresher course before teaching in the SEC program, so he sat in on Sociology 725 when it was

taught by Ann Seidman in the fall of 1970. Seidman was an economist who had been on the research staff at the Land Tenure Center but who was a Visiting Associate Professor in the Department of Rural Sociology during that semester. In the spring semester of 1971 Elder and Seidman co-taught Soc. 940, a graduate seminar on the Sociology of Economic Change, while Seidman was a Visiting Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology. Seidman's salary was paid out of funds from the NIMH training grant during that academic year, and Elder was an unpaid volunteer teaching an overload. Elder taught Soc. 725 on a solo basis in 1971 and 1972, and in later years, after he became busy with other teaching commitments, he still managed to teach a graduate seminar in development theory each summer from 1971 until 1989. Even when he was not teaching development courses, he was an active participant in the SEC program and supervised many dissertations and served on committees of students in the area. No other faculty member ever devoted longer and more faithful service to the sociology of economic change and development program at Wisconsin.

New Directions in the SEC Program

In 1973 Charles P. Cell, a China specialist trained at the University of Michigan joined the Sociology Department. Because Havens and Elder had other commitments, Cell began in 1975 to teach the basic course on the Sociology of Economic Change, Soc. 725. He continued to teach it almost every year until 1979, though with relatively small enrollments, but he failed to get tenure and left in 1980 to enroll in the UW Law School. He earned a law degree and became an independent lawyer in the small town of Oregon just outside of Madison.

With Cell's departure I decided to return to my original specialization and start teaching Soc. 725 myself. The departments' faculty resources had been built up enough in the race and ethnic area to permit my switch. When I examined Cell's last syllabus I began to understand why it had attracted only modest numbers of students. He had made the course excessively narrow, limiting it largely to development issues related to access and control of petroleum. Much of it dealt with Iran and the overthrow of the democratically elected government of Mohammad Mosaddegh after he nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. in 1952. It was clear by the 1970s that the coup had been orchestrated and directed by the British government and the American CIA, with Eisenhower's approval, resulting in the installation of the dictatorship of Mohammad Reza Shah Pavlavi. This was no doubt an important issue, particularly since the Iranian coup was followed by other coups against democratic governments. This included coups in Guatemala, Brazil, Indonesia, Chile, and Argentina, all with substantial American

support and varying degrees of active American participation. The course, however, did not give a broad overview of the sociology of development field and the many types of problems faced in other sectors.

After being "on leave" for more than twenty years from my original specialization, however, I felt I needed to catch up with what had been happening in the field. During my hiatus modernization theory had become quite popular in the late 1950s and had already been discredited by withering critiques and abandoned by most academic sociologists, though it continued to be influential among the officials in international aid agencies. A variety of new, more radical theoretical approaches to development were contending to take its place. William Thiesenhusen graciously permitted me to sit in on his course on economic development, which I found very valuable, since it was not narrowly economic. We became the best of friends and throughout the rest of our careers we worked closely with each other, sharing graduate students and serving on the committees of each other's students. When he stepped down as Director of the PhD in Development Studies Program, he arranged for me to succeed him as Director, and I served in that capacity until my retirement. At the same time as I was attending Thiesenhusen's lectures, I also sat in on Martin David's course on economic development in Africa and also found it rewarding.





SOC. 725, "THE SOCIOLOGY OF ECONOMIC CHANGE"
FALL, 1981, BASCOM HALL
(R. MIDDLETON)

I first taught Soc. 725, "The Sociology of Economic Change," in the fall, 1981. It was an outstanding class of 31 graduate students, and 13 later became my advisees. Seven completed dissertations under my direction: Josie Beoku- Betts, Bishnu Bhandari, Mahdokt Khavari, Jack Thornburg, Chaiwat Roongruangsee, Scott Werker, and Thabo Fako. I began the course by considering the wide assortment of conceptions of development and debunking most of the contending theories of development. Then we gave critical consideration to government policies and programs intended to contribute to development in the poor countries, with special attention to the shortcomings of official aid by governments and international organizations. Finally,

we surveyed some of the major problems and programs in important sectors, such as agrarian reform, community development, the "green revolution," the environment, health care, appropriate technology, gender issues, housing for the urban poor, and education. We also took certain countries, such as Brazil and South Korea, to serve as case studies to examine the underlying weaknesses that lay behind their high economic growth rates during certain periods.

The overall tone of the course was highly critical of almost all present development policies. There was not much good news. To try to offset the negativity, I usually appended a couple of inspirational quotations at the end of the course syllabus. One of my favorites was from Dorothy Day, the radical leader of the Catholic Worker Movement, who was much admired by Pope Benedict XVI and Pope Francis, and who is now being considered for possible canonization:

> No one has a right to sit down and feel hopeless. There's too much work to do . . . . As you come to know the seriousness of our situation—the war, the racism, the poverty in the world—you come to realize it is not going to be changed just by words or demonstrations. It's a question of risking your life. It's a question of living your life in drastically different ways.

The course had an enduring popularity, and over the next fifteen years I taught it sixteen times, with an average enrollment of 28 graduate students—a total of 441 for the whole period. The Sociology of Economic Change prelim became the most popular nonrequired prelim in the sociology doctoral program in the 1980s and 1990s.

In 1970 the rich nations of the world promised in the UN General Assembly to devote 0.7 percent of their Gross National Income to Official Development Assistance. They pledged to reach the goal by 1975. Only rarely has any nation lived up to this obligation, and generally aid contributions have ranged from 0.2 to 0.4 percent. The US has generally been the lowest among the industrialized nations, though it contributes the largest amount in total dollars. Over the years the "shortfall" has been 1.5 times greater than the actual aid given (Shah, 2014). To make matters worse, most of the aid given was ineffective and sometimes injurious. Nevertheless, in the 1970s there was an immense aid establishment that developed and many academics were attracted to the field, following the money trail. The elections of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 in the UK and Ronald Reagan in 1980 the U.S., however, ushered in a new era of radical free trade and a downgrading of government programs. Academic interest began to slip away, and I noted that most of the development specialists in the 1980s and 1990s were aging.

Fewer young scholars seemed to be attracted to the field. I found it especially heartening, then, that there was such an upsurge of interest among graduate students in our development courses during the 1980s. Bill Thiesenhusen's survey course on development, which was open to undergraduates but was mainly a graduate course, also attracted large numbers of committed students, only a few of whom were in the Development Studies PhD Program.

Most of our development students were idealistic and committed to trying to make the world a better place, but they were frustrated by the lack of financial support for their specialty during their training and by the shortage of decent jobs in organizations with policies they felt they could accept. Their enthusiasm and optimism was a refreshing counter to the gloom, weariness, and cynicism of some of the old hands in development. I never knew a finer group of young people. I loved working with them and could not say no to them. On the day I retired in 1996 I was still the advisor for 25 graduate students and was on the committees of a dozen more. Fortunately, the Graduate School let me continue to advise seven of them for a year or two as well as serve on a few other committees. The rest were all picked up by my colleagues and guided very effectively through the program. I continued to attend the weekly training seminar for many years.

Grassroots vs. Conventional Development

Around 1985 or 1986 my students in Soc. 725 began to complain about my harshly critical analysis of most development programs, which they found very depressing. They asked, "Aren't there any development programs that work?" Thinking about it, I realized that they were right. I should not just criticize the most important existing programs but also try to identify principles and organizational forms that would lead to better outcomes. It was true that most development programs, particularly those funded by the large government aid organizations, the World Bank, IMF, and other international agencies, were not very successful in improving the lives of the poor in less developed countries, but there were some smaller programs that were quite successful. I began to read about these programs, though there was very little literature about them at that time. For the most part they were what I would call "grassroots," bottom-up, participatory programs that were highly responsive to the needs and wishes of local groups of the poor. They endeavoured to enlist the efforts of the people themselves in planning and designing the programs and carrying them out. They were in sharp contrast to the "blueprint" types of projects that were designed by foreign "experts" from the big development agencies who had little knowledge of the country they were trying to change and who did little to ascertain what the local people wanted. Some of these grassroots projects were carried out by relatively

small international NGOs (nongovernment organizations). Others were sponsored by domestic NGOs, though many of these were funded by international NGOs or government aid organizations. In most cases voluntary "people's organizations," sometimes created by NGOs and sometimes independent, played a prominent role. I wanted to start teaching a course that dealt with this type of approach, but because of the dearth of scholarly studies and literature, I decided that I needed to spend some time in the field visiting grassroots projects.

I secured a faculty development grant that permitted me to spend the spring semester of 1987 traveling around Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia visiting grassroots projects of domestic NGOs and a few international NGOs. There were not a great many indigenous development NGOs in Thailand at that time—unlike today—but I visited a number that were doing very good work. Most of them seemed to be very cautious trying not to get into trouble with government authorities, even though there was relatively little overt violence and repression during that period. The best project was an innovative pig and fish pond operation devised by James Gustafson for the benefit of landless agricultural workers in Northeast Thailand. He had spent the greatest part of his life in Laos, Vietnam, and Thailand, and had become as much Thai as American. I was so impressed with what he was doing that I sought to persuade him to come to Wisconsin to work on a PhD in Development Studies. He did come and wrote a very valuable dissertation describing the project he had developed and discussing the grassroots approaches to running a successful program. He is still running such programs on a greatly expanded basis three decades later.

In Indonesia the Suharto dictatorship tried to suppress any sign of organizing farmers or rural workers, and the few NGOs there generally had to operate under the radar. I had to be careful myself in visiting them so as not to alert government officials. My visit to the Philippines was a revelation of what could be accomplished by mass organizing even in the face of harsh repression. There were far more domestic NGOs in the Philippines than in other Southeast Asian countries, with a density perhaps only a little less than in India, Brazil, and Bangladesh. The "People's Power Revolution" overthrowing Ferdinand Marcos and installing Corazon Aquino as President, had occurred only a year before, but repression of development NGOs, people's organizations, and human rights groups had actually become much worse during the Corazon Aquino Presidency. Marcos had maintained tight control over private armies and paramilitary groups, but Aquino was not able to control them, and right-wing death squads terrorized leaders trying to organize the poor. Two development workers were murdered while I was visiting their NGOs in Mindoro and in Zambales Province in Luzon. I was asked to take a picture of one of the bodies showing the bullet hole in the

forehead to be used in a political protest. The leaders were fearless, however, and the movement was gaining strength. It appeared then that the NGO sector might become a major political force, but it has not, and affairs today remain very much under the firm control of a small, conservative elite.

I learned a great deal about grassroots development groups during my sojourn, and I became a great admirer of those who were attempting to organize the poor to improve their lives. When I returned to Madison I proposed a new graduate seminar, Soc. 941, "Grassroots Development in the Third World." It was adopted, and I taught it for the first time in the spring of 1988, though it was taught under a different course number the first time. The news spread that it would present a positive message about development, and large numbers of students wanted to take it—not just sociology students but students from many other departments on campus. I had to set a limit of around 20 to keep it manageable to permit abundant discussion, but it was hard to maintain a strict limit in the face of insistent demand. I sometimes allowed the enrollment to creep up and then had to split the class into two discussion groups. I did very little lecturing but assigned a thick packet of readings to prepare students to discuss various issues. Since I could not take the students into the field to experience things directly, I also showed videos of successful grassroots projects on a regular basis. These had both an intellectual and an emotional impact and stimulated some of the most meaningful discussions.

I taught "Grassroots Development in the Third World" thirteen times between 1988 and 2000. During this period it was the most popular seminar in the department, apart from the training seminars, with an average enrollment of 23—a total of 301 students in all. The last four times I taught it were, by special dispensation of the dean, after I was formally retired. After that the seminar was not taught again, and it was finally removed from the catalog.

I would like to emphasize that neither I nor my students in the seminar regarded development efforts by grassroots groups as a panacea. Small local groups with very limited resources cannot carry out major reforms of key institutions. That remains the province of governments, but all too often in less developed countries government policy tends to favor the rich and powerful and few reforms benefitting the poor are undertaken. When governments will not act, grassroots organizations may be able to make marginal improvements, sometimes through confrontation with the government but more often working independently, perhaps with financial or technical assistance from international or domestic NGOs. Neither did we take an uncritical stance toward NGOs. Most NGOs are involved in relief, social welfare, and religious activities—not in true development. Even most development NGOs are, for the most part, ineffective, particularly the international

ones. Most now give lip-service to participatory approaches, but the actual performance on the ground tends to fall far short.

The Dark Side of "Humanitarian" NGOs

In the years since the mid-1980s the number of NGOs operating in less developed countries has skyrocketed, and there is now an immense literature on grassroots participatory approaches to development, but the growth of NGOs has not always been a happy or positive experience. For every worthwhile development NGO using a participatory approach, there are dozens using less effective methods. Even worse, they are overshadowed by thousands of other types of NGOs that are part of a new "humanitarian industry" providing relief and social welfare services. The widespread abuses by these organizations, particularly the international ones, have tended to give all NGOs a bad name. The NGO sector is largely unregulated, and anyone with a small starting investment can start his own "humanitarian" NGO—or, as Linda Polman calls it, a MONGO—My Own NGO (2010, pp. 50-62). They can raise money because many people respond to emotional media appeals and do not take the trouble to find the most worthwhile aid organizations, such as those reviewed in Kristof and WuDunn's *A Path Appears* (2014).

Because of a lack of transparency, even large, long established organizations like the Red Cross, CARE, and many other well-known aid organizations, have had their reputations tarnished by accusations of profiteering from disasters, failing to disburse donations according to their mission, depending on foreign experts with high salaries to administer their projects, permitting exorbitant overhead costs in projects, averting their eyes from fraud and corruption in their disbursements, and arrogantly failing to consult with the people they are purporting to aid. Most disturbing are the charges that "humanitarian" aid has sometimes increased or prolonged violence—e.g., prolonging the Biafran Civil War and vastly increasing the death toll, providing safe havens in the Congo that aided *génocidaires* from Rwanda to continue their depredations, and providing an incentive for the Revolutionary United Front rebels in Sierra Leone to employ "cut-hands gangs" to lop off hands and feet of innocent civilians and children as a cynical method of gaining the attention of the international community and inducing them to send greater financial aid to Sierra Leone (Gourevitch, 2010; Polman, 2010). Polman claims that humanitarian agencies paid "war taxes" to the "bad guys" to be able to deliver their aid ranging from 15 percent in Charles Taylor's Liberia to 80 percent in the areas controlled by some Somali warlords (Polman, 2010, p. 96). The avowed "neutrality" policy of the Red Cross and other humanitarian agencies in some instances looks more like complicity in criminal activity:

> No matter how often the Red Cross rules may be trampled underfoot by warlords, generals, rebel leaders, agitators, local chiefs, insurgents, heads of splinter groups, militia commanders, transnational terrorist leaders, regime bosses, mercenaries, freedom fighters, and national and international governments, the humanitarians persist in brandishing their Red Cross principles and accept no responsibility for the abuse of their aid (Polman, 2010, pp. 10-11).

There is, in fact, now a whole shelf of books by knowledgeable authors delivering devastating indictments of the "humanitarian industry" published over the last two decades, including books by Michael Maren, Alex de Waal, David Rieff, Fiona Terry, David Kennedy, Didier Fassin, Mariella Pandolfi, Michael Barnett, and Thomas G. Weiss. They are in the tradition of Florence Nightingale, the founder of modern nursing, who opposed the formation of the original humanitarian NGO, the Red Cross. She argued that providing medical aid to wounded soldiers by a civilian volunteer force might encourage wars by making them less costly to the belligerents. Maren, after nineteen years as an aid worker and journalist in Africa, concluded that humanitarianism was as damaging to its subjects as colonialism, and far more dishonest. His experience in Somalia was particularly disillusioning: "My experience there made me see that aid could be worse than incompetent and inadvertently destructive. It could be positively evil" (Maren, 1997, p. 12). In Somalia, which had formerly been able to feed itself, aid became the principal economic activity, and the previous economy was devastated. The same became true in in some other African countries and in Afghanistan. In 2004 in Afghanistan there were 2,355 NGOs officially registered, 333 of them international, compared to very few ordinary businesses and investors (Polman, 2010, p. 196).

What galls the critics most is the almost total lack of accountability of the humanitarian aid organizations. Polman observes that no aid workers or organizations have ever been taken to court and held responsible for the disasters they have created or for their complicity in the crimes of their clients. Gourevitch agrees:

> . . . . When it comes to the political consequences of their actions they are simply not policed. When a mission ends in catastrophe, they write their own evaluations. And if there are investigations of the crimes that follow on their aid, the humanitarians get airbrushed out of the story (Gourevitch, 2010).

The Tragic Case of Haiti

The most egregious case of NGOs run amok is Haiti, which increasing numbers of people are calling the Republic of NGOs. It is a jibe common even among many embittered Haitians. The NGO sector is far stronger than the Haitian government, and most NGOs do not even bother to consult with government officials about projects. No one knows just how many NGOs are operating in Haiti, since they are not registered or regulated by the Haitian government. The best educated guess is that 10,000 were present even before the devastating earthquake of January 12, 2010, but some say it was far more. The number certainly increased after the earthquake when the "crisis caravan" arrived. Haiti is believed to have the second highest number of NGOs per capita in the world—perhaps trailing only India.

The government of Haiti was extremely weak and without resources, in large part due to the deliberate policies of the US government over a long period, including support for the brutal father and son Duvalier dictatorships, neoliberal economic policies that devastated the Haitian economy with cheap American agricultural imports, and encouragement and aid for coups against the leftist democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991 and 2004. The United States government would not send aid to the Haitian government on the grounds that the government was corrupt, and funneled all assistance through NGOs. It is true that corruption is rife in the government and in most other institutions in Haiti, but the United States has no doubt played a major role in creating the conditions that have made it so. The result was that the Haitian government was so weak that it could not provide most basic services such as education and health care to the people. Some 70 to 80 percent of the country's basic services were provided by the private sector through NGOs. Even 70 percent of the water available to the people in Port-au-Prince was sold out of tanker trucks by small private companies.

Even before the earthquake of January, 2010, one of the strongest critiques of the aid programs in Haiti was made by Timothy Schwartz, an American anthropologist, who had ten years of experience working in Haiti. He summarized his indictment in these words:

> It is largely a story of fraud, greed, corruption, apathy, and political agendas that permeate the industry of foreign aid. It is a story of failed agricultural, health, and credit projects, violent struggles for control over aid money; corrupt orphanage owners, pastors, and missionaries; the nepotistic manipulation of research funds; economically counterproductive food relief programs that undermine the Haitian agricultural economy; and the disastrous effects of economic engineering by foreign

> governments and international aid organizations such as the World Bank and USAID and the multinational corporate charities that have sprung up in their service, specifically, CARE International, Catholic Relief Services, World Vision, and the dozens of other massive charities that have programs spread across the globe, moving in response not only to disasters and need, but political agendas and economic opportunity (Schwartz, 2008, p. 2).

When Schwartz worked as a consultant with CARE, he advised them not to fund a particular food distribution network that he discovered was utterly corrupt and also to avoid giving funds to orphanages that were almost always money-making scams that supported primarily the children of intact, well-to-do families. CARE rejected his recommendation and when he acted surprised, one of the directors told him, "The orders all come down from USAID and when they make up their mind to do a project, they hire a consultant to help them do it, not to tell them not to do it. If you cannot be more positive they will just have to hire another consultant to do the same thing" (Schwartz, 2008, p. 202).

Peter Hallward, a Canadian political philosophy professor at Kingston University in London, maintained that USAID and allied aid agencies such as CIDA from other Northern countries provide 70 percent of the funding of NGOs in Haiti, with the other 30 percent coming from corporate and individual donations. This raises the question whether NGO—"nongovernment organization"—is actually a misnomer for these aid agencies. Only about 5 percent of the aid is directed toward Haiti's chief need, the reinvigoration of agriculture and the rural economy, and Hallward remarked that the bulk of USAID's money is "explicitly designed to pursue US interests—the promotion of a secure investment climate, the nurturing of links with local business elites, the preservation of a docile and low wage labor force, and so on." USAID itself also "boasts that 84 cents of every dollar of its funding in Haiti goes back to the US in the form of salaries, supplies, consultant fees, and services" (Hallward, 2007, pp. 178-179).

The earthquake in January, 2010, brought an outpouring of donations for Haiti—some $13 billion—from people around the world, including over $1 billion from American households. Some 120 countries pledged over $9 billion for rebuilding, but only 52 percent of the pledges were met within two years, and much of the aid money remained undisbursed in the bank accounts of the large aid organizations. Only 1 percent of the initial aid money was channeled through the Haitian government or public institutions; 99 percent was received by humanitarian agencies, other NGOs, private contractors, and other non-state service providers. Indigenous Haitian NGOs received just 0.4 percent of the international aid. Only 23 percent

of longer-term recovery funds were channeled through the Haitian government. The flow of money to private aid organizations has further weakened the government through a "brain drain," with many officials hired away by NGOs at much higher salaries. The result is that the NGOs now constitute a parallel state that is richer and more powerful than the government of Haiti (Klarreich and Polman, 2012; Ramachandran, 2012; Baptiste, 2015). As Edmonds remarks, "the Haitian government . . . has remained marginalized in the recovery and rebuilding efforts. This leaves a country where unelected [foreign] organizations, unaccountable to the Haitian people, are calling the shots and accused of profiting from the poverty they are entrusted to fight" (Edmonds, 2014).

Are they doing a good job? The "This American Life" radio show of May 21, 2010, asked a very provocative question. How is it that with 10,000 NGOs providing humanitarian aid in Haiti for decades and providing billions of dollars of aid, the country has become poorer and poorer from year to year and Haiti's situation has become ever more grim? ("Island Time," 2010).

Paul Farmer, the director of Partners in Health, one of the few effective international NGOs operating in Haiti and one that has always employed primarily a Haitian staff, wrote a devastating critique of the performance of the aid agencies after the earthquake (Farmer, 2011). He was particularly disturbed by the total lack of planning and coordination among the aid agencies, as well as by the poor quality of the efforts of the aid organizations. He believes that it is necessary to rebuild the capacity of the Haitian government and to incorporate Haitians in the planning of reconstruction.

After the earthquake, the American Red Cross alone raised $488 million for relief efforts in Haiti, but later it was widely criticized because it built only six out of 700 planned new homes and provided tents and temporary shelters for far fewer families than it claimed. Representative Rick Nolan (D-Minn) called for congressional hearings to investigate the mismanagement of the Red Cross, and Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) asked for a detailed accounting of its expenditures in Haiti (Kushner, 2015). The Red Cross thereafter tried to modify its priorities in Haiti, but like most large aid NGOs, it has maintained its "Teflon" coating that bestows immunity from facing real consequences for past failures.

The Haitian government also did little to help its displaced citizens. The President sought to clear out the people living in public parks and other inappropriate places inside Port-au-Prince, and announced that he was declaring a desolate, almost uninhabited piece of land in a dangerous flood plain ten miles north of the capitol's downtown a "public utility," even though the government did not own the land. He urged displaced families to go there, and around 200,000 or more people moved there, including many landless families from outside the quake zone who were trapped in poverty

from paying exorbitant rents to landlords. The settlers built a vibrant community interlaced with a massive number of spontaneous social groups, networks, and small businesses. Virtually unaided and investing their own funds, they started building shacks and makeshift houses with no help from the government. It soon became the third largest "city" in Haiti. The people called it Canaan, but it was no "land of milk and honey." Canaan had no formal government structure, and the national government provided no utilities, sanitation, security services, schools, or medical care, arguing that the residents must first pay taxes. To make matters worse, the settlers were not given any security of tenure. Soon persons who claimed to be the legal owners of the land emerged and began to evict the settlers (Kushner, 2017). The problem of what to do with Canaan and the problem of the large number of people who remain displaced are largely due to the long festering problems of inequality in income and land tenure and a dysfunctional economy that has been pushed off the rails. Neither the NGOs nor the government have been effective in bringing about meaningful structural reforms that would make a significant difference.

In January, 2017, the International Organization for Migration announced that seven years after the 2010 earthquake, there were still 12,001 internally displaced households from the earthquake containing 46,691 individuals still living in displacement camps and camp-like settlements. Almost half of the displacement sites were tent and makeshift shelter sites ("7 Years Later 47,000 People Still Live in Camps," 2017).

In October, 2016, Haiti was once more devastated, this time by Hurricane Matthew (Category 4), which did serious damage to agriculture throughout the country, destroyed or damaged the homes of 120,000 families, and left 473 dead. More than two million people were affected, and the Civil Protection Directorate reported that 1.4 million people were in need of emergency humanitarian assistance. About 800,000 of these were in urgent need of food assistance for the first three months following the hurricane, and farmers needed seed for replanting ("More Than 1.4 Million People Need Emergency Assistance," 2016). This disaster received little notice abroad. This time the disaster was not a fund-raising bonanza for NGOs

Faculty Additions to the SEC Program

When NIMH funding ended, the Sociology of Economic Change became a training program in name only. In the early 1980s Marta Tienda and I started talking about reviving it as a real training program by initiating a weekly training seminar. We were both impressed with the training seminar run by the Demography and Ecology program, which each time included a talk by a faculty member or a visiting scholar or a presentation of research in

progress by one of the graduate students. The Center for Demography and Ecology had quite a few federally funded trainees, and they were required to attend, but nonfunded students and most of the area faculty also attended on a regular basis. SEC no longer had any traineeships for students, but most of the students interested in the area did attend the two-hour session each week because they recognized their value. Most of them were not registered for credit or they were registered at most for one credit, which they did not need for their program.

I believed that extrinsic rewards or inducements were unnecessary, because of the intrinsic value of the sessions to graduate students. Students themselves volunteered to present their work in progress because it was useful to them to receive critical comments and suggestions. This came to be the standard pattern for most of the other training programs that had no federally funded traineeships. We were less successful in getting regular attendance from all the SEC faculty, but usually two or three would be present each time. As a result, students participated in the questioning and discussion very freely.

Tienda and I presided jointly in the beginning, and I found her a delight to work with. After she left Wisconsin, I continued in that role for several years. In later years Stephen Bunker, Gay Seidman, Mara Loveman, and Jane Collins organized and presided over the training seminar. It was the graduate students themselves, however, with their passionate commitment to social change that made the training seminar successful. SEC became a real program with the faculty and students really getting to know one another and establishing strong bonds.

In 1984 Jess Gilbert and Jack Kloppenburg joined the Department of Rural Sociology, and though the sociology of development was not their central interest, their teaching and supervision of graduate students in closely related areas strengthened the program. As the number of graduate students in the Sociology of Economic Change program increased rapidly, they began to feel frustration that there were not enough faculty to teach courses in the field and provide supervision. On Dec. 3, 1986, they sent a letter to the Sociology Department faculty petitioning them to hire "at minimum, two senior faculty members and one or more junior members." It was signed by 48 graduate students. In their rationale they wrote,

> Students in the SEC program make up the single largest specialty area in the Sociology/Rural Sociology department, yet the SEC faculty remains chronically understaffed. Currently, over sixty students, more than a quarter of all sociology graduate students, list SEC as one of their primary interest areas; the number taking the SEC preliminary exam in recent years outstrips that of all other specialties by a significant

margin. Core affiliated faculty include Russ Middleton and Joe Elder, both of whom are overburdened with advisees, Marta Tienda, who is going on indefinite leave next semester, Bert Adams, and Alberto Palloni. No faculty member of comparable knowledge and rank was brought in to replace Gene Havens after his death.



STEPHEN G. BUNKER
(DENA WORTZEL)



DENIS O'HEARN
(D. O'HEARN)

In response the Sociology Department tried to recruit Peter Evans and Gary Gereffi, two of the leading figures in the field, but without success. After reviewing other promising senior scholars in the sociology of development, I then suggested that we go after Stephen G. Bunker, a rising star who was then at Johns Hopkins. He had done excellent work in both the Amazon and East Africa. We were delighted to find that he was interested, attracted perhaps as much by the lovely countryside around Madison as by the quality of the department. He had grown up in rural New Mexico and was an accomplished horseman. He accepted our offer of a professorship. After he moved to Wisconsin in 1988, he purchased a former dairy farm about 40 miles west of Madison near Hollandale, where he could keep a stable of horses and ride and practice jumping, as he had in his youth. He also began converting most of the farm back to tall grass prairie. He continued his productive scholarship until his untimely death in 2005 at a young age.

When I asked Stephen's widow, Dena Wortzel, for a picture of Stephen, she provided the picture or him mounted on horseback, along with an interesting history:

> The picture of him on the black is his favorite picture. He kept it framed in a place he could see it often. That horse, and the other one in the picture I sent, were the two most important horses in his life. The

black—and that's what he was called—was owned by a Latino farmer from a very old New Mexico family in the community in the extremely remote and tiny community where Stephen's parents retired. The horse was a stallion who was brought down from the mountains at age 5, never having been handled. Stephen was the person who started him and rode him, getting him going working cattle for the farmer. Stephen told many stories of that horse, including taking him for days-long camping trips alone in the mountains.

Bunker taught a number of courses and seminars on the environment and on the influence of commodities and raw materials on development. He described himself, only half-joking, as a "commodity fetishist." He often presided over the Sociology of Economic Change Training Seminar, and I regularly observed his interactions with students over many years. He was a brilliant, intuitive thinker, and I marveled at his illuminating flashes of insight. He had many devoted followers, but sometimes bruised the feelings of graduate students making presentations with harsh criticisms. He recognized that he had a tendency to be too direct and undiplomatic with students and felt contrite about it. Nevertheless, students who learned not to take his demanding criticisms personally invariably produced excellent work. In this respect he was much like Bob Alford. In 2002 an international conference on "Nature, Raw Materials, and Political Economy" was held on the Madison campus to celebrate Bunker's many contributions to sociology. He was in ill health and it was a kind of farewell tribute and celebration of his life. He died three years later at the age of 61.

Denis O'Hearn joined the department as an assistant professor as a newly minted PhD from the University of Michigan in 1988, the same year as Bunker. The two became very close friends. O'Hearn's specialty was Ireland's development—or rather lack of development. This had been an early preoccupation of Karl Marx, but the case of Ireland had generally been neglected by development theorists in recent times. O'Hearn demonstrated that the same theories that were being applied to the poor countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa could also explain a lot of what was happening in Ireland. Denis was an excellent teacher and contributed a great deal to the program until he decided to take a teaching position at Queen's University in Belfast, Northern Ireland, in 1994. Today he is at SUNY Binghamton but spends part of each year in Istanbul, Turkey, the home of his wife.

Cynthia J. Truelove also joined the Rural Sociology Department in 1988. She was an international development sociologist with a strong interest in Latin American Studies and Women's Studies. She left Wisconsin in 1993 and is currently Director of the Water-Energy Research Initiative, Water in the West, at Stanford University.

Two years after the arrival of Bunker, O'Hearn, and Truelove, the Junior Staff Recruitment Committee asked me to review some dissertation chapters submitted by Gay Seidman, who was just finishing her PhD at Berkeley. Her first chapter reviewing development theories impressed me greatly, and I knew right away that we had to have her. She was not only highly sophisticated theoretically, but had the advantage of a focus on labor issues and a deep knowledge of southern Africa. I knew her father and mother when they taught at Wisconsin some years before and had a very high regard for both. We were successful in hiring her, and she proved to be not only the prime scholar we expected but a really exceptional teacher. She has been a fine classroom lecturer, a mentor to students, and a strong leader in the Sociology of Economic Change and Development program, the Development Studies program, the African Studies program, and the Division of International Studies.

Four years later we had an unexpected opportunity to add a social anthropologist to our group—Jane L. Collins, who had done field work in Peru. A few of our faculty questioned the propriety of adding someone trained in a different discipline, but I was delighted. I always considered social anthropology and sociology basically the same field, though each had developed distinctive peculiarities in their historical development. A substantial part of my own graduate training was in anthropology, and I had spent a postdoctoral year at Oxford's Institute of Social Anthropology studying with Paul J. Bohannon, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, and John Peristiani. The last speech I ever made in our Executive Committee before my retirement was a plea to give Jane Collins a tenured appointment on our staff. I pointed out that she had special skills in doing qualitative research, and a dazzling command of theoretical issues that were as relevant to sociologists as to anthropologists. We also had a number of precedents of hiring persons trained in another



GAY SEIDMAN, 2014
(R. MIDDLETON)



JANE L. COLLINS, 1993
(J. COLLINS)

discipline—psychology—including Kimball Young, Elaine Hatfield, William Walster, Jane Piliavin, and Barry Collins.

Jane Collins did join our department in 1994 and started teaching a qualitative methods course that was immensely popular with our graduate students. The students loved her, and she was almost immediately overwhelmed with requests to be their advisor or at least serve on their committees. Collins also has a strong interest in Gender and Women's Studies, and has taught courses and served as chair in that department for a time. After a few years she transferred her formal home to Rural Sociology/Community and Environmental Sociology, but this did not interfere at all with her teaching of students affiliated with all three departments.

Faculty resources increased again with the addition of several persons in Rural Sociology between 1993 and 2003—Gary Paul Green, Leann Tigges, Michael Bell, and Samer Alatout. International development was not their principal specialization, but it was an interest, and they participated in the program. Two demographers with an interest in Asian development issues, Maria-Giovanni Merli and Jenna Nobles, also joined the Sociology Department during the 2000s decade, though Merli moved to Duke after nine years at Wisconsin.

In 2003 another outstanding sociologist joined the core SEC group—Mara Loveman. She combined an interest in development with a concern with ethnic identity in Latin America. She played a major role in the Sociology of Economic Change and Development training program, presiding at times over the training seminar. She was principally responsible for a change in the graduate program rules that shifted the SECD prelim from Group 2 to Group 1, recognizing the broad significance and importance of the area. In 2013 she moved from Wisconsin to UC-Berkeley, where she is currently chair of the Department of Sociology.



MARA LOVEMAN
(M. LOVEMAN)

With the addition of Bunker, O'Hearn, Truelove, Seidman, Collins, and Loveman, and the continuation of several old hands, the Sociology of Economic Change program entered a golden era, which continued through the 1990s and into the first decade of the new century. It was one of the strongest training programs in the sociology of development in the United States at that time.

Retirements, death, and departures have taken their toll since then, but Seidman and Collins remain—and they are true gems. They remain immensely popular teachers and mentors, particularly for those who wish to do qualitative research. Green, Tigges, Bell, and Alatout from

Community and Environmental Sociology are still here also and continue to participate in the program. Fortunately, a number of excellent young scholars have arrived in recent years to maintain the strength of the program—Joseph Conti, Jenna Nobles, and Monica Grant in Sociology, and Katherine Curtis and Joshua Garoon in Community and Environmental Sociology. Erica Simmons of the Department of Political Science is also an affiliate of the Sociology Department and does research on poor peoples' movements in Latin America.

CHAPTER 10

Social Organization, Class Analysis, and Economic Sociology

Social Organization

In the mid-1960s many of the sociology faculty who identified primarily with social organization were afraid they were being left behind by some of the specialized areas, such as law and society, medical sociology, demography and ecology, and the sociology of economic change, which had received funding for graduate training programs from NIMH or foundations. Though there was no consensus on what the boundaries of the "specialty" of social organization were, those who identified with it generally thought of it as the core of sociology. They believed that it was essential for PhD students to have a significant amount of training in this core of the discipline, and in the endless disputes between the generalists and the specialists over the nature of the prelim system, they tended to come down in favor of a required or heavily favored exam in social organization.

NIMH Training Program in Social Organization

The cluster of social organization faculty wanted to initiate a training program that would enable students to have funded traineeships to study these mainstream areas and also strengthen the position of social organization as an area of fundamental importance. NIMH still had a very broad view of the kinds of social science training that would encourage and improve research related to mental health. A proposal for a graduate training program in social organization was written and submitted by the Department of Sociology to NIMH. It was approved, and the training program began around 1967. Unfortunately, all records of the program are missing from department files and the UW Archives, so I have had to rely primarily on the 50-year-old recollections of former faculty and graduate students who were involved in the program. Thus, many of the details about the program are sketchy and perhaps unreliable

Though by some definitions most of the faculty in the department could be considered social organization faculty, in fact, the program tended to

emphasize the specialties of political sociology and the sociology of organizations, particularly complex organizations. The department had Michael T. Aiken and Jerald Hage in organizational sociology but wanted to build up its strength in the area, so it recruited Charles B. Perrow in 1966. Perrow and I wrote the proposal for the NIMH training program in social organization, and after it was funded Perrow became the first director. He left for another university in 1970, and Aiken and Robert R. Alford, a political sociologist, became co-directors of the program. A training seminar in social organization was introduced into the curriculum and required of all funded trainees but was open to all sociology graduate students. It was co-taught by Alford and Aiken primarily as an intense discussion course, with both faculty and all the students engaged in lively debate over the issues raised in the reading assignments. In 1974 Alford left for UC-Santa Cruz, and Maurice Zeitlin, another political sociologist, joined Aiken in running the program. Zeitlin in turn departed in 1976, but Aiken remained in the department until 1984, when he went to the University of Pennsylvania. Federal funding for the training program ran out after only a few years, but Sociology 720, "Intermediate Social Organization" remained in the curriculum and functioned as a focal point for graduate students in the general social organization area. Many believed it was necessary to take the course in order to pass the dreaded social organization prelim.

Participants in the Social Organization Training Program

Without official records I cannot ascertain which students had formal traineeships in social organization, and I can only report the recollections of former graduate students about their fellow participants in the activities of the group. That is probably more important in any case, since the intention of the program was to strengthen teaching in the "core" area of the discipline. The following is a list of former students who have been mentioned by other social organization students. Some may not have been funded trainees, and the list is certainly incomplete. Their principal locations during their subsequent careers are shown in parentheses.

James R. Lincoln (UC-Berkeley Haas School of Business)
Nancy DiTomaso (Rutgers Business School)
Julia Wrigley (CUNY, Provost and Interim Vice Chancellor)
Roger Friedland (UC-Santa Barbara)
Gerald J. Zeitz (Temple Fox School of Business)
Paul D. Allison (University of Pennsylvania)
Alexander M. Hicks (Emory University)
Samuel Bacharach (Cornell School of Industrial and Labor Relations)

Richard C. Hill (Michigan State)
Robert Dewar (Northwestern University, Kellogg School of Management)
Mary Ann (Pate) Wycoff (The Highland Group Finds)
Richard Miller (Wisconsin Department of Health Services)
Samuel Norich (was Exec. Dir. of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research; now publisher of *The Forward)*
Michael J. Soref (Wisconsin Division of Health)
Ira J. Cohen (Rutgers-Newark)
Gøsta Esping-Andersen (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona)
Nora L. Hamilton (University of Southern California, Political Science)
William L. Canak (Middle Tennessee State University)
John Myles (University of Toronto)
Catherine Christeller (Executive Director, Chicago Women's AIDS Project)
Ed Johnson
Patrick M. Horan (University of Georgia)

James R. Lincoln was recruited to the sociology graduate program at Wisconsin by Charles Perrow and was supported as a Social Organization Trainee during the entire time he was at Wisconsin. His memories of the program almost five decades later were as follows:

> It was an exciting bunch of people. The faculty were youngish and very active. There was a lot of interest in theory and, especially given the times, social change, politics, stratification, revolution, and the like. It took on a pretty strong leftist-critical theory tinge in the later years. The social org faculty was not as quantitative as others were at Madison. Some, like Perrow and Zeitlin, were mostly qualitative. Others like Alford, Aiken, and Hage did survey research and used statistical methods but were not as focused on methodology as were other trainee programs in the department, such as methods, demography and ecology, and social psych. Some social org trainees who were attracted to Madison for its reputation in quantitative work were happy to have the financial support but weren't greatly involved in the program, classes, or community. . . . I hung out with methods and demography people, too, but I was still most comfortable in the social org trainee program and considered it my home base in the department. It provided me with a supportive and stimulating intellectual community in the huge PhD program in sociology Madison had at the time. Berkeley's (which I don't teach in since my appointment is in the business school) is large, too, but the faculty is much smaller and there aren't the training and research centers Madison had. So the students are much more an atomized mass than was

> true at Madison and perhaps is true today (James R. Lincoln, personal communication, May 31, 2013).

Today Lincoln occupies the Mitsubishi Chair in International Business and Finance in the Haas School of Business at the University of California-Berkeley.

Paul Allison began his graduate study as a teaching assistant in 1970, but then he became a Social Organization trainee from 1971 to 1975, when he left to take a job at Stony Brook. He remembered,

> There was a weekly seminar led by the director. Each week one of the students would present a paper, and everyone would prepare a written response mimeo'd and distributed prior to the seminar. It was a very rigorous and helpful process. All the students in the program had desks in a single room. The program had a distinctly Marxist tone, especially after Maurice took over, and I never felt completely comfortable with that. I gravitated to the methodology program, which is probably where I should have been. But I was happy to have the funding. As I recall, we got a stipend of around $3500 . . . Bob Alford was a wonderful person and a great mentor to many students (Paul D. Allison, personal communication, June 3, 2013).

Allison is currently a Professor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, where he teaches courses in methods and statistics.

Julia Wrigley had an NSF Fellowship her first year at Wisconsin but became a social organization trainee her second year, starting in 1972. She participated in the program during the next two years, but used her traineeship to support her dissertation research on the schools in Chicago her last year. Her memories of the program were very positive:

> Even though my time in the social org program was brief I remember it fondly and felt lucky to have been invited into it. We had a weekly seminar where visitors and Madison people presented their work. Bob Alford liked to have written comments from all seminar participants in advance, so those were submitted to his very capable assistant and then distributed before the talks. The seminars were very lively. They were informal and friendly but there was a strong sense of intellectual engagement. Students with social org fellowships were required to attend, which we did gladly, but other students came too. We also had a little windowless room where social org students hung out together, which gave the large soc department a friendly aspect. The social org program was funded by NIMH, but you can imagine that we didn't contribute

much to the study of mental health. I remember once we each had to write some short statement on our contributions to that endeavor, which required some creative work.

Bob and Mike also taught a course together . . . . It was a very wide-ranging and fun course, where Bob worked out and presented his notion of paradigms. He and Mike often disagreed, which made the discussions entertaining. (Bob's ideas about paradigms were the basis for his subsequent book with Roger Friedland.) Bob and Mike taught the class using Bob's favored style of requiring written comments before discussing the readings, with the comments distributed to all participants (Julia Wrigley, personal communication, June 26, 2016).

In her subsequent career she served for a time as Provost and Interim Vice Chancellor at CUNY but has now returned to the faculty. Her daughter, Elizabeth Wrigley-Field, followed in her footsteps, also earning a PhD in sociology at the University of Wisconsin 37 years later in 2014.

Nancy DiTomaso, who was a graduate student in Madison between 1969 and 1976 and was a social organization trainee, also had fond memories of the program, particularly the mentorship of Robert R. Alford:

. . . I associate the program primarily with Robert Alford. He is the one who was in charge most of the time that I remember. He also set up the Social Organization Library, which was a gathering place for many of the students, and where I worked frequently. He ran a seminar every semester for several years in which students in the program and others developed research and studied "Theories of the State." Every week we had to read each other's papers and write comments on the papers that were being presented for that week. The papers and the comments were distributed in advance, so it was quite a production to meet the deadlines and to read everything by the time the class met. Bob's secretary was Ann Wallace. . . . This ongoing seminar, which ran, I think, for at least three years or so, was extremely important for many of us in the program, because it became the basis for the development of our dissertations. It was a credit bearing seminar when Bob ran it, as I recall. Unfortunately, Bob died several years ago. He was a great mentor to me, both while in graduate school, and then later after he moved to CUNY Graduate Center. He helped me immensely on the development of the research that became the book I published in 2013.

Overall, my evaluation of the program was extremely positive, both for those of us in the Social Organization Training Program, and for those who were in the several other similar training programs. . . .The fact that

> so many of the students who were funded in this program went on to become quite prominent in the field of sociology and even more broadly in the social sciences and who developed important work on a number of themes that have become very influential in the discipline, I think suggests that this kind of program had the intended effects and that having similar programs is one of the ways to make breakthroughs in both theory and method (Nancy D. Tomaso, personal communication, June 29, 2016).
>
> DiTomaso today is Distinguished Professor in the Department of Management and Global Business in the Rutgers Business School in Newark and New Brunswick.

Michael T. Aiken: Complex Organization

The two faculty members who were most closely associated with the training program in social organization and who participated for the longest time were Michael T. Aiken and Robert R. Alford. Aiken was a native of Mississippi and had a mellifluous southern accent and a warm, friendly manner that charmed everyone. He earned his bachelor's degree at the University of Mississippi and then a master's and PhD in sociology at the University of Michigan. He joined the Wisconsin Department of Sociology as an assistant professor in 1963, the same year I arrived. He quickly earned the respect of all his colleagues as an excellent teacher and diligent researcher. Like me, he was dedicated to the IBM 101 card counter-sorter when he first came, and it was a common sight to see him standing by the machine for long hours making endless complicated sorts and sub-sorts. It was the model of research set by Sam Stouffer and Herbert Hyman.

Aiken became the primary teacher of courses on complex organizations, and he began to publish articles and books on organizations and organization theory that challenged the predominant perspectives of organizational theorists at the time. He insisted on a solid sociological perspective on organizations, examining the relationships between internal organizational processes and the societal context in which they exist. He believed sociologists should be investigating power and hierarchies and the factors that reinforced or justified inequalities in organizations. They should not take management's definitions of problems as a starting point, looking primarily at the needs of management. That would be a profoundly conservative approach that ignored many aspects of organizations, including the position of lower level workers and minorities in the organization. As David Wilson of the European Group for Organizational Studies commented, "Mike Aiken's work . . . brings topics such as domination,

subjugation, coercion, manipulation, corruption and extortion to the fore. These are the essence of understanding complex organization and should take pride of place as analytical constructs in the study of organizations" (Wilson, 2004).

Aiken joined Alford in directing the Social Organization Training Program after Perrow left. In the late 1960s and early 1970s a majority of the graduate students who were attracted to the program could probably be described as neo-Marxists or New Leftists who were strongly interested in political sociology and social change. They tended to have an affinity with Alford, whose views were also along these lines, though he tried to instill a tough-minded approach to theoretical analysis and the evaluation of evidence. Aiken was clearly a progressive, but I don't think he could be described as a neo-Marxist or New Leftist. That was really an advantage, for that meant that when Sociology 720 was co-taught by Aiken and Alford or by Aiken and Zeitlin, the faculty would often have different views, and the debates among the faculty and students would be enlivened and enriched. Aiken did appear to become increasingly critical of the conventional views of organizational theorists as his career progressed, and perhaps he was influenced by the critical discussions in the Sociology 720 classes. European organizational theorists came to regard him as a "critical theorist"—that is, espousing radical views bearing kinship with the philosophy of Horkheimer and the Frankfurt School.

Aiken was a Visiting Professor at Columbia in 1967-1968 and while in New York met Catherine Comet, a highly talented musician from Paris studying orchestra conducting at Julliard. They were married in 1969. Comet had earlier studied at the Conservatoire National Superieur de Musique in Paris, and also had studied privately with Nadia Boulanger for three years. After completing her master's at Julliard, she spent almost six years conducting for the ballet company of the Theatre National de l'Opera de Paris and the ballet company of the Paris Opera. Aiken began spending as much time as possible in Europe to be with his wife and was a visiting professor on four occasions at the Université Catholique de Louvain in Belgium. He began to do research on organizations in Belgium and published the book *Politics and Policy in Belgian Cities* in 1978. There followed a series of conducting jobs for Comet-Aiken in the United States, including a position as associate conductor of the Baltimore Symphony and guest conductor opportunities with many other symphony orchestras. There were many women conductors, but male conductors had a monopoly of the top positions as musical directors of professional symphony orchestras. In 1986, however, Comet-Aiken accepted a position as music director of the Grand Rapids Symphony Orchestra in Grand Rapids, Michigan, becoming the first woman to hold such a position in the United States. It was a small orchestra and

not in a major metropolitan area, but Comet-Aiken embraced the opportunity and over the next twelve years built the orchestra by adding a dozen new players and increasing the budget from $1.8 million to $4.5 million a year. She spent about 22 weeks a year in Grand Rapids and was essentially commuting to her husband's location. She was a purist who disdained "pop" programming and was totally dedicated to bringing quality classical music to the public. Her reputation nationally and internationally soared, and she was much in demand as a guest conductor at major orchestras. For example, in 1988 she was the first woman to conduct an entire concert with the Philadelphia Orchestra, though previously four women, including her mentor Nadia Boulanger, had conducted single pieces. She finally tired of the fund-raising and nonmusical duties of a music director and left Grand Rapids, immersing herself in a pure world of music as a guest conductor. She had a brilliant career conducting orchestras all over North America and in Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, Singapore, Russia, Germany, and France, as well as conducting in summer festivals at Interlochen, Aspen, and Chicago's Grant Park (Dixon, 1998)

In the spring of 1973, while he was on leave at Louvain, Michael Aiken attended a conference at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS) in Wassenaar, a suburb of The Hague. During the meetings Aiken commented to the organizational sociologists in attendance that organizational studies in Europe were quite lively and innovative but lacked cohesion. He said that organization scholars in Europe generally knew all about even second-rate studies done in the United States but were unaware of first-rate work done in other countries of Europe, or even elsewhere in their own country. This was not the first time that this issue had been raised among the European scholars, but previous efforts to form an organization had gone nowhere. This time NIAS appointed a small committee, consisting of Aiken, Peter Clark, and Cornelis J. Lammers to devise ways to correct the situation. Lammers later wrote,

> I must confess that the European members of the committee forgot all about their mission. However, Mike Aiken in the true American tradition of coming to the aid of the Old World, did not wait and see, but acted immediately and decisively. Not long after the conference at Wassenaar, he suddenly appeared in Leiden in an unbelievably dilapidated car and reported to have contacted Michel Crozier, who, in turn, had persuaded a key figure in the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (MSH) in Paris and also someone at a public agency . . . to finance preparatory meetings and eventually a conference to further the cause of organizational sociology in Europe (Lammers, 1998, p. 883).

The resulting conference led to the founding of the European Group for Organizational Studies (EGOS), which included not only sociologists but other European social scientists pursuing research on organizations. The organization has thrived and has played a vital role in supporting organizational studies in Europe. It will be holding its 33rd annual Colloquium meeting in 2017. In 2004 Aiken was named an "Honorary Member" of EGOS, an award created "to honour and thank scholars who have made pioneering and lasting contributions both to the advancement of knowledge in the social sciences dealing with organization . . . and to EGOS as an association." He is one of only seventeen to be so honored to date.

Aiken was promoted to Professor in 1970 and served as a highly regarded Chair of the Department of Sociology between 1976 and 1979. The Wisconsin deans of the College of Letters and Science usually recruited their associate deans from the more successful department chairs, so it was no surprise when Aiken was named Associate Dean with primary responsibilities for the social sciences. With his deep understanding of organizations, he was an outstanding administrator, and he was soon propelled into an academic administrative career path.



MICHAEL T. AIKEN
(UW ARCHIVES)



ROBERT R. ALFORD
(HEIDI ALFORD)

Aiken went to the University of Pennsylvania in 1984 and became Dean of the School of Arts and Science, 1985-1987, and Provost, 1987-1993. Finally, he moved to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign as Chancellor from 1993 until his retirement from academia in 2001. At Illinois Aiken was an adroit leader with an impressive record of accomplishments. He strengthened the undergraduate education program, expanded international programs, and allocated nearly $500,000 to improve the student advising system. He oversaw a fund-raising program that secured almost $1 billion in gifts and grants. Faculty salaries were made more competitive, with salaries rising from 7th to 3rd among Big 10 universities. Graduate assistant stipends

were also increased by 43 percent, and free dental and vision benefits were added, along with access to campus medical care for spouses. He revived a convocation tradition after it lapsed for several decades and initiated a Discovery Program in which faculty interacted with small groups of freshmen. He tried to build bridges to the Champaign-Urbana community, and began the construction of a research park on the campus (Illinois News Bureau, 2001).

Aiken retired in 2001 and he and his wife Catherine currently live in an isolated area known as Crandall, about 50 miles northwest of Cody, Wyoming, 25 miles from the northeast entrance to Yellowstone National Park.

Robert R. Alford: Political Sociology

The other faculty member closely identified with the Social Organization Training Program was Robert R. Alford. He generally did not take an activist role in Madison and was little in the public eye. He sought to influence primarily through his teaching and writing, so he was less often recognized as a radical than some other faculty in the department. He grew up on a ranch in the California Sierras in a Republican family, though his maternal grandfather had been a timber worker and a member of the IWW—the "Wobblies." Attending the University of California-Berkeley, he developed radical views, but after completing his master's in sociology, he left the university in protest against its adoption of a loyalty oath requirement for its teachers. He joined the Labor Youth League, the youth wing of the Communist Party-USA, and took a job as a machine operator at the International Harvester factory in Emeryville, hoping to recruit other workers into the Labor Youth League. Robert Blauner, another drop-out sociology student, and one other person were the only other members of the Communist cell in the factory (Blauner, 2003).

After four years of working at the factory with zero success in recruiting new members, Alford and Blauner realized that they would probably never succeed in organizing their fellow workers. Then in 1956 came the bombshell of Khrushchev's "secret" speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR that detailed some of the monstrous crimes of Stalin. The contents of the speech promptly leaked out, probably with the blessing of Khrushchev. Much of this was already well known in the West, but most Communists dismissed the stories as anti-Soviet propaganda until the head of the Soviet government acknowledged their reality. Disillusioned American Communists left the party in droves, including Alford and Blauner. They both returned to the University of California-Berkeley to do graduate work in sociology as students of Seymour Martin Lipset. Alford wrote a quantitative dissertation in political sociology on class voting, and

after receiving his PhD in 1961 he was recruited by Sewell to the University of Wisconsin faculty.

His former student, Roger Friedland, recalled the excitement that his predominantly neo-Marxist and New Left students felt in his seminars:

> . . . . Alford took his students through a critical re-engagement with the classic debates with Marxism as the way forward. It was at the seminar table, through a combination of withering critique and an overwhelming sense of care, that Bob shaped generations of sociologists who learned from him that a statement of a problem, the choice of an indicator, the setting on a particular level of observation, could have fateful consequences. His objective, as he put it, was "to unpack" a student's approach to a problem. Doctoral prospectuses, chapters, seminar papers all merited copious, typewritten comments. His seminars were always charged, overcrowded zones of engagement. We all foolishly thought that this was how academic life was lived everywhere. Teaching for him was a kind of wrestling, a loving combat. Sometimes after Bob's "unpacking" you just wanted to go home and get in bed for the indefinite future. But you knew he knew you could go farther. And you did. His students didn't just admire him; we loved him. In 1997, he was given the ASA's Distinguished Contribution to Teaching award (Friedland, 2003, p. 1).

Allison was not the only Social Organization trainee who was not happy with the heavy emphasis on Marxist and neo-Marxist perspectives, and several of them began to spend more time at the Methodology Training Seminar run by Hauser and Marwell, which they found more rewarding.

On the other hand, John Myles, a Canadian former student of Alford, maintained that Alford was rigidly objective and made a welcome place for students of many different theoretical perspectives:

> . . . [Alford] was a stickler for "evidence" (How do you know this?) And he was very hard-nosed about theoretical precision (What *exactly* is your theoretical claim?). There was no room for "political correctness" (paradigm hegemony) in Bob's seminars. Bob's main gift was to create a theoretical/empirical "space" for just about everyone, a space to grow in. His seminars were a "home" for status attainment types, Weberian theorists, and would-be Marxist revolutionaries, all at the same time. But, apart from my days studying with the Jesuits, his were also the most intensely critical seminars I ever attended (quoted in Peerla and McLaughlin, 2003).

There is no doubt that Alford was a demanding taskmaster in his seminars, but he was respected and admired by nearly all of his graduate students.

In 1974 Alford left Wisconsin to return to California, taking a professorship at the University of California-Santa Cruz. He was drawn by the experimental interdisciplinary approach at Santa Cruz and enjoyed the close ties of the social sciences with the humanities and history. In 1988 he moved again to City University of New York and remained there until his death in 2003 at the age of 74.

Class Analysis and Historical Change and the A. E. Havens Center

Erik Wright Comes to Wisconsin

The "Class Analysis and Historical Change" area developed in response to graduate student interest and initiatives at UC-Berkeley and UW-Madison in the 1970s. During that time many sociology graduate students on the two campuses adhered to or were strongly influenced by some variety of New Left or Neo-Marxist viewpoints. In the San Francisco Bay Area a group of radical graduate students and young faculty was led by James O'Connor, a faculty member at San Jose State and author of *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*. The group started an international journal in 1973, *Working Papers on the Kaptitalistate*, devoted to Marxist analyses of the state and capitalism. Erik Olin Wright was an active member and contributing editor of the collective. Other collaborating *Kapitalistate* groups were formed at various times in West Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, Canada, Spain, Netherlands, and Sweden. By 1977 there were six *Kapitalistate* groups in the United States—the San Francisco Bay Area, Washington, DC, New York City, East Lansing, Binghamton, and Madison. The Madison group included sociology graduate students Roger Friedland, Julia Wrigley, Nora Hamilton, Gøsta Esping-Andersen, Nancy DiTomaso, and others. Members of the various collectives wrote papers, which were circulated among all the groups, with comments solicited from the members. The papers and debates were then published in the journal. Eleven issues were published over a ten-year period from 1973-1983.

Erik Wright wrote extensive comments on a paper by UW graduate students Roger Friedland and Gøsta Esping-Andersen, and they invited him to be a coauthor, even though they had not yet met him (Andersen, Friedland, and Wright, 1976). The Wisconsin students became eager for the Wisconsin department to recruit Wright for a faculty position as soon as he finished his degree. The only other Wisconsin member who published an article in

the journal was Nancy DiTomaso, but the authors of the Andersen-Friedland-Wright paper thanked several Wisconsin people for their helpful comments and suggestions, including Michael Aiken, Maurice Zeitlin, Eugene Havens, David Cray, Alex Hicks, and Michael Schulman.

At Berkeley the graduate students, lacking a sociology course devoted to Marxist and critical theory, decided they would organize their own course. They arranged for a regular faculty member to serve as nominal teacher for official purposes, but they organized and ran the course themselves. They produced a massive syllabus and had intensive sessions discussing the readings and debating a wide range of issues.

When Wright did complete his PhD in 1976, he joined the Wisconsin Department of Sociology. At that time there was no formal program or interest area in Marxist or critical sociology, though the courses taught by Eugene Havens and Maurice Zeitlin, usually about Latin America, were infused with Marxist analyses. These courses were generally thought of as a part of the Sociology of Economic Change program, but some of the other courses in this program were progressive but non-Marxist in nature. Wright wanted to introduce some formal instruction in Marxist approaches and initiated a two-course sequence based largely on the syllabus that he and his fellow students at Berkeley had developed: Soc. 621 and 622, "Theory and Methodology of Marxist Social Science." In the beginning Soc. 621 had enrollments of around 30 or 40 and Soc. 622 around 20 or 30. A seminar for the subject, Soc. 929, was later added. Over the years interest in Marxist sociology has declined somewhat, and few students can afford to devote a whole year to the topic, so Soc. 622 is no longer taught, and Soc. 621 was renamed "Class, State and Ideology: An Introduction to Marxist Social Science."

Marxist sociology was still not a prelim area in the late 1970s, but Wright and a group of graduate students very much wanted to have it added. They prepared a proposal and decided to adopt the somewhat cumbersome name, "Class Analysis and Historical Change," to deflect possible political attacks. The name would clearly signal to virtually any sociologist that it had a Marxist or critical basis, but they thought a more "benign" name might ease its passage and be less vulnerable to possible future attack. The graduate students expected opposition and prepared to do battle for the new prelim but were surprised and pleased when the faculty voted to add the prelim without a quibble. In the first few years there were three to five students a year taking the Class Analysis and Historical Change prelim, but today relatively few take the prelim—about one every two years. It is a Group II prelim and does not receive the somewhat more favorable treatment of Group I prelims.

Unlike many prelim areas, Class Analysis and Historical Change is not really a "training program" but more of an interest area. There are no paid traineeships or weekly "training seminars." Many students take courses in

the area and participate in Havens Center activities, but specialize in other subject areas. Wright advises more PhD students than any other sociology faculty member, but most of his students are not Marxists and most are building identities as specialists in other subject areas. He does not apply an ideological screen to his students. Their work, however, usually incorporates radical or critical perspectives that shed new light on the questions being studied.

Founding of the Havens Center

In 1987 Wright was a visiting professor at UC-Berkeley and received an offer of a professorship to remain at Berkeley on a permanent basis. It is very common in American academia for college faculty to use outside offers as leverage to secure promotions in rank and substantial salary increases, particularly if their universities have relatively low salaries compared with peer institutions. Because starting salaries generally increased faster than salaries of young faculty already on the staff, a perverse situation developed in which salaries were inversely related to length of service in the lower ranks. It was understandable that some sought outside offers as a means of avoiding this trap. When we tried to recruit senior faculty to our department we were usually unsuccessful, but our efforts often helped the objects of our affection to win promotions and handsome salary increases where they were.

Our department was eager to retain Wright and sought to negotiate a retention package that he would find irresistible. Wright, however, refused to negotiate for his own personal advantage, and would not discuss salary at all. The only thing he asked for was university support on a continuing basis for a center focused on critical sociology. He envisioned a center that would organize a visiting scholars program to bring a series of scholars for extended periods each semester to deliver lectures and confer with students. I think L&S Dean Phillip R. Certain, a distinguished theoretical chemist, was startled by this request, and the University had no provision for providing this type of support, but Certain had the foresight to recognize the advantage to the university and accepted. The organizational problem was solved by cashing in one of our Lecturer positions to fund the center. A graduate course, Soc. 994, "Colloquium in Critical Sociology," would be offered based on attendance at the Center lectures and



ERIK OLIN WRIGHT
(E. WRIGHT)

seminars. There were some informal trial runs in 1983, and in 1984 the A. E. Havens Center for the Study of Social Structure and Social Change was formally established and began a full schedule of operations. The name was changed to the A. E. Havens Center for Social Justice in 2014.

When I interviewed Wright about the origins of the Havens Center, he disclaimed the notion that he was being generous, since he anticipated that this kind of center would create the kind of place in which he would love to work and which would be immensely beneficial to himself. All of his colleagues, however, thought that he was being very generous and believed that he was also placing a high priority on the interests and welfare of the department and graduate students. He certainly gained stature in their eyes, and they made sure that he did not suffer in terms of salary or professional advancement.

The center was named in honor of A. Eugene Havens, who was the first to teach a course on Societal Development at Wisconsin. His research was focused on the sources of poverty, inequality, and injustice in Latin America, particularly in Colombia and Nicaragua. He formulated a Marxist analysis of the structural constraints on development in Latin America and the sources of poverty and inequality. He was a gifted and respected scholar, but after he began working with those carrying out an agrarian reform in Nicaragua after the Sandinista Revolution he became increasingly a scholar-activist, attempting to apply his understanding of social reality to bring about social change. Wright and his associates established the A. E. Havens Center as "a living memorial to the scholarly rigor and progressive political commitment that embodied Gene Havens' life and work" (Havens Center website).

Visiting Scholars and Activists Programs

The heart of the Havens Center has always been its Visiting Scholars Program, which has regularly brought four or five visiting scholars each semester to the campus. The original plan was to have each remain in residence for two weeks, but busy scholars find it difficult to get away for that length of time, and now they ordinarily come for one week, delivering two lectures, meeting with a seminar, and having conferences with individual students and faculty. In the early years many of the scholars invited to visit were from Europe, partly because many of the most eminent persons in critical sociology were European and partly because there would ordinarily be less opportunity to interact with scholars from overseas. In more recent times there have been fewer Europeans and more Americans, and there have been more representatives of minority groups and scholars studying developing nations. A small sampling of Visiting Scholars who have spent one or more weeks at the Havens Center includes such notables as Michael Mann,

Claus Offe, Theda Skocpol, Goran Therborn, Heidi Hartman, John Roemer, Harriet Friedmann, Saskia Sassen, Tom Hayden, Ruth Milkman, Maurice Zeitlin, Medea Benjamin, Bruce Cummings, Frances Fox Piven, Maria Patricia Fernández-Kelly, Barbara Ehrenreich, Michael Burawoy, David Harvey, Tom Hayden, Gar Alperovitz, and David Meggyesy.

Erik Wright has served as Director of the Center since the beginning. Because the Center's management is a very complex operation, it also has an Administrative Director—a position filled originally by Allan Hunter and by Patrick Barrett in recent years. Wright says that Barrett is really Co-Director. There is also a Steering Committee, currently consisting of seven faculty from the two sociology departments and fourteen from other social science departments. In addition, students who participate in Havens Center programs are also active participants in its governance. The Havens Center selects which Visiting Scholars to invite in brainstorming meetings at which any of the Havens Center participants may suggest names, and later in a selection meeting at which graduate students may vote. If a group of graduate students requests a particular visitor, the Center usually accepts the suggestion. Also if two faculty members in different departments organize a joint seminar, they may request a set of visitors to participate in the seminar. Ten or so seminars have been supplemented thus far.

Occasional social activists have been included among the Havens Center visitors, but for the most part the visitors have been scholars and writers. In the Spring of 2015, however, the Havens Center inaugurated an Activist in Residence Writing Fellowship which will bring two activists to the campus each year for three months each. It is designed to give activists the opportunity to escape from their usual hectic round of activity and have a period when they can reflect and carry out a writing project that they have wanted to do. It is funded by a generous continuing grant from Tom and Paul Link, and includes housing for the fellows in the lovely house in University Highlands that Karl Paul Link built in 1933. Link, the discoverer of dicoumarol and co-developer of its analogs, warfarin and warfarin sodium, and his wife Elizabeth were progressive forces in civic affairs and among the foremost benefactors of the university. The first Activist in Residence Fellow was Bill Gallegos, an environmental justice activist from California, who used the time to write a report on a successful struggle against Chevron in Richmond, California. The second fellow was not only an activist but a noted scholar and writer—Walden Bello. Bello received a PhD in sociology from Princeton in 1975 and is currently a professor at the University of the Philippines-Diliman. He is a recipient of The Right Livelihood Award, sometimes described as the "alternative Nobel Prize," given annually in Sweden to honor and support those "offering practical and exemplary answers to the most urgent challenges facing us today." His many books present a radical critique of the

current neoliberal program of economic globalization. He was elected to the Philippines House of Representatives in 2009 with the Akbayan Party, but he resigned in March, 2015, because of disagreements with President Benigno Aquino over needed reforms. He wanted to write about his experience.

Other Havens Center Activities

Starting in 2004 the Havens Center started giving an Award for Lifetime Contributions to Critical Scholarship. Recipients through 2014 have been Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, Frances Fox Piven, Eduardo Galeano, and Barbara Ehrenreich.

Beginning also in 2010 the Havens Center has sponsored an annual film series, "Social Cinema: Stories of Struggle and Change." Each film deals with a contemporary social topic from a critical perspective, and there is a discussion of the issues portrayed after each showing. The series is organized with the collaboration of the Wisconsin Union Directorate Film Committee and the films are shown in a theater in Union South. The series is made possible by a grant from the Evjue Foundation.



BARBARA EHRENREICH RECEIVES AWARD FOR LIFETIME CONTRIBUTION TO CRITICAL SCHOLARSHIP, OCT. 22, 2014
(L TO R) MATTHEW ROTHSCHILD, SENIOR EDITOR OF *THE PROGRESSIVE*; ERIK OLIN WRIGHT; BARBARA EHRENREICH (PHOTO BY R. MIDDLETON)

A major activity of the Havens Center has been the sponsorship of conferences that bring scholars together to explore a particular topic. They are held on an irregular schedule, but on average there are two conferences a year, many resulting in published books. A prime example is the conference organized by Patrick Barrett in 2004 on "The New Latin American Left," bringing together leftist leaders from a number of Latin American countries

who had never met each other before. Discussions focused on Brazil, Venezuela, Bolivia, Uruguay, El Salvador, Colombia, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Nicaragua. They had a very productive session discussing common and individual problems that they faced, and the conference resulted in a published volume edited by Patrick Barrett, Daniel Chavez, and César Rodríguez-Garavito (2008). Other notable conferences have included "Papers Honoring William Appleman Williams," "A Future for Socialism," "National Media Reform," "Privatization of Security and Human Rights in the Americas," "Local Democracy," "Renewing Radical Scholarship," and, in honor of Stephen G. Bunker, "Nature, Raw Materials, and Political Economy."

In 1983 the Havens Center inaugurated an annual weekend gathering of grassroots organizations, community activists, workers, educators, students, artists, and others committed to making a better and more just world. It was originally called the Midwest Radical Scholars and Activists Conference and met at UW-Madison's residential Upham Woods Outdoor Learning Center on the Wisconsin River, two miles north of Wisconsin Dells. It underwent a name change to RadFest in the late 1990s and to Midwest Social Forum intermittently after 2003 in keeping with the world social forum movement. When attendance outgrew the facilities at Upham Woods, the conference was moved to the George Williams College Conference Center at Williams Bay across from Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, and attracted more than 400 participants. When the Midwest Social Forum was held in Milwaukee one year there were 1200 in attendance, and the size of the conference greatly strained the administrative resources of the Havens Center. Since then the conference has been cut back. In June, 2015, it was renamed again as Forward 2015 and held at Upham Woods. There were seventy-five in attendance, about half university and half community people. There were also thirteen children participating in a children's program.

Real Utopias Project

In 1992 Erik Wright launched his Real Utopias Project, which has been the main organizing framework for his interests and work ever since. It is a collaborative endeavor in which a varying collection of scholars explore a wide range of proposals and models for radical social change. The idea is not just to envision ideal systems but to wrestle with the pragmatic problems that must be faced in trying to bring them about. At irregular intervals a Real Utopias conference is held sponsored by the Havens Center that is centered around a provocative and innovative manuscript dealing with some important issue in radical social change. A group of scholars from around the world is then invited to write responses engaging the ideas in the original paper, and then all the essays are circulated to the conference invitees. At

the conference the ideas in the essays are discussed, and afterwards all the authors revise their papers in the light of the discussions. The collected papers are then published by Verso Publishers in London. Between 1995 and 2009 six Real Utopias volumes have been published on the following topics:

- Associations and Democracy
- Equal Shares: Making Market Socialism Work
- Recasting Egalitarianism: New Rules for Accountability and Equity in Markets, States and Communities
- Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance
- Redesigning Distribution: Basic Income and Stakeholder Grants as Cornerstones of a More Egalitarian Capitalism
- Gender Equality: Transforming Family Divisions of Labor

In addition, Wright published *Envisioning Real Utopias* in 2010, which is not a part of the Real Utopias conference series. As of 2015, four additional conferences and volumes are in various stages of development: "Democratizing Finance," "Pathways to a Cooperative Market Economy," "The Collaborative Commons," and "Revitalizing Representative Democracy."

When Wright served as President of the American Sociological Association in 2012, he selected as the theme of the conference "Real Utopias: Emancipatory Projects, Institutional Designs, Possible Futures." Three plenary sessions and numerous thematic panels were organized around the theme. He explained the intention of the theme in the following words:

> The expression "Real Utopias" is, of course, an oxymoron. Utopia means "nowhere"—a fantasy world of perfect harmony and social justice. When politicians want to summarily dismiss a proposal for social transformation as an impractical dream outside the limits of possibility, they call it "utopian." Realists reject such fantasies as a distraction from the serious business of making practical improvements in existing institutions. The idea of real utopias embraces this tension between dreams and practice: "utopia" implies developing visions of alternatives to existing institutions that embody our deepest aspirations for a world in which all people have access to the conditions to live flourishing lives, "real" means taking seriously the problem of the viability of the institutions that could move us in the direction of that world. The goal is to elaborate utopian ideals that are grounded in the real potentials of humanity, utopian destinations that have accessible way stations, utopian designs of viable institutions that can inform our practical tasks of navigating a world of imperfect conditions for social change (Wright, 2011).

When I asked Wright if the Real Utopias Project has an ending point, he laughed and said that he expected to continue it to the end of his career.

COWS, Economic Sociology, and New Parties

The COWS Center

A unique component of the Department of Sociology since the early 1990s is the organization now known simply as COWS. It is a center for academic research on the American economy and plays a central role in the department's training program in economic sociology—but it is much more than this. It is a concrete manifestation of "The Wisconsin Idea" that the university should play a direct role in improving the lives of people beyond the classroom. It has sought to foster collaborative projects among business, government, labor, and communities. Above all it seeks to encourage innovative programs to promote the "high road" to economic development rather than the "low road race-to-the-bottom" approach that has characterized so much of economic change in recent decades. Thus, it engages in academic research and attempts to translate innovative ideas into action through extension type activities. The center has won wide respect both in academic circles and with business, labor, government, and community leaders, and it has received funding from many of the nation's leading foundations.

Joel Rogers and Wolfgang Streeck developed detailed plans for the COWS organization in 1990 and requested official recognition as a Center. The Vice President for Academic Affairs, Albert J. Beaver, thought that the activities could be carried out within the existing department structure and that center status was not necessary, but Madison Vice Chancellor David Ward approved the request for center status. By 1991 COWS was a fully functioning official Center on the Madison campus.

When the new center was being planned, Rogers was asked what it would be called, and on the spur of the moment he flippantly suggested that they call it COWS. As in the case of so many catchy acronymns, it was then necessary to find appropriate underlying words. They came up with Center on Wisconsin Strategy, and both name and acronym stuck for more than two decades. Though some might have thought the name risible, virtually everyone recognized COWS' seriousness of purpose. The inclusion of Wisconsin in the name was important for early fund raising, but it eventually became problematic, since COWS was soon operating on a national level, and its programs were not limited to the state of Wisconsin. Finally, Rogers and the COWS staff decided just to drop the underlying name, and the unit is now known simply as COWS.

Joel Rogers and Wolfgang Streeck: Founders

Joel Rogers grew up in Middletown, New Jersey, in an Irish Catholic family. He breezed through Yale College in two years with a Summa Cum Laude B.A. in 1972 with a triple major in economics, philosophy, and political science. He went on to earn a J.D. at Yale Law School in 1976, and then studied philosophy at Universität Heidelberg in 1976-77. He then entered the graduate program at Princeton University's Department of Politics and earned an M.A. in 1978 and a PhD in 1984. After that he taught political science, law, and management at Rutgers University-Newark and then as an Associate Professor of Law at the University of Miami.

In 1986 the UW-Madison Law School was interested in recruiting Rogers, but they had no money for a senior position at that time, so they sounded out social science departments to see if any of them would be interested in making a joint appointment. Rogers' degrees were in political science and law. Charles Camic was the only Wisconsin sociologist who was familiar with Rogers' writings, but he spoke highly of his work in political economy. Though Rogers had never taken a sociology course in college, we did not consider that an insuperable obstacle. Three of the founding fathers of sociology at Wisconsin—Richard T. Ely, E. A. Ross, and C. J. Galpin—had never had any formal training in sociology either. After taking a closer look at Rogers' writings and getting to know him, the Sociology Department Executive Committee voted to offer him an appointment as Associate Professor, joint with the Law School. Letters and Science Dean E. David Cronon, however, vetoed the proposed offer. This was a great surprise to us, for the L&S deans almost always accepted our recommendations, assuming that we must know what we are doing in becoming the university's only department ranked number one in its field. Cronon's reasons never became clear, but he may have felt it was inappropriate to compete with a law school salary, particularly for someone who had no formal training in our discipline. He relented in 1987 and said that we could make the appointment if the offer were reduced to an assistant professorship without tenure and at a salary $10,000 less than we had proposed. We assumed that this would almost certainly kill the deal, since Rogers was already an associate professor with tenure at Miami and had a substantially higher salary than we were authorized to offer. I imagine Cronon thought so too. We embarrassedly reported Cronon's conditions to Rogers. In the meantime, the Law School Dean at Miami made a retention offer of a Full Professorship at a salary about three times as great as what we were offering.

To our great surprise and intense pleasure, Rogers threw caution to the wind and decided to take our offer. He was confident that his new colleagues would treat him fairly in the future. In September, 1987, he and his wife

moved to Madison and he became Assistant Professor of Law and Sociology. Rogers had spent a few weeks at the UW-Madison campus in a short-course program a few years before, and he had fallen in love with the university and the community. He felt that this was the kind of environment in which he wanted to pursue his life's work. The year after arriving Rogers was quickly promoted to Associate Professor of Law and Sociology and in 1990 to Professor of Law and Sociology. In the next few years he acquired additional affiliations and today is the Sewell-Bascom Professor of Law, Political Science, Public Affairs, and Sociology at UW-Madison. In addition, he is Director of COWS, which is a major administrative post.

Rogers has been enormously productive, publishing scholarly research while at the same time becoming one of the nation's leading public intellectuals, with a sustained flow of newspaper and magazine articles and lectures addressed to the general public. He has been a Contributing Editor to *The Nation* since 1985, an Editorial Board Member of the *Boston Review*, a Senior Non-Resident Fellow at the Brookings Institution since 2008, and an active member of numerous other public service organizations, including the Apollo Alliance, the Center for Popular Democracy, the Economic Analysis Research Network, the Emerald Cities Colllaborative, the Industry Studies Association, the Institute for Labor and Employment, and Wissenschafts-zentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung. He is the author, coauthor, or editor of 29 books, 183 articles, book chapters, or monographs, 13 book reviews, and 637 talks and unpublished papers. In addition, in 2002 he wrote 67 "Sustaining Wisconsin" columns for COWS discussing public issues that were published in *The Capital Times* and frequently republished in other newspapers around the state.



JOEL ROGERS, 2016
(R. MIDDLETON)



WOLFGANG STREECK, 2015
(BY MARIA CAMILA ROMERO.
HTTP://WWW.MPIFG.DE/PEOPLE/WS/
FORSCHUNG_EN.ASP) [CC BY-SA 4.0]

Wolfgang Streeck arrived the same year as Rogers, and the two, who had similar interests in economic sociology and political economy, quickly formed a working partnership. Streeck had studied sociology at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main and did graduate work in sociology at Columbia University between 1972 and 1974. He was an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster and finished his habilitation in sociology at Universität Bielefeld in 1986. In 1987 he came to the University of Wisconsin-Madison as Professor of Sociology and Industrial Relations.

Rogers and Streeck acted as co-Directors of COWS in its early years. They supervised graduate students together, conducted joint research studies, and gave testimony to public bodies. After a time, however, Streeck became somewhat less involved with COWS as concern with issues in Germany began to take up more of his time. In 1993 he went on leave for one year to the Wissenschaftskolleg (Institute for Advanced Study) in Berlin. While he was in Berlin he was contacted by the Max Planck Society to consider becomng Director of the Max Planck Institute in Cologne, to start in May, 1995. He returned to Madison for one year but then took the post of Director at the Max Planck Society in 1995. He also served as Professor of Sociology at the Universität zu Köln. In 2014 he retired from his Directorship and is now Emeritus Director of the Max Planck Institute.

New Parties

By the time Rogers had joined the faculty at Wisconsin, he had grown quite dissatisfied with the progressive movement. Progressive thinkers and scholars were concentrating on the diagnosis of the political, economic, and social ills of the nation, but they were really doing little in devising new strategies to gain political influence and power to attack these problems. Progressives were organizationally and ideologically fragmented and characterized by weakness. Rogers believed that the progressive movement could be reinvigorated through the founding of a new political party that had a broadly appealing progressive political agenda and found some way to avoid the "wasted vote" dilemma—putting up candidates who had no realistic chance of winning a majority. Rogers had become acquainted with Daniel Cantor, the head of a small foundation in New York. Cantor was an activist who had previously been a labor organizer, a community organizer, and the Labor Coordinator for Jesse Jackson's 1988 Presidential campaign. Rogers and Cantor began to have conversations about the possibility of organizing a new political party that had a progressive agenda and was not tainted with corruption. Rogers was acquainted with political history in the late nineteeth century when many third parties were thriving. He knew that

their success was in large part due to the employment of the fusion voting political tactic that was once common but had been suppressed a century ago in most states. By nominating the same candidate as one of the major parties—usually the Democratic Party—they were able to exercise a balance of power and gradually build their influence and support. They were also both familiar with the political scene in New York, one of the handful of states where fusion voting was still legal. New York's Liberal Party, founded in 1944, had enjoyed some success primarily with cross endorsements and fusion voting, but it had compromised its liberal principles and was widely thought to be corrupt and nepotistic.

Rogers and Cantor wanted to start a fresh new progressive party from the ground up and founded the New Party in 1992. Rather than working within the Democratic Party to move it in a progressive direction, they proposed to maintain an independent party organization that would employ the old devise of fusion politics for the most part. They hoped to avoid the fatal problem of the "wasted vote," that had thwarted all third-party movements in recent decades. Rogers explained the tactic this way:

> The New Party['s] . . . general solution is only to run its own candidates for office on its ballot line where they have a serious chance of winning. Where they don't, it generally does nothing, or informally endorses the better of the major candidates, or, where the law permits, formally endorses the major party candidate (the candidate willing, of course) on its own ballot line. At this early stage in the party's development, thus taking the wasted-vote problem seriously drives our independent efforts down to the local level. We are not running people for President or Senator—at least not yet!—but for city councils, county boards, water commissioner, school boards, the occasional state assembly seat. Only after having established ourselves at this local level will we try to move up the electoral greasy pole (Rogers, 1995, p. 28).

Electoral fusion was a common practice in the Midwest and West in the last quarter of the 19th century, when neither the hitherto dominant Republican Party nor the Democratic Party regularly commanded a majority vote. Minor parties, such as the Grangers, Greenbackers, Prohibitionists, Free Soilers, and Populists usually received about 20 percent of the vote, so one of the major parties (usually the Democrats) would often seek to establish an alliance with a minor party by arranging for each to nominate the same "fusion" candidate. Nearly every election included full or partial fusion. This clearly gave minor parties greater influence, even if the fusion candidate was not from their party, for the major party would have to make concessions

to the minor party to receive its help. By the 1890s, however, the Republican Party sought to reestablish its hegemony by getting state legislatures to outlaw electoral fusion under the pretense of reducing electoral corruption and confusion. In Michigan, where fusion voting was most common, the Republican dominated legislature attempted to outlaw fusion in 1893. A Republican legislator candidly admitted

> We don't propose to allow the Democrats to make allies of the Populists, Prohibitionists, or any other party, and get up combination tickets against us. We can whip them single-handed, but don't intend to fight all creation (Argersinger, 1980, p. 296).

The attempt failed at first but was successful in 1895. Some judges denounced the action as "unconstitutional" and "revolutionary," but the state Supreme Court upheld the measure, with the four Republican justices in the affirmative and the single Democrat in dissent. By 1907 17 other states also adopted anti-fusion laws, and today fusion is legal in only a few states: Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Mississippi, New York, Oregon, South Carolina, and Vermont. Fusion politics, however, was commonly practiced only in New York at the time when the New Party was founded.

The New Party issued a statement of principles that emphasized a broad spectrum of long-held progressive goals, including political reform with full public financing of elections, universal voter registration, and proportional representation; the establishment and defense of worker, consumer, shareholder, and taxpayer rights; the creation of a sustainable economy that conserves the earth's resources; full employment with a guaranteed minimum income and basic benefits such as health care, child care, vacation time, and access to education; a truly progressive tax system; democratization of the banking system; a reduction in military spending and an end to unilateral military interventions; an end to discrimination based on race, gender, age, country of origin, and sexual orientation; and the rebuilding of our cities. Most of all, it called for a "democratic revolution"—giving power to the people to rule themselves:

> Democracy in America does not work today. The people do not rule. And they must, if we and our children are to lead lives of dignity, decency, and enjoyment. . . . We are saddened and outraged by the present corruption of our public institutions; the deliberate weakening of unions and other popular democratic organizations; the stupid and cruel economic policies that are destroying our cities and communities, increasing inequality, lowering living standards, and wrecking the earth; the special burdens this society still places on women, people of color, and

children; the violence it can inflict on the rest of the world ("New Party Principles," n.d.).

Though its preferred tactic of fusion politics was not available in most states, the New Party began to offer its own candidates for local offices in several states and to give endorsements to some liberal candidates from other parties in other races—e.g., Barack Obama, the Democratic candidate running for the Illinois Senate in 1996. In 1994, however, Rogers decided to challenge the constitutionality of anti-fusion election laws, since they appeared to be in flagrant violation of the party's free speech and associational rights under the First Amendment. The New Party organization in Minnesota attempted to name Minnesota State Representative Andy Dawkins as their candidate in the November general election, even though he also won the Democratic Farmer-Labor party primary for the office. Neither Dawkins nor the DFL Party objected, but the state election authorities refused to accept the New Party's nominating petition. Under Rogers' direction the Twin Cities Area New Party brought suit against Minnesota election authorities. The District Court decided against the plaintiffs in 1994, but the Court of Appeals in St. Louis voted unanimously to reverse the decision in 1996, ruling that the ban was unconstitutional and that it "unquestionably" and "severely" burdened the New Party's "freedom to select a standard bearer who best represents the party's ideologies and preferences" and its right to "broaden the base of public participation in and support for [its] activities."

Minnesota appealed the Appeals Court's decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. Joel Rogers prepared the New Party's brief, and the New Party received support from the Republican National Committee, the Liberal and Conservative Parties in New York, and the Reform Party founded by Ross Perot. In December, 1976, the Supreme Court heard oral arguments. Justice Stephen Breyer conceded that anti-fusion laws were designed to hamper minor political parties and that they had achieved that purpose, but he asked how anti-fusion laws differed from other election laws, such as those mandating single-member districts and winner-take-all elections, which also imposed burdens on minor parties but which the Court had always accepted as being within the province of state regulation. Justice Scalia also offered a comment that suggested his agreement. Lawrence H. Tribe, the attorney representing the New Party, did not have a good answer prepared, and the question was left hanging. Joshua Cohen and Laurence Gold (with Joel Rogers as a silent author) quickly prepared an adequate answer that they published a month later in *Legal Times*, but it was too late to get their arguments before the Justices Their main point was that the anti-fusion laws were designed not to favor a two-party system in general but to favor two specific existing dominant parties, Overturning fusion bans ". . . would

simply reaffirm insight that the Constitution prevents the existing major parties from exploiting their dominance to engineer rules that prevent the emergence of rivals or replacements to themselves" (Cohen and Gold, 1997, pp. 24, 27).

On April 28, 1997, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the Court of Appeals and upheld the constitutionality of the Minnesota law by a vote of 6 to 3, with justices Rehnquist, O'Connor, Scalia, Kennedy, Thomas, and Breyer affirming and justices Stevens, Ginsburg, and Souter dissenting (Timmons *et al.* v. Twin Cities Area New Party, No. 95-1608, decided April 28, 1997). Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, in the majority opinion, wrote that "the Constitution permits the Minnesota Legislature to decide that political stability is best served through a healthy two-party system." In his dissent Justice John Paul Stevens charged that the majority was unduly interested in protecting the two-party system and failed to recognize that the effect of fusion tickets was to encourage coalition-building rather than the creation of factionalism.

Even without the advantage of fusion voting in most areas, the New Party enjoyed considerable success in its first years. By 1997 it had fielded 139 candidates for local and state offices in a number of states, including Wisconsin, Montana, Illinois, Maryland, Arkansas, Missouri, New York, and Minnesota. It won a very impressive 94 of the races—67 percent. They had working majorities in the city council of Missoula, Montana, and the county board in Milwaukee. They won elections as school board members, city council members, water commissioners, and state representatives in several states (Walljasper,1996). The 1997 U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the legality of Minnesota's ban on fusion voting, however, proved a crippling blow for the New Party, for it closed off the most promising avenue to the party's achieving significant influence. It quickly declined, and several chapters disaffiliated. By the following year it became inactive, and perhaps the only remaining chapter that remained a viable political force was the one in Madison and Dane County, Wisconsin, known as Progressive Dane.

Daniel Cantor, the co-founder of the New Party, went on to found another progressive party, the Working Families Party, in the state of New York in 1998. The WFP's approach was very similar to that of the New Party, but it was originally centered in New York and was able to take advantage of the fusion strategy—a practice that was quite familiar and accepted by New York voters. In its first six years it backed some 1,400 candidates who appeared on its ballot line, and about half of them won. Most of those they backed were Democrats, but a few were Republicans, and some were stand-alone WFP candidates when neither major party candidate appealed to WFP members. According to Cantor, about 15 percent of the vote in the New York City Council races was on their line, and the WFP vote proved to

be the margin of victory for races in a number of New York counties (Cantor, 2004). The WFP played a significant role in electing Bill de Blasio as Mayor of New York City, and its 26,308 votes provided the margin for Dan Malloy's victory as Governor of Connecticut in 2010. Today the WFP has active chapters in Connecticut, Oregon, New Jersey, Maryland, Washington D.C., Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, Nevada, and Illinois, as well as New York. In 2015 the New York WFP ran 111 of its own candidates for local offices and won 71 of the races—64 percent ("Working Families Party," n.d.). The ideas represented by the New Party are still alive.

In 1997 *Newsweek* announced its "Century Club"—the top 100 Americans "whose creativity or talent or brains or leadership will make a difference in the new century." Joel Rogers was included in the list with the comment, "While Ross Perot's party has flopped, Rogers's populist-progressive New Party is winning elections—120 of the 185 local and regional races entered" ("The Century Club,' *Newsweek,* April 20, 1997). Ironically, *Newsweek*'s prediction was made only eight days before the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the legality of state anti-fusion laws, leading to the death of the party the following year. An examination of the Century Club list twenty years later suggests that a substantial number of those listed appear already to have become pass*é* and have lost most of their prominence and influence. Rogers was, however, probably a good choice, for he has become one of the nation's leading public intellectuals—perhaps less because of his work for the New Party than for his writings and his many innovative and influential projects associated with the University of Wisconsin's COWS Center. His influence in the century is not likely to be so short-lived.

Relitigating the Ban on Fusion Voting

In 2016 Joel Rogers and Dan Cantor decided that after twenty years, it was time to relitigate the ban on fusion party voting, this time on behalf of the Working Families Party in Pennsylvania. The free speech rights guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution provides the clearest and most obvious grounds for declaring the ban unconstitutional, but this argument was rejected by the Supreme Court in the Timmons case. It took the tortured reasoning of Justice Rehnquist to find a way to ignore the clear meaning of the First Amendment. Rogers remarked,

> It might be a miracle, who knows. . . .I might be in front of the Supreme Court with Sotomayor and Kagan instead of Scalia and Rehnquist and a bunch of other really reactionary types, and they'll say yeah, of course, this is obvious, we should have decided [the previous case] differently (Schuyler, 2016).

This time Rogers decided to appeal on the basis of the free speech and associational rights in Article 1, Sections 5, 7, and 20 of the Pennsylvania Constitution and the equal protection of the laws section of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Christopher M. Rabb was nominated by the Democratic Party to be a Representative from the 200th Legislative District in Pennsylvania. With his agreement the Working Families Party also sought to nominate him to appear on their own ballot line, and they presented more than twice the required number of signatures of district residents to accompany the nomination form. Rabb scratched out the provision on the nomination form prohibiting his being nominated by a second party and also wrote in that he "struck out certain parts based on my honest and sincere belief that they are violative of the Pennsylvania and U.S. constitutions." The commissioner refused to accept the nomination form because "the candidate altered the form of the statutory candidate affidavit."

The Working Families Party brought suit in the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania. In the Memorandum of Law that they submitted, Jordan B. Yeager, Steven D. Masters, and Joel E. Rogers developed an argument based on free speech and associational rights guaranteed by the Pennsylvania Constitution, since use of the First Amendment in the U.S. Constitution had been rejected in the earlier Timmons case. They also presented evidence of unequal treatment of different political parties by the Pennsylvania legislators, and argued that their actions represented self-dealing and conflict of interest, thus requiring strict scrutiny. Finally, they argued that the ban on fusion voting by minor parties was a violation of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, an argument that had not been used in the Timmons case. Oral arguments on the case were heard in December, 2016, but there has been no decision as of June, 2017. The Working Families Party intends to bring similar suits in other states with anti-fusion laws, whether or not the Pennsylvania case works its way up to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Founding and Growth of COWS

Rogers and Streeck founded COWS as a "national think-and-do tank that promotes high end solutions to social problems," in contrast to a low-road race-to-the-bottom in a hyper-competitive economic environment that sacrifices the welfare of workers by lowering wages and benefits and ignoring workplace violations of standards. In the COWS website Rogers wrote,

> Since our founding in 1991, COWS has promoted "high road" solutions to social problems. These treat fairness and equal opportunity, environmental sustainability, and strong and resilient democratic institutions

> as necessary and achievable complements in human developments, not tragic tradeoffs. . . . We work primarily in the areas of work organization and human capital systems, clean energy, transportation, and government performance. We develop ideas for advancing the high road, test them in practice, and evaluate results. We propagate high-road innovations through technical assistance, public outreach, and the policy learning networks we run for state and local government executives. COWS is nonpartisan but unapologetic about our values. We want a world of equal freedom and opportunity, learning, and security—for all. We appreciate the distance of this desired world from our present one, but are confident of its achievability.

As early as February, 1990 Rogers and Streeck sought some funding support for COWS from the Robert M. La Follette Institute of Public Affairs, since COWS' purpose seemed to fit naturally within the mission statement of the Institute. The Director, however, was only mildly interested and provided no aid. In spite of this early rebuff, Rogers proved to be a masterful fund-raiser for the new organization and was very successful in securing grants from private foundations and government agencies. During the first four years after COWS was founded, Rogers secured about $1.5 million in grants.

In 1996 Rogers' work received a considerable boost when he was named a MacArthur Fellow for that year. The MacArthur Foundation Fellows Program awards "unrestricted fellowships to talented individuals who have shown extraordinary originality and dedication in their creative pursuits and a marked capacity for self-direction." The fellowships are awarded directly to individuals, not through institutions, and carry a stipend of $625,000 payable in equal quarterly installments over five years. This is a "no strings attached" award in support of a person, not for a specific project, and it is intended to encourage persons of outstanding talent to pursue their own creative, intellectual, and professional inclinations ("MacArthur Fellows Program," n.d.).

The fellowship program began in 1981 and was quickly dubbed the "Genius Grant" by the media. This, of course, is a misnomer or misrepresentation, for being "profoundly gifted" in intelligence is not a basis for selection. The Foundation itself says, "We avoid using the term "genius" to describe MacArthur Fellows because it connotes a singular characteristic of intellectual prowess. The people we seek to support express many other important qualities: ability to transcend traditional boundaries, willingness to take risks, persistence in the face of personal and conceptual obstacles, capacity to synthesize disparate ideas and approaches." Rogers modestly told *Wisconsin Update* that his selection "just goes to show that you don't have to

be a genius to get a MacArthur" (July, 1995). Nevertheless, his colleagues have been in awe of the flood of creative ideas, innovative projects, indefatigable industry, and intellectual brilliance emanating from Rogers and his staff at COWS over the years. That is much better than just being a "genius," though it does not exclude being one. The influx of money from the MacArthur Foundation provided support for Rogers' many projects, but perhaps more important was the prestige that came from being an award recipient, since it probably aided fund-raising for COWS.

Rogers' innovative and practical ideas were just what many foundations were looking for, and fund raising for COWS shifted into high gear in subsequent years. COWS projects have been handsomely funded. From COWS founding in 1991 to 2012, Rogers secured more than $26 million in grants. Major donors over the years, each granting from $1 to $4.5 million, have been the Hilldale Trust, the Ford Foundation, the Nathan Cummings Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Joyce Foundation, the U.S. Department of Transportation, and the Surdna Foundation. A wide variety of other foundations and organizations have also made substantial grants, including the Russell Sage Foundation, the Barr Foundation, the Baldwin Endowment, the Energy Foundation, REAMP, the Energy Center of Wisconsin, Living Cities, the Open Society Institute, the Carnegie Corporation, the Wallace Global Fund, the Institute for America's Future, the Workforce Development Board of South Central Wisconsin, the U.S. Department of Labor, the Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor, and Human Relations, the Sloan Foundation, and the Evjue Foundation.

The success of COWS in gaining such widespread support from private foundations is in startling contrast with the University of Wisconsin's often difficult relations with the private foundations from the 1920s to the 1960s. The Regents' ban on the acceptance of any grant from a private endowment (particularly Rockefeller or Carnegie money) lasted only from 1925 to 1930, but this action continued to affect the ways the private foundations viewed the university. Then there was a period in the 1950s when the foundations began to emphasize interdisciplinary work in their grants, but the University of Wisconsin had not developed formalized interdisciplinary programs and had no research units with a specific interdisciplinary focus. William H. Sewell labored to create interdisciplinary research programs in the social sciences, but the efforts were repeatedly rebuffed by the Ford and other foundations, while many universities with less strong social science programs were funded. One of the few exceptions was the Russell Sage Foundation, which gave start-up funds for a new interdisciplinary law and society program.

The success of COWS in fund raising is no doubt partly due to changes in the general intellectual environment and the expanding social and

economic role of universities. A major factor, though, is that COWS is dedicated to applied research, finding practical solutions to societal problems, and in testing innovative ideas to determine their feasibility. Its approach is encapsulated in Roger's characterization of COWS as a "think-and-do" organization. Private foundations have for the most part always had an applied approach seeking to have a social impact that would make the world a better place. They have thus tended to support applied research rather than basic research that may extend our knowledge but not have any immediate application. Most government agencies also usually support research of an applied nature. Even the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities now require applicants to address the question of how the project would affect the broader society. Because of its explicit applied purpose, COWS has been able to get a substantial amount of funding from government agencies as well as from private foundations.

Rogers has played such a prominent role as a public intellectual and innovative leader that he has attracted a lot of public attention. He has been praised by many representing a broad spectrum of opinion, including not only academics but business and labor leaders; municipal, state, and national political leaders; and government officials at all levels. Of course, his work has also brought attacks from the extreme right, which depict him as a dangerous socialist who is using stealth methods to overturn the current political system. There are constant negative attacks by such ultraconservative writers and media personalities as Glenn Beck, Charles J. Sykes, and Stanley Kurtz. The attacks from the right are reminiscent of those directed against E. A. Ross and Maurice Zeitlin in earlier eras.

The efforts of conservative critics to brand Rogers as some kind of dangerous subversive radical have not been effective, for they are disarmed whenever they examine the nature of the projects that COWS has undertaken. Rogers and COWS have never hidden their value commitments or their objectives, but to most people their projects appear not as ideological but rather as pragmatic, sensible, practical ways to solve important problems. It is no accident that many business and conservative political leaders as well as labor and liberal political leaders have supported COWS initiatives. COWS has undertaken a great variety of projects since its founding and they may seem eclectic, but they all have a common theme of seeking "high road" solutions to societal problems. Rogers expressed it this way on the COWS website"

> ***"Reduce waste, add value, capture and share the benefits of doing both, repeat"*** is the high-roader's basic mantra, with clear imperatives for action. Start now to reduce the fantastic waste in your systems of developing skills, organizing work, producing things, and

moving people and goods. Start now to map your regional economy to locate areas of potential competitive advantage, and develop those areas with the aid of more efficiently organized places. Start now to improve the adaptive and learning capacities and power of your democratic institutions, recognizing them not only as a force for representation and justice, but also wealth generation. This commitment to building the high road now gives coherence to what may seem disparate COWS' activities – from designing an "on-bill" financing program for improving building energy efficiency; to producing reliable analysis of Wisconsin's workforce and economy; to convening and helping governors, mayors, and transportation officials interested in pursuing a high-road strategy in their states and cities.

COWS projects have been possible only because of the generous funding by foundations and agencies. Virtually all of the money received was expended on salaries for professional staff, post-docs, consultants, and undergraduate research assistants in Madison, who have carried out the work on the projects. Since its founding, there have been 80 professional staff, including Joel Rogers as Director, and Laura Dresser, the current Associate Director; two post-docs, fourteen consultants, and 65 graduate student research assistants. Aside from Rogers, the longest serving staff member is Michelle V. Bright, the Administrative Program Specialist. Others among the staff have served as outreach specialists, associate researchers, senior associates, and senior administrative program specialists. All have made significant contributions to COWS.

COWS Projects

Here is a sampling of COWS' many projects and activities:

- **Jobs and Skills Programs**. Every other year COWS compiles a report, *The State of Working Wisconsin*, that reviews the status of jobs, wages, poverty, income, and job quality. Every month it also releases *Job Watch Wisconsin* that provides a snapshot of the state job picture and analyzes key recession trends. These and other reports issued on Wisconsin employment alert political officials to emerging problems and are often utilized in newspaper features on the state economy.
- **Energy Programs**. COWS is working with the Efficiency Cities Network, an informal policy learning network of government staff, researchers, technical assistance providers, and NGOs active in making efforts to develop high-road programs to improve the energy

efficiency of urban building stock. Over 1000 participants have been brought together to share best practices and program designs. COWS also hosts bi-weekly calls on energy conservation topics. COWS also co-founded the Emerald Cities Collaborative involving ten major cities in the U.S. that are working to create high-road energy efficiency programs. COWS has also formed a partnership with the Wisconsin Electrical Cooperative Association and three rural electrical cooperatives to design and pilot a finance program that will help coop members improve the energy efficiency of their buildings. COWS also consults widely with city and state officials and other NGOs to promote energy efficiency in public buildings.

- **Transportation**. COWS' State Smart Transportation Initiative links together CEOs in state Departments of Transportation who work together to develop "smart transportation" practices that "promote environmental sustainability and equitable economic development while maintaining high standards of governmental efficiency and transparency." At least nineteen states are participating so far, along with a number of NGOs and the Federal Highway Administration.
- **State and City Governance.** COWS consults with state, city, and metropolitan officials to share information about high-road policy approaches to dealing with problems, encouraging measures that promote shared prosperity, environmental sustainability, and efficient democratic government. There are special programs on energy and transportation, but COWS gives assistance on a range of other issues as well. It provides "cutting-edge thinking" and concrete examples for leaders to use. They have formed the Center for State Innovation to assist governors and other state officials. According to Rogers, "it provides evidence based, performance driven, and fiscally prudent progressive policy options in most areas of state policy [and] assistance in their implementation." The Mayors Innovation Project is a similar learning network of government staff, researchers, technical assistance providers and NGOs focused on urban problems and high-road approaches to their solution.
- **Greener Jobs**. COWS has emerged as a national thought leader on the subject of workforce development and the way it can be integrated into a new greener economy. They see clean energy, job quality, and equitable economic development as critical components of a high-road development of a green, environmentally sustainable economy. Its publications, *Greener Pathways, Greener Skills,* and *Greener Reality*, have been highly influential.

Traditionally applied and policy research have been devalued in the social sciences and many other academic fields, and most of the disciplinary leaders have been more theoretically oriented. COWS, however, shows that a respectable applied research organization can thrive in a university setting and command high respect within both the academic community and society at large.

Economic Sociology Training

With the arrival of Rogers and Streeck in the Department of Sociology in 1987 a vibrant training program in economic sociology began to develop. They taught a number of courses on political economy and industrial relations and began to attract a larger and larger following of graduate students. Many other faculty have also participated in the program, including the following current faculty members: Michael Bell, Joseph Conti, Ivan Ermakoff, Jason Fletcher, Robert Freeland, Gary Green, James Montgomery, Leann Tigges, Monica White, and Erik O. Wright. Because most of his time is now devoted to the COWS projects, Rogers now teaches only two courses a year—one in the Law School and one in Sociology. He and Erik O. Wright now co-teach a freshman course, "American Society: How It Really Works," complete with audio podcasts and Power Point slides for each class. They have also published a popular book with the same title based on the course. The course is essentially an introduction to the subject of economic sociology for undergraduates.

The department web site describes the graduate training program in these terms:

> The core problem of economic sociology is the way in which rational-individualistic-economic action is related to collective social commitments, norms and structures. This is explored from a variety of perspectives, employing both traditionally sociological and economic approaches. Particular attention is paid to analyses of the four main social structures and constructs in which economic action occurs: markets, contracts, "networks," and firms. The program includes general and conceptual as well as empirical approaches, and also covers policy-oriented material. As one of its central concerns, the program focuses on the institutional conditions of a virtuous development of advanced industrial economies.

A PhD Prelim Examination in economic sociology was added to Group I, the list of specializations that the department considers more general or central. A PhD student is required to pass two Group I exams or one Group I and one Group II exam. If a student wished to specialize very narrowly in

economic sociology, he could choose the economic sociology and economic change and development exams or he might choose the economic sociology and class analysis and historical change exams. A broader choice of areas of specialization, however, usually opens up more employment possibilities.

After COWS was founded and it began to receive substantial grants, money became available to support a growing number of graduate students as Research Assistants on COWS projects. Between 1991 and 2016 a total of at least 65 graduate students have been COWS research assistants, and many have used data from COWS projects for their M.S. theses and PhD dissertations. Along with the NIA, COWS has been one of the most important sources for graduate student support in sociology since the early 1990s.

CHAPTER 11

Selected Subject Areas—Gender, Race, and Sports

Gender Studies

Neglect of Women's Issues in a Patriarchal Society

In spite of a vigorous women's movement that developed in the 1960s and 1970s and that recaptured some of the spirit of the woman's suffrage movement of the 1920s, the UW Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology were very slow to respond to this new area of intense interest in either its research or teaching programs. There were no women on the faculty of the two departments at the beginning of this period and relatively few in the 1970s. Even through the 1980s there was no one who specialized in the sociology of gender. At best gender was a sub-topic in a variety of courses such as Social Stratification, Political Sociology, and Problems of American Minority Groups. Many of the women graduate students who had a strong interest in the subject felt frustrated at the lack of a senior faculty specialist in gender studies who could provide systematic instruction and research guidance in the area.

Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* came out in 1963 just as I arrived at the University of Wisconsin. I remember being greatly impressed with the book, and I started devoting a couple of periods in my introductory sociology classes to a class discussion of the issues it raised. The absence of any women faculty in Sociology or Rural Sociology and the meager numbers of women graduate students in sociology were, of course, clear evidence of the type of discrimination against women she discussed. Her arguments about the "feminine mystique" prompted me to do a little anonymous survey in the classes, and I found that the mystique was very much in evidence among many of the young Wisconsin women. A large percentage of the women students admitted to "playing dumb" on dates or trying not to beat their dates or boyfriends at ping pong or other games. That was more than fifty years ago, and I do not recall what the percentage was, but it was substantial—much higher than I would have guessed. The young men, with their male egos intact, seemed for the most part to be oblivious to the deception. There was also evidence of a

strong macho male culture centered around alcohol and guns. Reece McGee had just reported that in a series of surveys in his classes at the University of Texas about half of the male students admitted to keeping guns in their rooms while attending the university. About a quarter of the guns were pistols, obviously kept for use as weapons rather than for hunting purposes (McGee, 1963). I found that something similar was true at Wisconsin, though the percent who kept guns in their rooms was not as high as at Austin.

A few years later when my wife Beverly started organizing the first girls' youth soccer team in Madison, she ran up against women's physical education teachers in the middle schools who refused to spread the word about the team even after Beverly had secured the approval of their principals. [See details in the Sociology of Sport section of this chapter.] Some of the women physical education teachers believed that competitive sports were inappropriate for girls. Kit Saunders, the head of women's athletics at UW-Madison, confirmed to me that such feelings were still strong among professional girls' physical education teachers. We found, though, that middle school girls themselves welcomed the opportunity to play competitive sports and were enthusiastic participants.

As the modern feminist movement took off, more and more women university students at both the undergraduate and graduate levels wanted to take courses and do research in the gender and women's studies area. Many men also wanted to take gender related courses. The Wisconsin Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, however, were largely unresponsive. In hiring new assistant professors Sociology had a policy of recruiting the very best prospects available regardless of specialty area, but year after year passed without any person specializing in the sociology of gender being hired. It was not because there were no outstanding candidates in gender studies available. Neither was it because they lacked the sophisticated methodological skills that the department so highly valued, for many were excellent. Sewell and Hauser's Wisconsin Longitudinal Study and Bumpass and Sweet's National Survey of Families and Households generated very large data sets that were utilized for a large number of dissertations in gender studies, both at Wisconsin and at other universities, but none of the authors of these studies was hired by the department. New PhDs in gender studies were generally passed over by top ten departments and they generally ended up at second- and third-tier universities. Only gradually did some of them earn their way into leading departments after publishing outstanding research.

The petitioning of sociology graduate students—mostly women—led the department to initiate a search for a "feminist theorist" in the 1980s. The search was handicapped by strong disagreements among the graduate students and faculty concerning just what type of feminist theorist was wanted. Some were looking for a "radical feminist" scholar; others wanted an

eminent researcher within the mainstream sociological tradition. It is not unusual in a newly developing field for there to be disagreements over the theoretical direction in which the field should develop. Several candidates were discussed by the Executive Committee—at least one with a formal reading committee—but in the end no invitations to interview were issued, and no senior person in the gender area was hired in the 1980s.

Sociology Women Graduate Students Organize on Their Own

Pam Oliver, who was Director of Graduate Studies, talked to the disappointed students about the situation. She suggested

> . . . regrouping and creating a gender program out of what we had. Even though there was no "feminist theorist" as the students were constructing that category at the time, there were plenty of people who were studying aspects of gender and there was really no problem creating a prelim. We went from zero to a functioning gender area pretty readily. Once the gender area had been constructed and had participation, it was not so difficult to do a gender search that defined feminist and gender scholarship in a way that would actually fit in with this department (Pam Oliver, personal communication, June 20, 2015)

With no immediate progress being made in bringing in a senor feminist theorist or gender specialist, in 1989 some of the women graduate students, including Raka Ray, Leslie McCall, Lisa Brush, and others, decided to forge ahead on their own. They approached Ann Orloff, a young assistant professor who had just joined the department in 1985, and asked her to preside over a course on gender. She was sympathetic with their request to get something started in graduate training in gender, but she was hesitant, since she was a political sociologist with little training on gender issues. They convinced her that they could organize the course as a cooperative venture in which they all taught each other and learned together. They would work together to design the course, identify readings, and debate the issues freely. Today Orloff remembers thinking that she would have to connect the gender issues to something she knew about, such as politics and states. She did consent to teach the course in the Fall of 1989 under the graduate course title "Topics in Political Sociology" with an added subtitle, "Women and the State." Orloff remembers the experience fondly: "They were a group of really brilliant students and it was wonderful to work with them—a high point of my time at UW" (Ann Orloff, personal communication, June 22, 2015). She still has the syllabus of the course on her computer. (See Raka Ray's account of this episode in Chapter 2, vol. 2.)

As an outgrowth of the course, Orloff and the same group of graduate students organized a feminist seminar—now known as FEMSEM—that met regularly to present work in progress and to debate and explore ideas. Other women faculty, including Jane Piliavin, Elizabeth Thomson, Pamela Oliver, Cynthia Truelove, Emily Kane, Gay Seidman, Jane Collins, Aimée Dechter, Leann Tigges, and Judith Seltzer were also participants in the early years.

Both the graduate students from Orloff's initial course and most of the women faculty members were intent on establishing a concentration in the sociology of gender and adding a PhD prelim exam in the area. Surviving e-mails and documents indicate that Ann Orloff, Emily Kane, Pam Oliver, Elizabeth Thomson, Gay Seidman, Cynthia Truelove, Jane Piliavin, Erik Wright, Charles Camic, and probably others were among the participants. With ground having been broken, it now suddenly appeared possible that a proposal for a gender prelim would meet with success. Starting in the spring of 1990, interested faculty started meeting together and exchanging messages in a GENDERFAC distribution list, to make plans, discuss issues, lay out the scope of the subject to be covered in a prelim examination, and draft documents for the proposal. Graduate students also made important contributions. Oliver participated in the drafting of documents, but her major contribution was to serve as a coordinator of the group and political facilitator. As she put it, "The point was to assuage concerns about the content of the exam by demonstrating that it would be covering 'real sociology' and not just be political. I took it upon myself to go around and talk to people to work out the issues of political opposition to a gender prelim and constructing a definition of the gender area and a prelim scope document that could be offered by the faculty we already had."

Various members contributed to a draft of possible gender prelim topics, including a list of various theories that might be covered. Oliver and Truelove rewrote the theory area to be more general in approach and less provocative or "objectionable." It began with the statement, "Theory is central to the gender prelim. We expect students to know and use a broad range of feminist and nonfeminist theories of gender. . . . Because much of the subject matter is value-laden and politically charged, and the very definitions of "feminist" and "nonfeminist" are contested, we wish to emphasize that absolutely no standard of political correctness will be applied to students or their answers" (Draft of June 25, 1990). To further demonstrate the important types of sociological issues that would be covered in the exam, interested faculty and graduate students contributed model questions of the type that might be asked in a gender prelim, and these were compiled in a document for illustrative purposes.

By November, 1990, the proposal and supporting documents were

completed with general agreement among the interested faculty and graduate students. The proposal began with these words:

> The core of this examination will be feminist and nonfeminist sociological theories of gender, i.e., those sociological theories which give central consideration to gender or sex (including sexual orientation). Students are expected to understand a broad range of competing theories and perspectives. Students are expected to understand the empirical implications of different theories, and to be aware of the degree of empirical support for these implications. We expect students to show knowledge of the diversity among women and men, especially in terms of the intersections among race, class, and gender, and in terms of cross-cultural or historical variations.

The proposal was successful and the faculty of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology voted to authorize a gender prelim at their joint meeting on December 5, 1990. The first gender prelim was administered in August, 1991.

At first the gender prelim was placed in the Group B (now called Group II) category of the more specialized exams. Partly as a result of general dissatisfaction with the nature of the prelim requirements of that time, there was a movement to get the gender prelim and some other prelims transferred to Group A (now Group I). As usual the faculty were deadlocked, with one group favoring very broad prelims with little individual choice and another group supporting specialized prelims tailored more to a student's special interests. Since the impasse prevented any wholesale revision, the department resorted to patches and incremental changes. The upshot was that some of the more "specialized" prelims, including the one for gender, were moved into Group A (now I), where they received more favorable treatment in the rules. This was particularly helpful to students who were not specializing in demography, social psychology, social stratification, and complex organization, which were generally considered by students to be too highly specialized for students whose main interests were in other areas. Oliver, who was Director of Graduate Studies, examined student records and concluded, "The only exam in the 'social organization' area that was perceived by the students to be a general exam was the political sociology exam. If you were not a demographer, not a social psychologist, not a stratification expert, and not in the area of business organizations and occupations, you took political sociology" (Pam Oliver, personal communication, June 20, 2015).

New Courses on Gender

Orloff and Emily Kane started a new undergraduate course, Soc. 623, "Gender, Society, and Politics" in 1990-91. A freshman course, Soc. 138, "The Sociology of Gender," was also added as early as 1992. For the first two years Orloff presided over the feminist seminar using a similar subtitle as in the first course—"Gender, Power, and the State." In 1993 Emily Kane presided, using the Soc. 623 course number, "Gender, Society, and Politics." Students who attended the feminist seminar could register for credit. Orloff and Kane continued to use the two course numbers until finally FEMSEM was institutionalized as Soc. 984, "Research: Sociology of Gender Trainees"—that is, as the graduate training seminar in an officially recognized training program in gender studies.

By the end of the 1994-95 academic year, nine different sociology courses specifically on women or gender issues had been taught, several on a regular basis:

138 The Sociology of Gender
215 Gender and Work in Rural America
496 Topics in Sociology: Gender and Social Theory
515 Sex Roles and Society
623 Gender, Society, and Politics
924 Seminar: Political Sociology—Women's Movements
924 Seminar: Political Sociology—Gender, Power, and the State
940 Seminar: Sociology of Economic Change—Debates in Development Theory
945 Seminar: Rural Sociology—Women and Rural Labor Markets (Document from Elizabeth Thomson)

Orloff left Wisconsin in 1999, but all through her last ten years at UW she deepened her commitment to gender studies. Today she is at Northwestern University and regards gender and social inequalities as principal interests. Her research focuses primarily on gendered social policies and feminist politics in the global north. She is recognized as a major gender scholar today.

Jane Collins served an important role as a teacher and mentor for graduate students doing research on gender topics. She is an anthropologist whose background was in Latin American studies and development, but she also made a major commitment to the sociology of gender. For some years she had a joint appointment with the Department of Gender and Women's Studies and even served as chair for a time.

Recruiting a Senior Gender Specialist

The sociology of gender established a secure foothold in the department in the 1990s, but still had no senior "gender specialist." Graduate students continued to press for the hiring of a scholar with a national reputation in gender studies. Some of the graduate students knew Myra Marx Ferree, who was a Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies at the University of Connecticut, and they asked her for a copy of her curriculum vitae that they could submit to the Sociology Executive Committee. She did so—actually on three separate occasions—but there was no response to these student initiatives. The disagreements over what type of feminist theorist should be invited may have persisted. At least that is what some of my informants have suggested. The result was inaction, and no one was hired even though gender studies was growing stronger at Wisconsin. Finally, Pam Oliver, who was chair in 2000, appointed a new search committee, and Myra Marx Ferree's name came to the top. Oliver approached Ferree and convinced her that the department really was interested in her and persuaded her to visit. She was appointed Professor of Sociology at Wisconsin in 2000, and her husband Donald Ferree, who had built an excellent survey research center at Connecticut, joined the staff of the Wisconsin Survey Center. In 2006 Myra Marx Ferree became Martindale-Bascom Professor of Sociology and in 2011 Alice H. Cook Professor of Sociology, named in honor of the famed Cornell professor.

Ferree was an undergraduate student in political science at Bryn Mawr College, and spent a year abroad at the University of Hamburg in West Germany studying modern European history. In 1971 she entered the Social Psychology Program of the Department of Psychology and Social Relations at Harvard for her doctoral study. She was already interested in gender issues, but when she arrived at Harvard she found that there were no professors who specialized in the social science of gender, and there was only a tiny collection of books on gender in the vaunted Widener Library at Harvard. Nevertheless, she persevered in her interest and carved out a program for herself. In 1974-75 she was granted a Woodrow Wilson Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship in Women's Studies and completed a dissertation on the women's movement in the working class. She says, "I had a great advisor in Tom Pettigrew." In 1976 she began teaching



MYRA MARX FERREE
(M. FERREE)

at the University of Connecticut, rising through the ranks from Assistant Professor to Professor. She was a prolific author of books and articles and an acclaimed teacher of gender courses and research methods, and she came to be recognized as one of the leading sociologists of gender both in America and Europe.

At Wisconsin Ferree has taken on the primary leadership of the sociology of gender group, and she herself has taught six different gender courses, including a freshman course on "Sociology of Gender," an advanced undergraduate course on "Gender, Society, and Politics," and four different graduate seminars or courses. At the same time she has taught the required graduate methods course, "Research Design and Practice in Sociology." From 2002 to 2015 she was also Director of the European Union Center and from 2004 to 2015 Director of the Center for German and European Studies at the University of Wisconsin. Several other gender-related courses continue to be offered, taught by other faculty in the department.

The broad scope of the gender studies program is indicated in its statement on the department website:

> The sociology of gender focuses on the social construction of gender and on gender as a fundamental basis of social stratification. The area encompasses theories of gender and sexuality, including feminist theory, as well as consideration of a broad array of substantive issues, including gender politics, family, the economy, organizations, gender identities, gender ideologies, socialization, sexuality, and many others.

Race and Ethnic Studies

The Racism and Ethnic Prejudice of Early Wisconsin Sociologists

The state of Wisconsin historically has had a checkered past with regard to its treatment of racial and ethnic minority groups. It was perhaps the most resolutely anti-slavery state in the nation prior to the Civil War, but it was by no means free of racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice. Wisconsin, like most other states, had a major problem that should have received attention from sociologists at the University of Wisconsin from the very start. But it did not. The first works on the subject by the sociologists constituted a particularly inglorious beginning. Indeed, as I have indicated in earlier chapters, some of the early writings of John R. Commons, Jerome Dowd, E. A. Ross, and Don Lescohier were racist, though their racism generally had a cultural basis and was not the crude biological racism of Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau, Madison Grant, or Charles B. Davenport. Like many other leaders in the Progressive movement, they were concerned that a flood of poor immigrants

would undermine labor unions and wage standards of American blue-collar workers. Kimball Young also was trained by the racist psychologist Lewis Terman at Stanford, and though he later disavowed Terman's notion that races differed biologically in intelligence, he did not offer any rebuttal to Terman in his dissertation on mental differences of different groups of immigrants. Some of his later colleagues at Northwestern also said he retained some prejudices toward some ethnic groups, though he did not discriminate against individual students or acquaintances.

Here I wish to begin with a long digression reviewing the history of Wisconsin's problems in dealing with some of its racial and ethnic minorities. My purpose is not to present a comprehensive review of Wisconsin's history on this subject, but simply to present the context surrounding the failure of Wisconsin's sociologists to grapple effectively with the problem until the rise of the civil rights movement well into the twentieth century. I hope the reader will understand my preoccupation with this issue, since I spent more than twenty years teaching courses on the subject.

Anti-Slavery Sentiment Combined with Racist Views

After the Revolutionary War many of the eastern states claimed large tracts of land on the western frontier, but Jefferson, who feared that they might form new empires, persuaded the Second Continental Congress to take control of the territories. His brief sketch of a plan in 1784 was not accepted, but in 1787 Congress adopted a revised version—the Northwest Ordinance. It created the Northwest Territory, which encompassed the areas occupied by present-day Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota. Nathan Dane, a delegate to the Confederation Congress from Massachusetts, drafted the Ordinance and made sure that settlers would have full civil rights, including freedom of religion, the right of habeas corpus, trial by jury, and protection of property under the law. This was the first federal bill of rights, becoming law four years before the Bill of Rights was added to the US constitution. In fact, six of the first eight amendments in the federal Bill of Rights were clearly anticipated in the Ordinance of 1787. At the last minute Dane also offered an amendment to prohibit slavery in the territory, and to his surprise, it passed. He later wrote to a friend, "I had no idea the States would agree to the sixth article [prohibiting slavery] and therefore omitted it in the draft; but finding the House favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other parts, I moved the article, which was agreed to without opposition" (Johnson, 1964, p. 40). Dane County, the home of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, was named in his honor.

The Northwest Ordinance provided a mechanism for the addition of

new states to the union, and specified that the Northwest Territory was to be divided into from three to five states. As soon as an area reached a population of 60,000, its residents were permitted to elect their own legislature. Wisconsin was created as a territory in 1836 and was so heavily settled by then that Congress permitted it to have its own legislature immediately (Ranney, 1998, p. 1).

The territorial legislature decided to petition for statehood in 1846 and a convention was held to draft a constitution. It produced a radical document that banned commercial banking and granted married women the right to own property. It limited the right to vote to white male citizens of the United States, foreign residents who intended to become citizens, and certain Indians. Charles Burchard of Waukesha made an eloquent speech in favor of granting the right to vote to African Americans:

> We live . . . in an age of progressive democracy. . . . This spirit is opening a grand law of humanity more comprehensive than all others, that looks farther than the skin to say who shall have rights and who shall be maintained in the free enjoyment of what the God of nature gave them. . . . From the very circumstances under which they are found amongst us [blacks] are an object of our sympathy as well as of our justice (Ranney, 1999, p. 536).

Opposing delegates argued that "it was not right to mingle together two races whom God had declared could not mingle" and "people would deem it an infringement upon their natural rights thus to place them upon an equality with the colored race." One opponent jokingly suggested that women also be given the right to vote—something that he and most of the other delegates regarded as even more absurd than giving the vote to African Americans. In the end the delegates left the suffrage issue for African American men up to the public in a future popular vote. The voters, however, rejected this constitution as too radical. A new constitutional convention in 1848 drafted a more moderate document, and this time it was ratified. Wisconsin was admitted to the union as the thirtieth state on May 29, 1848.

The Wisconsin legislature passed a law the very next year in 1849 allowing African American men to vote, but the state constitution required that the law "be submitted to the vote of the people in a general election, and approved by a majority of all the votes cast at such election." The voters did approve it by a vote of 5,265 to 4,075, but fewer than half of the voters casting ballots voted on the suffrage issue, and everyone concluded that the law had failed.

Though most of the white settlers in Wisconsin were not free of prejudice toward African Americans, most were strongly opposed to slavery.

The first waves of settlers came largely from anti-slavery free states—New England and New York. In 1860 they constituted 23 percent of the population. Another 16 percent came from Germany and Austria, including the liberal-minded "Forty-Eighters'" who were fleeing from political repression in central Europe (Ranney, 1999, p. 227). During the 1840s and 1850s many slaves in border states escaped and made their way to free anti-slavery states, and then across the border into Canada. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 requiring free state authorities to apprehend runaway slaves and return them to their masters was passed by the US Congress as part of a political compromise with southern slave states. It was massively unpopular throughout the North, for in effect it required every citizen in the North as well as the South to support slavery and to cooperate in slave catching. A large number of citizens worked actively to subvert the law and aid the fugitives by setting up Underground Railroad stations to help them flee. The operations were secret, so only a small fraction of its activities are documented in the historical record, but at least 100 cases are known of fugitive slaves escaping through Wisconsin to Canada between 1842 and 1860. The best known station in Wisconsin was in a hidden basement below the Milton House Hotel in Milton, 36 miles southeast of Madison. It can still be visited today. Racine and Milwaukee were important embarkation points to transport the fugitives to safety in Canada by boat.

In 1852 Eston Hemings Jefferson moved to Madison from Chillicothe, Ohio. Most historians are reasonably certain that he was Thomas Jefferson's son by his slave Sally Hemings, who had probably become his mistress after his wife died. He had taken Sally with him to Paris when he was Minister to France in the late 1780s, which automatically made her a free woman. He apparently promised to free her and her children in his will if she would return to slavery in Virginia with him. Eston and his two brothers were freed by Jefferson's will, and Sally was freed by Jefferson's daughter, but most of Jefferson's slaves were sold at auction to pay for the profligate master's debts. Eston and Sally were recorded as free whites in the 1830 census in Virginia, and indeed, Sally was probably three-fourths white in ancestry and Eston was probably seven-eighths white. Eston later moved with his own family to Ohio, a free state, which was safer for freed slaves, but after the Fugitive Slave Act was passed, even Ohio was hazardous with slavecatchers sometimes kidnapping free persons in the border states. In Madison he took the name of Jefferson and was highly regarded in the community ("Eston Hemings," n.d.). He is buried in Forest Hill Cemetery along with many of our sociology forebears.

In 1852, the same year that Eston Jefferson arrived in Madison, a slave in St. Louis named Joshua Glover escaped from his owner, Benami Garland, and made his way through the underground railroad to Racine, Wisconsin,

where he settled and worked in a sawmill four miles north of the city. Two years later Garland discovered Glover's location, secured a US District Court order for his arrest, and, accompanied by a US deputy marshal and three other men went to his cabin in Racine. The five men forced their way into the cabin, beat Glover, handcuffed him, and threw him into the back of a wagon without his ever being told he was under arrest or charged with a crime. He was transported to the county jail in Milwaukee twenty miles to the north. It was a Friday, so he was deposited in a cell, bloody and mangled, without medical attention, to await a hearing on Monday. When word of the affair reached the public, there was a great feeling of outrage, particularly among those active in the abolitionist movement. Sherman M. Booth, a newspaper editor from Waukesha and the leading abolitionist in the state, immediately went to see US District Court Judge Andrew G. Miller in Milwaukee. Miller acknowledged that he had issued a warrant for Glover's arrest, but he said he was unaware that it had been carried out.

Booth quickly discovered that Glover was in the Milwaukee jail, which was in a structure next to the county courthouse. Booth met with other abolitionists in Milwaukee and they decided to call a mass meeting to protest the arrest. Because of the need for urgency, they spread news of the meeting by word of mouth. Some historical accounts say that Booth rode, Paul Revere style, on a white horse up and down the streets proclaiming, "Freemen! To the rescue! Slavecatchers are in our midst!" He later denied this and claimed he actually said, "All freemen who are opposed to being made slaves or slave-catchers turn out to a meeting in the courthouse square at 2 o'clock!" A large crowd of perhaps 5,000 gathered, including many from Racine and Waukesha, a community settled by New Englanders and a hotbed of abolitionist sentiment. There were many speeches made, with some speakers demanding a writ of habeas corpus and a trial by jury for Glover—something that was not provided for by the Fugitive Slave Act. A local judge did issue a writ of habeas corpus, but the US marshal refused to recognize its validity.

The crowd grew more excited and incensed, but Booth himself warned the crowd of the dangers of breaking the law by trying to free Glover by force. After a while, however, a mob rushed the jail and broke down the door—some say with a battering ram, others by the use of pickaxes. Booth and other middle class abolitionists stood aside and did not join the mob. Glover was freed and, ringed by a thousand protectors, was able to make his escape, first to the home of an abolitionist in Waukesha. Most of the way he was driven by buggy by a sympathizing Democrat who took back roads in a roundabout way to elude his pursuers. Glover was later transported to Racine, where he was able within a few weeks to board a ship that dropped him off on the Canadian shore. He lived in Ontario as a free man until his death

in 1888. Three days after the jailbreak Booth proclaimed in his newspaper, "We send greetings to the Free States of the Union, that, in Wisconsin, the Fugitive Slave Law is repealed! The first attempt to enforce the law, in this State, has signally, gloriously failed! . . . NO MORE COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY!" (Butler, 1999; Olin, 1893; Legler, 1898).

The most significant part of the Glover story is what happened after he escaped to Canada, for it resulted in Wisconsin's becoming the only state to openly defy the federal Fugitive Slave Act. A vigorous states rights' movement sprang up among abolitionists in Wisconsin to justify their resistance—ironically, the same doctrine that slaveholders in the South used to justify their practice of slavery and the right to secede. A few days after Glover escaped from custody, Sherman Booth was arrested for obstruction of the Fugitive Slave Act. The US Commissioner set his bail at $2,000 ($54,000 in 2016 dollars), which his supporters paid immediately, and he was freed from jail. Booth then decided to return to federal custody so that he could appeal for a writ of habeas corpus to the Wisconsin Supreme Court and challenge the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act. He retained Byron Paine, a young lawyer in Milwaukee from an Ohio abolitionist family, to represent him. It was Paine's first case, but it propelled him to fame as Wisconsin's first great civil rights lawyer—and eventually to a seat on the Wisconsin Supreme Court. Paine applied to Associate Justice Abram D. Smith of the Wisconsin Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus and in a hearing before Smith Paine presented several arguments against the Fugitive Slave Act. Many of the arguments had been tried before in court challenges without success, but he also raised the states rights' argument. Citing the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798-99 that defied enforcement of John Adams' Alien and Sedition Act, he contended that the Wisconsin Supreme Court had as much right as the US Supreme Court to determine the constitutionality of federal laws. Justice Smith ruled that Booth's arrest warrant was technically defective, but instead of deciding the case on this narrow ground, he went much further and declared the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional on all of the grounds marshaled by Paine. The US Attorney appealed to the full Wisconsin Supreme Court, but it upheld Smith's decision, and Booth was released.

Federal authorities continued to press charges against Booth and brought him before the US District Court of Judge Andrew G. Miller, who was determined to uphold the Fugitive Slave Act. This time Booth was convicted, but the Wisconsin Supreme Court again released Booth. The US Attorney then appealed to the US Supreme Court, which was dominated by the notorious Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, who had once written that African Americans "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for

his benefit." The US Supreme Court reversed the decisions of the Wisconsin Supreme Court on all counts. Carl Schurz, one of the leaders of the Wisconsin German community, denounced Taney's decision: "[W]e have come to a point where it is loyalty to resist, and treason to submit." Booth spent more time in jail, was broken out by supporters, and then was apprehended again. He was finally released by President Buchanan as he left office in 1861, not through a pardon but by remitting the fines that he owed from earlier cases. Actually the President released him at the request of his old opponent, Judge Andrew Miller, because Miller considered it too costly to maintain guards around Booth's cell to prevent another jailbreak.

Booth's fight against the Fugitive Slave Law and slavery earned him national fame, and he became the principal founder of the Wisconsin Republican Party and an influential voice in the national party. During the Civil War he made over 1000 speeches supporting the Union cause and the Republican Party. States' rights sentiment in Wisconsin remained strong until Lincoln's election and the start of the civil war, after which it declined sharply. When the South used the doctrine to support its cause and Lincoln expanded federal power to an unprecedented degree to support the union's war effort, the states rights' doctrine became less appealing to Wisconsinites (Ranney, 1999, pp. 96-107; Butler, 1999).

Though the people of Wisconsin showed strong opposition to slavery, most still regarded African Americans as inferior and were not prepared to grant them equal rights as citizens. After the apparent failure of the bill to grant voting rights to African Americans in 1849, the legislature tried twice more—in 1857 and again in 1865. Each time the bill was defeated in a popular referendum—41,345 to 28,235 in 1857 and 55,591 to 46,588 in 1865 (John Gregory, 1896; Ranney, 1999, pp. 536-538). Wisconsin remained one of the 19 out of 24 Northern states that did not allow African Americans to vote at the end of the Civil War.

In November, 1865, just a few months after the Civil War ended, Sherman Booth and Byron Paine persuaded Ezekiel Gillespie, an African American in Milwaukee who worked for the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad, to try to register as a voter and cast a vote in the election. After the Fugitive Slave Act had been passed Gillespie had moved to Wisconsin from Indiana, where many southerners had settled. He apparently felt he was safer from being kidnapped by slavecatchers in Wisconsin. His attempt to register was carefully planned in concert with Booth and the lawyer Byron Paine. After he gained fame from the Glover case, Paine had been elected to the Wisconsin Supreme Court in 1859, but he resigned in 1864 to lead the 43rd Wisconsin Regiment. At the end of the war he returned to his law practice. When Gillespie was turned away from the voting booth in the 1865 election, Paine filed a lawsuit on Gillespie's behalf that soon made its way

to the Wisconsin Supreme Court. Paine argued before his former colleagues that the legal requirement that the suffrage law must be approved by a majority of votes cast meant only that there must be a majority of votes cast on the specific suffrage provision, not on any issue at the same election. To the surprise of most people, in March, 1866, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously in Gillespie's favor. It accepted Paine's argument that only a majority on the specific issue was required and that therefore African Americans had been entitled to vote in Wisconsin ever since 1849 (Butler, 1999, pp.194-195; Ranney, 1999, pp. 537-538).

Segregation and Discrimination toward African Americans

Wisconsin never embraced de jure racial discrimination, but de facto segregation and discrimination continued for the next century—and beyond to the present. The legislature in 1895 passed a civil rights act providing that all persons are entitled to equal enjoyment of hotels, restaurants, bars, places of amusement, and public transportation. The courts enforced the law in a few instances when African Americans invoked it, but much discrimination continued, and African Americans were generally treated with cold indifference or hostility (Ranney, 1999, pp. 540-541).

Madison's first civil rights case was triggered on Feb. 25, 1917, when William R. Harris, an African American hotel doorman, sat down at a table in the newly remodeled Boston Café at 207 State Street. The proprietor, a Greek immigrant, ignored Harris and refused to take his order. The next day Harris went to the Madison Municipal Court and swore out a criminal complaint against the owner for violating Wisconsin's 1895 civil rights law. Harris was a prominent leader of Madison's small African American community, that numbered only about 259 in 1920. He was strongly supported in his legal action by others in the community, especially J. Anthony Josey, the editor of the *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*, Madison's black newspaper, and Victor Caesar Turner, a student at the UW College of Agriculture. Harry Sauthoff, the District Attorney, argued in court, "The practice of discriminating against a man on account of his color should not be tolerated in Dane County." Judge August Hoppman agreed, finding the restaurant owner guilty and fining him $15 ($349 in today's dollars). Josey editorialized in the *Blade,* "This decision should not be taken as a victory for the prosecuting witness, nor for the race to which he belongs. Rather, it is a victory for law and good order—a vindication of the high ideals and principles upon which this old commonwealth is founded." Some Madison restaurants continued to discriminate toward African Americans, and as late as 1943 a group of African Americans and sympathetic whites picketed a State Street restaurant protesting its policies toward African Americans (Bond, 2015, p. D1).

Even after slavery ended, most African Americans remained in the South through the rest of the nineteenth century. Census figures show only 335,200 or 8 percent lived outside the South in 1900. Less than 2 percent of the population in the Midwest Region was African American, and they constituted just 0.3 percent of the population of Milwaukee. With the mechanization of southern agriculture and the opening up of industrial jobs in Northeastern, Midwestern, and Western cities, the Great Migration of African Americans out of the South began about 1900. Between 1900 and 1930 about 1.5 million African Americans left the South, but they were still only 1.3 percent of the population of Milwaukee in 1930. There was a lull in the flow of migrants during the Great Depression of the 1930s, with only 392,000 migrating out of the South, but the labor shortage during World War II opened many new industrial jobs and stimulated what has been called the "Second Great Migration." From 1940 to 2000 another 6 million African Americans in the South moved to other regions. In almost every period twice as many southern whites moved out of the region, but a greater percentage of African Americans moved. The southern whites generally settled in suburban or small town areas—rarely in dense urban cores (James Gregory, 2005, p. 15). In the case of Milwaukee, African Americans often moved in a two-step process, first to Chicago and then to Milwaukee. By 1970 14.7 percent of the Milwaukee population was African American, and though migration from the rural South tapered off after that, the African American population continued to grow and reached 40 percent of the population by 2010.

Though there was not a de jure Jim Crow system in Wisconsin, African Americans who settled in Wisconsin did not escape from institutionalized prejudice and discrimination. In fact, they found that many Wisconsin communities were "sundown towns" that were essentially closed to them as places to live. In popular parlance a "sundown town" is one in which African Americans may work or be present during the daytime but must leave before sundown. Some towns in the South actually posted signs at the city limits saying something like, "N - - - -r, Don't Let the Sun Go Down On You in _____," but more often the unofficial rule was enforced quietly by police, real estate agents, and commercial interests. I remember driving through an East Texas town in my youth that had a sign as you entered that bragged, "The blackest earth and the whitest people in America."

Sociologist James Loewen has discovered that a large percentage of American towns and suburbs have a history of driving out or deliberately excluding African Americans. The sundown towns are far more common in the North, Midwest, and West than in the South, and Loewen's research provides some of the strongest evidence of the ubiquity of racism in American history in every region of the country. In the book he published he

confirmed nine sundown towns in Wisconsin in the past, including Appleton, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, and Beaver Dam, but he suspected there were 126 more. For Illinois, where he did his most intensive field work he found over 500, and he estimates there have been thousands across the country (Loewen, 2005). Loewen maintains a website and encourages the public to post additional information about communities that they know. Currently for Wisconsin his website lists 72 confirmed or probable sundown towns or cities now or in the past and 65 possible ones that need further confirmation. (www.uvm.edu/~jloewen/sundown).

African Americans were able to move to Milwaukee, but they were confined to housing in a highly overcrowded and dilapidated core. The Supreme Court declared municipal racial zoning laws unconstitutional in 1917, but then racially restrictive covenants were invented to keep African Americans from moving into white areas. These were legally enforceable deed restrictions that prohibited the buyer of a property from reselling to certain categories of people, usually African Americans but sometimes Jews and other groups. They became so popular that in 1940 one magazine claimed that 80 percent of residential property in Chicago and Los Angeles carried restrictive covenants barring African Americans. For thirty years the deed restrictions were enforced, but in 1948 the Supreme Court ruled that racially restrictive covenants could not be enforced in state courts (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973, p. 4).

In Milwaukee even after restrictive covenants lost their power, housing segregation was maintained by other means. Private owners refused to sell or rent to African Americans in predominantly white areas, realtors refused to show African Americans property outside the ghetto area, banks would not lend money to African Americans to buy houses in white areas, and sometimes insurance companies would not sell insurance to buyers who broke the color line. The Wisconsin historian, William F. Thompson, wrote, "Although Milwaukee realtors were often presented as the prime villains of the piece, discrimination was practiced by nearly every type of institution and agency involved in the housing market." Resistance to housing integration was especially strong in working class ethnic enclaves. The central ghetto area expanded around the margins, and occasionally middle class African Americans were able to move into better housing in predominantly white areas, but if the neighborhood became around 30 percent black, the white families tended to move out en masse. In 1962 President Kennedy issued an executive order banning discrimination in federally financed or backed housing, but discriminatory practices continued, even in the practices of federal housing agencies (Thompson, 1988, pp. 350-355).

In Madison in the early 1950s housing discrimination was a less severe problem than in Milwaukee, but when an anti-discrimination ordinance

was introduced in the City Council, it evoked strong opposition. In 1960 the Council tried again, and both daily newspapers and the mayor supported the proposed equal opportunities ordinance. Again there was much opposition, and the mayor had to break a tie vote for it to be passed, but this was only after it had been watered down to exclude much of the housing market (Thompson, 1988, p. 349).

In the early 1960s my demographer colleagues, Karl Taeuber and Alma Taeuber, carried out some pioneering work developing a quantitative measure of racial segregation for large American cities using Census data. They calculated an index of dissimilarity for racial distributions for 207 cities. The index specifies the minimum percent of one group who would have to move from one subarea to another subarea to produce a distribution that matched that of the total area. They found that African Americans were highly segregated in all of the cities they examined. Using census tract data for the Milwaukee metropolitan area, the index was 85.7 in 1950 and was barely different at 86.0 in 1960 (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965, p. 61).

Since then many other researchers have worked on developing improved measures and bringing trends up to date with each succeeding census. Logan and Stults (2011) have calculated indexes of dissimilarity for black-white segregation for each of the censuses from 1940 to 2010 and indexes of isolation for blacks from 1980 to 2010. They found that nationally in the metropolitan statistical areas residential segregation between blacks and whites peaked around 1960 and 1970 at an index level of 79 and has since declined slowly to 59 in 2010—still a very high level of segregation. When they examined the fifty metropolitan areas with the largest black populations in 2010, they found that Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis was tied with Detroit-Livonia-Dearborn as the most highly segregated cities. Milwaukee's index was 83.9 in 1980 and remained extremely high at 79.6 in 2010. The four most segregated metropolitan areas in 2010 each declined less than 5 points. Milwaukee was also one of the top five areas on the measure of isolation of blacks—the percent of the people who are black in the neighborhood where the average black person lives. In 1980 the figure was 69.4 and it declined only slightly to 66.8 in 2010—30 years later.

Hispanic Americans have recently overtaken African Americans as the largest minority group in the United States, and Asian Americans are also growing in numbers. Both groups are considerably less segregated than African Americans, and the degree of their segregation has remained stable since 1980. Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis had a score on the Logan-Stults index of 57 for white-Hispanic segregation and 38 for white-Asian segregation. The staff of a business magazine wanted to calculate an overall segregation index for metropolitan areas, so they took the Logan-Stults figures for the segregation between white non-Hispanics and

African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians and combined them, weighted by the population size of each group. They arrived at a figure of 67.9 for Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis—the highest for all of the metropolitan statistical areas. They proclaimed Milwaukee as the most segregated city in America (Jacobs, Kiersz, and Lubin, 2013).

The Dispossession of Native Americans

Of course, African Americans were not the only minority group in Wisconsin that was the object of prejudice and discrimination. The groups that probably suffered most grievously were the Native American tribes. The principal inhabitants of the Wisconsin area before the arrival of whites were the Ho-Chunk, Menominee, Ojibwe or Chippewa, Potawatomi, Fox and Sauk, and Dakota Sioux. All of them lost nearly all of their lands to white encroachment, either forced out of the state entirely or confined to small reservations. In addition, other tribes, including the Oneida, Stockbridge, Munsee, Illini, Huron, and Cheyenne, were driven into Wisconsin after being displaced by whites in other states. Deprived of most of their lands and their traditional means of subsistence, most tribes were pushed into isolated areas where there were few jobs in the modern economy.

Fortified and feeling justified by racist beliefs, white Americans dispossessed all Native American peoples. Even the chief leaders of the nation subscribed to the notion that Native peoples were of an inferior race or even subhuman:

- George Washington: “Indians and wolves are both beasts of prey, tho’ they differ in shape.”
- Thomas Jefferson: “If ever we are constrained to lift the hatchet against any tribe, we will never lay it down till that tribe is exterminated, or driven beyond the Mississippi . . . In war, they will kill some of us; we shall destroy them all.”
- Andrew Jackson: “That those tribes cannot exist surrounded by our settlements and in continual contact with our citizens is certain. They have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire of improvement which are essential to any favorable change in their condition . . . They must necessarily yield to the force of circumstances and ere long disappear.”
- Theodore Roosevelt: “I don’t go so far as to think that the only good Indians are dead Indians, but I believe nine out of ten are, and I shouldn’t like to inquire too closely into the case of the tenth.” (Rickert, 2015)

General Philip Henry Sheridan, commander of the army during the Plains Indian Wars was widely quoted as saying, "The only good Indians I ever saw were dead," though he steadfastly denied saying that. The saying morphed into "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." Sheridan applied the scorched earth policies that he utilized in the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War against the Plains tribes—an action that spoke louder than any supposed racist remark.

Between 1778 and 1871 the federal government negotiated 415 treaties with American Indian nations, though many were fraudulently signed with persons not authorized to commit the tribe or secured through bribery or intimidation. Only 370 were ratified by the U.S. Senate; 45 were not ("Why Tribes Exist Today in the United States," n.d.). In the treaties the Indian nations usually ceded most of their lands and resources to the U.S. government, and in return received promises of certain rights, benefits, and support. It may have salved the consciences of the government officials to pretend that it was a fair exchange, but it was actually a coerced dispossession. The government decided not to sign any more treaties with Indian nations after 1871 and virtually all of the existing treaties were broken, changed, or nullified when it suited the interests of the government in the ensuing years.

Forced Assimilation

After the Plains Indian Wars ended, the U.S. government adopted a new policy of forced assimilation, a policy described by some as "cultural genocide," since its goal was to destroy Native American languages and cultures and incorporate the people into American society. The members of hunting and gathering societies were to be transformed into farmers and manual laborers, though the reservations they were given generally were unsuitable for agriculture and there was a severe shortage of jobs. A critical component of the forced assimilation policy involved the education of Native American children. Initially the government supported mission schools for Indians run by various religious denominations, but by the 1870s the government began to take a direct hand in education. Whites who thought of themselves as idealistic reformers trying to help Indians came up with the idea of establishing boarding schools as the most effective means of indoctrinating Indian children into the majority culture.

Captain Richard Henry Pratt of the US Army in 1879 founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. It was the first off-reservation boarding school for Indian children and served as a model for the establishment of a great many other boarding schools thereafter. The government founded 26 Indian boarding schools, and Christian religious groups founded another 450. The experience of most of the students at the

school was not happy, and hundreds of children died in the harsh living conditions at the school, but Pratt persevered in his dream to erase all traces of Indian language, culture, and religion. In a paper that he presented at an 1892 convention, Pratt said, "A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man" ("Kill the Indian, and Save the Man," n.d.). Children from tribes all over the country were sent to the boarding school, often taken against the wishes of the parents. At the school their hair was cut, they were given uniforms, they were given food they were unfamiliar with in meager portions, they were required to take instruction in the Christian religion, and they were punished if they spoke words in an Indian language. The students were confined in a prison-like atmosphere and their activities were regimented in a military fashion. The children were subjected to often brutal corporal punishment, and there were widespread reports of physical and sexual abuse in Indian boarding schools around the country. Boys in all the schools were taught agricultural and mechanical skills and girls household domestic tasks, sufficient only to prepare them for a life of menial labor. The children were also often required to perform labor—as much as half the day—in order to reduce costs. By the time the Carlisle school was closed down in 1918, some 12,000 children from 140 tribes across the country had gone through the school. Less than 8 percent graduated from the full program; more than twice as many ran away (Jenkins, 2007; Churchill, 2004).

Some "reformers" opposed off-reservation boarding schools, believing that on-reservation boarding schools and day schools were more effective and much less costly, but they had the same purpose of stripping the Indian children of their languages, cultures, and tribal identities. In Wisconsin the federal government operated three reservation boarding schools: the Tomah Indian Industrial School (mostly for Ho-Chunk), the Lac du Flambeau Indian School, and the Oneida Indian Boarding School. It partially funded two Roman Catholic boarding schools on the Menominee Reservation and the Bad River Ojibwe Reservation. The government also operated twelve day schools in Wisconsin, since the cost of such schools was only one-fourth or one-fifth as much (Churchill, 2004; "Boarding Schools," n.d.)

The Merriam Report published in 1928 was the first systematic government study to document with extensive data that the forced assimilation policy of the previous decades had been an abject failure and a travesty of social justice. It was highly critical of the Indian education system and particularly of Indian boarding schools, which it judged substandard. It noted that the boarding schools provided a poor diet, they were overcrowded, they

had inadequate medical care, they were supported by student labor, and they relied on a uniform curriculum that did not prepare the children for higher education. Though President Franklin D. Roosevelt abandoned the forced assimilation policy and gave tribal groups some degree of self-government through the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the boarding schools continued on for another 40 years and reached their peak enrollment of 60,000 in the 1970s.

In 1967 the U.S. Senate created the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education under the chairmanship of Robert F. Kennedy, but chaired by his brother Edward "Ted" Kennedy when it released its final report in 1969. The Kennedy Report, as it was called, was highly critical of the forced assimilation educational policies for American Indians, and it led to the passage of the Indian Education Act of 1972, which implemented some of its recommendations. About two-thirds of American Indian children today attend public or private schools, but about one-third attend government schools. Tribal groups have gained control of the government schools, and now the curriculum includes instruction in Indian culture as well as basic skills. In 1968 the Navajo Nation established their own tribal college on the reservation, and a number of other tribes have followed their lead. Today there are 32 fully accredited tribal colleges and universities in the United States, with one formal candidate for accreditation and three in associate status. There are two in Wisconsin, the College of Menominee Nation in Keshena and Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College in Hayward. Nationally there are about 30,000 full- and part-time students in the tribal colleges ("Tribal Colleges and Universities," 2013).

Though the policy of forced assimilation has been abandoned, its legacy is a serious level of poverty and deprivation among Native Americans. National figures for the group in recent years show the highest poverty rates of all minority groups, the lowest labor force participation rates, an unemployment rate almost double the national rate, and abysmal health statistics. Among minorities Native Americans have the highest suicide rates, alcohol-use disorders, and serious mental health disorders (NICWA, n.d.). In Wisconsin Native Americans fare better than those in more isolated states, such as South Dakota, where reservation unemployment rates run as high as 60 percent and 48 percent are below the poverty line, but even in Wisconsin they are among the worst off of the minority groups. About 29 percent of Native Americans in Wisconsin are living in poverty, which is second only to the 39 percent of African Americans. Compared to other minorities in Wisconsin Native Americans had the highest rates of suicide, binge and heavy drinking, deaths from alcoholic liver disease, mortality from coronary heart disease, mortality from diabetes, age-adjusted motor-vehicle death rates, and trying marijuana before the age of 13. They were also second highest

in obesity rates (38%) and in births to teens 15 to 19. Native Americans and Asian Americans were tied for the highest rates of depression among high school students (Wisconsin Dept. of Health Services, 2014; Macartney *et al.,* 2013).

The Menominee: Victims of "Termination"

The Menominee Tribe was relatively more prosperous than the other tribes in Wisconsin in the 1950s, since it had a thriving timber business based on the dense forest they had preserved on their reservation of 235,523 acres—down from an original tribal area of 9.5 million acres, a 98 percent reduction. The present reservation was established by treaty in 1854, following a series of earlier treaties starting in 1821. American Indian policy at the time sought to transform tribal peoples into agrarian societies, and the Menominee were not permitted to cut down a single tree without the Indian Agent's approval. The Menominee, however, preferred to use their forestry resources as their economic base, and in 1871 the government finally gave them permission to start a commercial lumbering business. They wanted to make sure that their forest would "last forever," and they developed sound sustainable forestry management principles. In fact, they were probably the first to adopt scientific sustainable forestry management in the United States—long before Carl Schenk, a German forester, brought scientific forestry to George Vanderbilt's Biltmore Estate in North Carolina in 1895 and established the first forestry school.

Today when entering the Menominee Reservation one sees a stark contrast with the surrounding counties, moving from a largely treeless area into a beautiful dense forest with a healthy mixture of white pine, hemlock, Canadian yew, yellow birch, sugar maple, red maple, red oak, beech, and basswood of various ages. Because of the abundance of mature trees, visitors often assume it is a virgin forest, but the original forest has been cut over 1.7 times. In 1854 the tribe estimated the forest had 1.3 billion board feet of timber, but after cutting 2.25 billion board feet in the ensuing years, the forest now contains 1.7 billion board feet. The forest is also improved today, covering 94 percent of the reservation, with greater biodiversity and greater commercial value than when the cutting began. The nearby Nicolet National Forest managed by the U.S. Forestry Service is characterized by much less species and wildlife diversity and greater ecosystem damage through fragmentation, largely because its decisions are based more on economics than on sound silviculture practice (Onesmus, 2007).

Conservative Republicans in Congress chafed against the New Deal policy of John Collier, Franklin D. Roosevelt's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who sought to end the country's forced assimilation policy and follow

a more pluralistic policy emphasizing tribal self-government. As soon as they returned to power in the early 1950s they passed a resolution in 1953 stating that termination of reservations would be the guiding policy of the federal government henceforth. The policy, which was in reality a return to the forced assimilation policy, was described by Senator Arthur Watkins (R-NV) and others as "freeing" and "liberating" the Indians from government control. Watkins equated it with the Emancipation Proclamation freeing African Americans from slavery, though to most Native Americans it appeared that it would "free" them from all government assistance and programs that had been guaranteed by treaty.

The Menominee were thought to be the tribe best able to make it on their own, and Congress singled them out to be the first reservation tribe to be terminated in a bill passed in 1954. They were, however, granted a few years' grace to prepare for termination as a federally recognized tribe. The Menominee were mindful that the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887, which divided up many reservation lands among tribal members, had been a disaster. Because of general poverty and victimization by fraud, most of the allottees lost their lands and became much worse off. The Menominee, with advisory help from professors at the University of Wisconsin, arranged to keep their lands intact by placing all tribal property in the hands of a corporation, Menominee Enterprises, Inc. (MEI), with each tribal member receiving one voting share. The shares of minors, however, were placed in trust with the First Wisconsin Trust Co., a large trust firm in Milwaukee, and this actually gave a controlling interest in tribal affairs to a non-Indian firm.

The actual termination took place in April, 1961, and the Menominee Reservation became Menominee County, the poorest and least populated county in the state. Almost immediately their situation deteriorated. The Menominee lost their reservation hospital and schools, and the tax base of the county was inadequate to support basic services, such as policing, firefighting, utilities, and waste disposal. Support from state and federal sources was inadequate, and the Menominee sank into deeper poverty and suffered declining health standards and social disorganization. Only one other tribe, the Klamath of Oregon, was terminated, and termination was an even greater disaster for them, because their lands were all distributed in individual plots to tribal members. The tragedy of the Dawes Act was repeated, and most of the allottees lost their lands—again through predatory behavior by whites who took advantage of them. Even Congress soon recognized that termination was an economic and social disaster, and the termination policy was abandoned, but the Menominee and the Klamath were still in a terminated state.

Matters came to a head for the Menominee when the MEI board, strongly pushed by the First Wisconsin Trust Co., sold some of the tribal

land to a developer who proposed to build an artificial lake and sell vacation property to urban whites from Midwest cities. Their object was to increase the tax base of the county. This caused much alarm in the tribe, for it was seen as a portent of the extinction of the Menominee people and culture. An opposition group named DRUMS (Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Stockholders) organized to gain seats on the board. Under the leadership of Ada Deer, who was the first Native American to graduate from the University of Wisconsin, DRUMS did gain control of the board in 1972 and stopped further sales of tribal land.

Deer wanted to have reservation status restored, but everyone told her that it was impossible. She thought there was a chance, however, since everyone now recognized that termination had been a great failure. Without any funds or political experience, she went to Washington, DC, to lobby for restoration. For months she slept on the couch of Senator Fred Harris (D-OK) and his wife LaDonna, who was herself a national leader among Native Americans. Deer asked dozens of Representatives and Senators a simple question—if termination was such a disaster, why can't we restore the reservation status of the Menominee, since we have preserved almost all of our tribal lands? Her persistence paid off, and she won bipartisan support. In April, 1972, Wisconsin's Democratic Senators, William Proxmire and Gaylord Nelson, introduced a restoration bill, and it was eventually passed with strong bipartisan support and President Nixon's encouragement on Dec. 22, 1973. The difficult task of restoration arrangements was put in the hands of the Menominee Restoration Committee headed by Deer. In 1975 Menominee County reverted back to reservation status, a new tribal constitution was adopted in 1976, and a new tribal government took office in 1979 (Indian Country, n.d.; Onesmus, 2007). Conditions have improved greatly since restoration, but economic, social, and health conditions are still very poor. The Menominee's own web page cites the following statistics about their present situation:

> Among the State's 72 counties, Menominee County is unquestionably the one county with the greatest and most immediate need. According to the University of Wisconsin's School of Medicine and Public Health – Public Health Institute, in 2010 Menominee County ranked last in the overall quality of health. It had the highest mortality rate (11,904 adj. per 100,000), highest rate of smoking during pregnancy (44%), highest obesity rate (38.0%), highest teen birth rate (103.8 adj. per 1,000), highest unemployment rate (10%), highest number of children living in poverty (51%), highest violent crime rate (958, adj. per 100,000), and the highest number of single parent households (26%) (Menominee Nation, n.d.)

Shortly after passage of the restoration bill, I took two of my graduate students, Linda and Ain Haas, with me to visit a Menominee powwow in the tribal area. We sat enthralled as Ada Deer described in detail the events in the fight to restore the Menominee as a federally recognized tribe. We came away inspired and mightily impressed with the Menominee struggle. Not long after that I persuaded my Sociology colleagues to nominate Deer for a UW-Madison honorary degree, and I was delighted when the Honorary Degrees Committee decided to make the award to her in 1974. I had earlier wanted to nominate activist leaders from the civil rights movement, but the university required that awardees must have some direct Wisconsin connection. Finally, we had our own activist nominee from Wisconsin and with ties to the university.

I was amused when Deer and I mounted the stage and discovered that one of the other awardees that year was Deer's prime antagonist, Catherine B. Cleary, head of the First Wisconsin Trust and probably the most powerful business woman in America at that time. I do not think that President Ed Young was aware of their history of past conflicts, but it would probably have made no difference anyway. From 1977 until retirement Deer taught in the UW-Madison School of Social Work and the American Indian Studies Program. In 1993 she was appointed by President Bill Clinton to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior and head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the first Native American woman to serve in this office. After 1977 she returned to UW and in 1979 became director of the American Indian Studies Program.

Conflict Over Indian Treaty Rights

In Wisconsin treaties in 1837 and 1842 confined Native Americans to small reservations and opened up the rest of the state to white settlement. Under the treaties the Indian nations were guaranteed the right to use natural resources in traditional ways. They had a right to cultivate and harvest wild rice and medicinal plants, harvest timber, hunt game, and fish in the rivers and lakes. These rights were unilaterally abrogated by white legislators and judges, and Wisconsin Indians were denied their rights for almost a century and a half. Finally, a legal challenge resulted in a federal court decision in 1983 that prevented the state authorities from interfering with the Chippewa tribes' rights to engage in spearfishing.

After spearfishing by the Chippewa resumed on some of the lakes in northern Wisconsin, they were met with ugly racist, white supremacist vigilante mobs demonstrating against them in the late 1980s and early 1990s. They demanded an end to the Indians "special privileges," and blamed the Indians for depleting the fish and game in the area, driving away tourists, and causing economic depression in the region. Actually the Chippewa

spearfishers took only about 3 percent of the walleye harvest, and every scientific study done on the impact of Chippewa spearfishing concluded that the Chippewa were not threatening the resource. The demonstrators used violence, intimidation, sabotage, and racist taunts against the Indians, calling them "timber niggers," "spearchuckers," and "welfare warriors." One brandished a sign, "Save a Walleye, Spear an Indian." The Ku Klux Klan was active in the demonstrations circulating applications for membership.

Governor Tommy Thompson, when he was campaigning for governor, had said, "I believe spearing is wrong, regardless of what treaties, negotiations, or federal courts may say." He also lent legitimacy to the protests by meeting with protesters, as if they were legitimate representatives of popular sentiment. All nine members of the U.S. House of Representatives and both U.S. Senators signed a threatening letter that if the Indians exercised their legal treaty rights, they would "abuse the rights of other groups to share in the resource," and this could result in the rejection of tribal requests for federal funds for future projects. With this kind of official endorsement of the anti-treaty vigilantes, local law enforcement officials seemed to side with the demonstrators and were more often inciting the crowds rather than controlling them. Nevertheless, the Chippewa persisted in asserting their rights.

When the DNR discovered that the walleyes in some lakes were dangerously contaminated with mercury, the Chippewa voluntarily quit spearing in certain lakes. Large transnational corporations and their local allies had been developing plans for mining operations in northern Wisconsin that would have serious environmental effects and possibly lead to greater pollution of lakes and rivers in the area, but their activities had been little noticed while popular attention was focused on Indian spearfishing. When the general population became aware of the threat from mining companies, some of the same white people who had supported the anti-treaty demonstrations, now joined forces with the Indians to oppose the mining operations. Their combined opposition enjoyed considerable success (Lipsitz, 2008; Gedicks, 1998). Racist confrontations in the area are now a thing of the past, and there is a cooperative spirit between Indians and whites in the area. When all parties agreed that there is now a real problem of overfishing and depletion of walleye populations, the Lac du Flambeau Band, the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, the Headwaters Basin Chapter of Walleyes for Tomorrow, and the state Department of Natural Resources created a joint rehabilitation plan. Under the agreement anglers and Chippewa spearfishers were prohibited from harvesting any walleyes from the Minocqua Chain of Lakes for the next five years. Only catch-and-release would be permitted (B. Adams, 2015).

Native American Gambling Casinos

Today Americans have largely lost sight of the poor economic situation of Native Americans, replaced by an insidious stereotype of indolent Indians receiving vast sums of money from the profits of gambling casinos. A few tribes opened gambling casinos on reservations in the 1970s and early 1980s, but state laws prohibited such operations in most places. In 1988, however, Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act with an explicit goal to promote "tribal economic development, self-sufficiency, and strong tribal governments." Today there are over 310 gaming operations run by more than 200 of the nation's 556 federally recognized tribes. About 220 are full-scale Class III "Las Vegas" style casinos with electronic machines (mostly slots) and table games. By 2013 the Indian gaming operations generated about $28 billion in annual revenue, around 41 percent of total revenue from casino gambling in the U.S. but probably no more than 12 percent of total annual revenue from all forms of gambling, legal and illegal. Casinos in heavily populated areas such as Connecticut, California, and New York, have been very profitable; those in more remote areas, such as the Sioux casinos in South Dakota, have not been very successful.

There are both positive and negative effects of the casinos. According to Evans and Topoleski, four years after Indian tribes open casinos, their employment increases by 26 percent, tribal population increases by 11.5 percent, and the number of adults who work but are still poor declines by 14 percent. Most of the people employed by Indian casinos, however, are not Indians, and most of the employees are in relatively low-wage jobs. Studies of casinos in Minnesota and California found that between 73 and 90 percent of the employees were non-Indians. It is not often publicized, but a great many Indian casinos are actually operated and managed by non-Indian management companies, though the contracts with the management companies must be approved by the Chair of the National Indian Gaming Commission.

In the areas surrounding casinos there is evidence of many negative effects: the number of problem gamblers increases, and auto thefts, larceny, violent crime, and bankruptcies all increase about 10 percent (Evans and Topoleski, 2002). The Wisconsin Council on Problem Gambling claims that 333,000 Wisconsin residents now have a gambling problem—7.6 percent of all persons over 18. In 2014 there were 14,731 calls received on the Council's 24-hour Helpline—a 329 percent increase since 1996. The average debt of callers to the Helpline was $46,967. The Council estimates that 65 percent of compulsive gamblers commit crimes to finance their gambling, and there has been a steadily increasing rate of gambling related embezzlements in recent years (Wisconsin Council on Problem Gambling, 2015).

It is often argued that casino gambling constitutes a regressive tax on the poor, but the gaming industry generally denies this, maintaining that the gamblers are broadly representative of the general population in terms of income. A 1995 study of Native American casinos in Wisconsin, however, found that gamers had an "average household income" between $20,000 and $30,000, compared with a median of $40,955 for all Wisconsin households in that year. Thirty percent were under $20,000 and only 15 percent were above $60,000 (Sherman, 2011). Rolling and other analysts have also concluded that casino gambling represents a regressive tax burdening the poor most severely, and the regressivity increases the closer an area is to casinos (Rolling, n.d.).

Two studies have taken advantage of "natural experiments" to examine whether the health of Native Americans has been improved after their tribes received added income from opening casinos. The first was a study of psychiatric symptoms of Cherokee children 9 to 13 years old from the Eastern Band of Cherokee in the Great Smoky Mountains in western North Carolina between 1993 and 2000. A Cherokee gaming casino was opened on their reservation in 1997, with half of casino profits devoted to providing per capita payments twice a year to all members of the tribe, increasing steadily to about $6000 a year by 2001. Money due the children, however, was placed in trust until they reached 18, so their income was not immediately available to the families during the study period. Some 53 percent of the Indian families were below the federal poverty line both before and after the casino payments began, 32 percent were above the poverty line in both periods, and 14 percent of families were lifted out of poverty after the per capita payments began. The persistently poor and ex-poor children had more psychiatric symptoms than the never-poor group in the beginning, but after the per capita payments began only the children who moved out of poverty showed a reduction in symptoms to the level of the never-poor. The ex-poor showed a reduction in behavioral psychiatric symptoms (conduct disorder or oppositional defiant disorder) but not in emotional psychiatric symptoms (anxiety and depression) (Costello *et al.,* 2003).

The second study was carried out by Wolfe, Jakubowski, Haveman, and Courey in UW-Madison's Institute for Research on Poverty. They assembled national data for the period from 1988 to 2003 on over 24,000 American Indians, and linked these to tribal-level data, including whether there was a Class III gaming casino owned by their tribe, and also to county-level data regarding economic factors and health resources and facilities. They sought to determine whether the exogenous increase in income associated with the presence of a Class III casino affected health status, health care utilization, and health behavior indicators. They found that the presence of such a casino for their tribe did lead to increases in income, and this in turn led to

improvements in physical health, fewer risky health behaviors, and perhaps increased access to health care. The increases in income appeared to lead to decreases in smoking, heavy drinking, obesity, hypertension, diabetes, and days of anxiety (Wolfe *et al.*, 2012).

There are eleven federally recognized tribes in Wisconsin, and in 1991 and 1992 each signed a state-tribal gaming compact authorizing Class III gaming casinos, which must be built on tribal land and are subject to annual financial audits by the Department of Administration and the Legislative Audit Bureau. In 2014 there were 17 tribal casinos offering both electronic and table games and 8 offering only electronic games. In total there were 15,660 electronic gaming devices (mainly slot machines) and 367 table games in the state. Net revenue increased steadily from $143 million in 1992 to $1,224 million in 2008, but it has declined since then to $1,152 million in 2013 (Janke, 2015).

According to the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988, revenues from tribal gaming are not to be used for purposes other than

(i) to fund tribal government operations or programs;

(ii) to provide for the general welfare of the Indian tribe and its members;

(iii) to promote tribal economic development;

(iv) to donate to charitable organizations; or

(v) to help fund operations of local government agencies.

However, if a tribe can adequately provide for these services, it is permitted to distribute the remaining revenue to all the members of the tribe in per capita payments, but it must have a Revenue Allocation Plan that is approved by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior (National Indian Gaming Commission, n.d.).

In practice, the per capita payments can be substantial in some cases or modest or nonexistent in others, depending on the profitability of the casino, the number of enrolled members in the tribe, and the philosophy of the tribe about tribal economic and social investments vs. individual distributions. The Forest County Potawatomi Community is a small tribe of 1400 members, which has a 12,000-acre reservation in Forest County in northern Wisconsin but also owns 7 acres in the heart of Milwaukee. It built a casino on its Milwaukee property that is by far the largest in Wisconsin, equipped with 2,869 electronic devices and 110 tables. With its location in

the largest population center in the state it is also the most lucrative, generating a profit of about $226 million in 2012, according to an audit commissioned by the tribe and secured by a Freedom of Information request by the Gannett Wisconsin Media Investigative Team. The Gannett team estimates that transfers from gaming profits covered 80 percent of the tribe's budget in 2012, but half of the gaming profits were devoted to per capita payments, amounting to $80,000 per member each year.

The second most profitable gaming operation is maintained by the Ho-Chunk with 1,880 electronic devices and 58 tables, primarily at its large casino near Baraboo. In 2012 it made per capita payments to each tribal member of about $12,000. Payments to minors are kept in a trust fund until the individual reaches the age of 18—or the age of 25 if he or she has not earned a high school diploma or a GED certificate (Foody, 2014b; Janke, 2015).

Other Wisconsin tribes have much smaller per capita payments, if any at all, either because they cannot afford more or because they are more interested in using the profits for tribal purposes, such as supporting health care, education, and other government services. In 2012 it is estimated that the St. Croix Chippewa made per capita payments to members of about $6000, the Lac du Flambeau Band about $3000, the Oneida Nation $1200 to those younger than 62 and $2000 to those older, the Stockbridge-Munsee Community $500, and the Menominee a negligible $75. These were certainly not enough to raise many families out of poverty status. In 2012 the Menominee transferred $8.4 million from gaming operations to its general fund, which covered more than three-fourths of all tribal government spending. The general manager of the casino said, "For a tribe as large as ours and a casino as small as ours, the gap [in expenses] is pretty considerable. We do all we can at our smaller level but we do need a boost of some sort" (Foody, 2014a; Foody, 2014b).

Some Native Americans are opposed to any per capita distributions, particularly the large lump sums that many receive when they come of age. Many believe the gambling operations are inconsistent with Native American culture and traditions. Others believe that the payments encourage dependency and tend to exacerbate the problems of drug addiction, alcoholism, and foolish, improvident spending (Foody, 2014b). There is evidence that money received from gambling has led to an increase in intratribal conflict as well as conflict between the tribes. The issue of per capita payments has come to play an often dominant role in tribal politics, and tribal leaders are sometimes unable to maintain support for constructive tribal projects in the face of demands of members for greater individual payouts. There have been some cases of tribes in other states that have unfairly purged membership rolls in order to increase the size of per capita payments to the remaining members (Galanda, 2014). The Menominee, with only a small casino in

an isolated area, sought to build a casino in Kenosha to tap into the Chicago and Milwaukee markets, but they were strongly opposed by the Potawatomi and Ho-Chunk, who feared that it would cause a substantial reduction in their profits. After a long delay in reaching a decision, Governor Walker refused to authorize the proposed Menominee casino.

Huge per capita payouts in a few instances in other states, such as Connecticut and Minnesota, have fed anti-Indian resentment. In Minnesota, for example, the small Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community owns the Mystic Lake Casino and Resort and the nearby Little Six Casino, huge cash cows only 26 miles southwest of Minneapolis. They try to maintain secrecy about tribal numbers and revenue, but the *New York Times* discovered from the divorce filings of a tribal member that each of the 480 members of the tribe receives $84,000 a month or $1,008,000 a year in per capita payments, and almost no one works at a job. This was subsequently confirmed by an individual tribal member. In terms of personal wealth, this is believed to be the richest tribe in American history (T. Williams, 2012). Most of the Native Americans in Minnesota, however, live on reservations in the sparsely settled north of the state, and casinos there do not make large profits. The largest tribe, the White Earth Band of the Minnesota Chippewa, do not give any per capita payouts to members, and the same is true of some of the other northern tribes. Gaming operations have not eliminated poverty among Native Americans in the state. For the five years ending in 2010 36.6 percent of Minnesota Indians on reservations lived in poverty, compared with 10.6 percent of all Minnesotans. Unemployment on the six largest reservations ranged from 11 to 24 percent—double to four times the rate for all Minnesotans (Schmickle, 2012a; Schmickle, 2012b).

Back in the early 1990s I remember talking with Marshall Pecore, the Forest Manager of Menominee Tribal Enterprises, who was very proud of their sustainable forestry management system. As I remember it, he had mixed feelings about their new casino and the enthusiasm of some of their members for it as a foundation for economic development. He argued that the true future of the Menominee tribe depended on its forest and their relation to the natural environment, and he regarded the gambling operation as a "windfall" that was not likely to last into the distant future. He may have been right about that, since the success of Indian gaming is largely dependent on capturing what economists describe as "rent" based on a monopoly granted—for the time being—by the government. Tribal gaming revenues are already flat or declining, but the principal threat to this source of income is from the possibility that internet gambling will be legalized under state laws that would also regulate and tax internet gambling on reservations. In addition, more and more states are legalizing casino gambling, and Maine, Ohio, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Oregon,

and Michigan have all recently authorized non-Indian casinos (T. Williams, 2012). Since many Native American tribes have become heavily dependent on revenue from gaming, a reduction in revenue from this source may create special hardships.

European Immigrants

The first white settlers in Wisconsin, starting in the 1820s, were mostly Yankees from New England and New York, but Wisconsin soon proved to be a magnet for European immigrants from England, Ireland, Norway, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Austria, and the various German states. The Wisconsin population increased from 11,000 in 1836 to over 305,000 in 1850. The foreign-born population made up 36.2 percent of the total in 1850—the highest percentage of any state. Of the 100,000 foreign-born, only 48 percent spoke English as their native language, and almost half of these were Irish. The largest group of non-English speaking immigrants were Germans, followed by the Norwegians. Immigration of Europeans to Wisconsin continued at a high rate, stimulated by letters written home by earlier immigrants, by immigrant guidebooks and pamphlets, by efforts of church groups to add more communicants, and by propaganda produced by land speculators in Wisconsin.

In 1852 the state legislature created a state agency, the Wisconsin Commission of Emigration, to compete with other states in attracting European immigrants. The Commissioner, who at first was Dutch and was followed by two Germans, hired German, Irish, Norwegian, English, and American assistants who distributed about 30,000 copies of a 16-page pamphlet in several languages about Wisconsin each year—half to Europe and half to New York. The pamphlet was probably written by John Lathrop, the President of the University of Wisconsin. The Commission had offices in New York and Quebec and also a traveling agent who was "to see that correct representations be made in eastern newspapers of our Wisconsin's great natural resources, advantages, and privileges and brilliant prospects for the future; and to use every honorable means in his power to induce emigrants to come to this state." The rise of anti-foreign sentiment in 1855 led the legislature to dissolve the commission in 1855 after only three years of operation (Current, 1976, pp. 44-45). This was only a temporary setback, however, and the state continued to encourage immigration to the state in 1867-1887 and 1895-1901.

In 1867 Governor Lucius Fairchild got Increase Lapham to prepare a new 38-page pamphlet about the attractions of Wisconsin to be distributed to prospective immigrants. Versions were produced in English, German, Norwegian, French, Dutch, Swedish, and Welsh, and more than 90,000 copies were distributed. The pamphlet concluded with this summary:

> It will be seen by the preceding statement of facts and statistics, based upon correct, usually official, evidence that Wisconsin is: A healthy state. A fertile state. A well watered state. A well wooded state. A rapidly growing state. A state where all the rights of man are respected. Where intelligence and education are permanently secured for all future time. Where all the necessities and most of the comforts and luxuries of life are easily accessible. Where the climate is congenial to the health, vigor, and happiness of the people and where the rains are duly distributed over the different seasons of the year. Where agriculture, one of the chief sources of wealth to any nation, is conducted with profit and success. Where the division of the products of labor between the laborer and the capitalist is equitably made. Where the farmers are the owners of the land they cultivate. Where honest labor always secures a competence for a man and his family. Where land can be obtained almost without price. Where property is constantly increasing in value. Where every man has a voice in deciding the policy of the government under which he lives. Where ample and proper provisions are made for the unfortunate. Where every citizen is eligible to any office in the government. Where there is a great variety of occupations open to all. Where there is a due proportion between the city and country population, each affording mutual benefits and promoting the general welfare (Lapham, 1867).

What impoverished European peasant or worker facing a bleak future in a rigid society could resist such hyperbolic blandishments? Nothing was said about displacement of Native Americans.

There was a democratic spirit in the early days of Wisconsin settlement, and when a state constitution was adopted in 1848, voting rights were granted to aliens who had lived in the state for six months and who declared their intention to become citizens. It seemed appropriate, since they made up more than a third of the population and obviously were not mere visitors or sojourners. In fact, some forty states permitted noncitizens to vote at some time in the past. When economic and political elites believed that their political control was threatened by an increasing body of poor immigrant voters, they reacted by disenfranchising millions of Americans, usually in the name of reforming corrupt political machines. The establishment press, including the *Atlantic Monthly,* the *Nation*, and the *North American Review*, published articles criticizing the growing influence of immigrants in politics. Still Wisconsin maintained noncitizen voting for sixty years until a wave of anti-Slavic feeling led to the repeal of the voting provision for noncitizen immigrants in 1908 (Hayduk, 2006, pp. 38-39).

In spite of occasional flareups of anti-immigrant sentiment and ethnic conflict, more than a third of the Wisconsin population continued to be

foreign-born in 1860 and 1870, and the foreign-born were still 31 percent in 1880 and 1890, bolstered by an influx of Swedes starting in the 1860s and Poles in the 1870s and 1880s. By 1910 the foreign-born population was down to 23 percent, but 45 percent of the state residents had one parent or both parents who were foreign-born.

The largest immigrant group by far was German, coming from Prussia, the other German states, and Austria, with Poles probably the second largest group. It is difficult to determine just how many Poles came to Wisconsin, because in the nineteenth century Poland's territory was partitioned among Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, and the U.S. Census used country of birth as its indicator of ethnicity until it began to use mother tongue after 1910. Poland did not regain its territory until 1918, so most Poles were classified earlier as Germans, Russians, or Austrians. Norwegians were the first and the largest of the Scandinavian groups to come to Wisconsin and were probably the third largest immigrant group. Considerable numbers of Swedes and Danes followed later.

There was a substantial amount of prejudice by the established Yankee and British residents toward the foreign newcomers. There were somewhat different stereotypes applied to each group, but the core of most was that members of the group were stupid, ignorant, uncivilized, uncouth, and impoverished. The stereotypes of Germans and of Jews from Germany and Eastern Europe, however, differed from the others and emphasized other supposed characteristics. Vicious jokes ridiculing Norwegians, Swedes, Poles, and the Irish abounded. They were mostly based on the same core stereotype and could be applied almost interchangeably to each of these and similar white immigrant groups. Even after anti-black and anti-Semitic jokes came to be regarded as taboo in polite company, it was not uncommon to hear jokes about the early Upper Midwest immigrants, even though they had long since become "Americanized."

The immigrant group that was the first to bear the brunt of prejudice and discrimination was the Irish, who fled the potato famine in Ireland in the 1840s and arrived in the United States virtually destitute. There was a special animus toward them because they were mostly Roman Catholic in a country dominated by English-speaking Protestants. There were many anti-Irish and anti-Catholic riots in the Northeastern states in the 1830s and 1840s. In 1834 a mob burned an Ursuline convent in what is now Somerville, Massachusetts, and in May and July, 1844, there was a series of riots in Philadelphia organized by nativists who attacked Irish Catholics (Schrage, n.d.) The anti-Irish prejudice was fanned by political cartoons by Thomas Nast and others who depicted the Irish as ape-like in appearance as well as drunken, lawless, belligerent, and resistant to assimilation. Politicians, especially in the Whig party, began to court the nativist vote. In the 1850s the

great influx of Irish and German Catholics provoked a much stronger political reaction. A secret organization founded in 1849 to combat the influence of immigrants and Catholics decided to go public and founded the American Party, more popularly known as the Know Nothing Party. It attracted many voters from the nearly defunct Whig Party and had considerable success in the elections of 1854. It swept Massachusetts and won 52 seats in the US House of Representatives and 1 Senate seat in 1854. In 1856 it won 14 House seats and 5 Senate seats.

Even in Wisconsin the Know-Nothings formed Councils in various parts of the state and had their own newspaper, the *Milwaukee Daily American*. The newspaper persistently attacked immigrants and people of the Catholic faith, warning, "You cannot have failed to observe the significant transition of the foreigner and Romanist from a character quiet, retiring, and even abject, to one bold, threatening, turbulent, and *despotic* in its appearance and assumptions." It advised its readers to oppose anyone of foreign birth or the Catholic faith running for public office: "Let us keep *down* the newly arrived flood of emigration until they understand our language and our laws . . . while their *children* are educated and become Americanized—then we are safe" (Currant, 1976, pp. 144-145).

In the 1856 Presidential election, the American Party had no success at all in Wisconsin, with its large immigrant and Catholic population. John C. Fremont, the candidate of the new Republican Party, carried the state with 55 percent of the vote, the Democrat James Buchanan was second, and former President Millard Fillmore, who was the Whig-Know Nothing candidate, received only 579 votes—a mere 0.5 percent of the total. Nationally Buchanan won the election, but Fillmore received 21.5 percent of the popular vote. The American Party went into steep decline after that and by 1860 won no seats in Congress.

The first Irish to arrive in Wisconsin were experienced miners who began to exploit rich lead deposits in the southwest corner of the state in the 1820s. Fox and Sauk and other tribal peoples had used minerals from the area for centuries. Jesse Schull, one of John Jacob Astor's fur traders build a trading post at today's Schullsburg in 1820, and in 1826 some Indians showed him rich, easily accessible lead deposits in the area. Word spread quickly, and soon the area was largely occupied by the Irish miners. Lead was a very valuable mineral at the time, for it was used for bullets, pewter, pipes, weights, and paint, and the deposits on or near the surface could be mined with simple, inexpensive hand tools. Many of the miners lived in tunnels burrowed into the hillsides and came to be called "badgers." Wisconsin became known as the "Badger State" as a result, and UW-Madison adopted the badger as its mascot in 1889. Buckingham ("Bucky") U. Badger was chosen as the mascot's name in a contest in 1949.

Another equally poor group of Cornish miners from Cornwall, where the mining industry had collapsed, arrived in the 1830s and settled largely around Mineral Point. The settlement founded by the Irish, however, which they initially called New Dublin, was the oldest in the area and the third oldest in the state, after Green Bay and Prairie du Chien ("History of Historic Schullsburg WI," n.d.) Another lead mining community, Belmont, was the first capitol of Wisconsin, and the Territorial Legislature met there in 1836, passed 42 laws, established a judicial system, and selected Madison as the first permanent capitol. Madison was an uninhabited area then, but James Doty, a circuit judge and land speculator who had bought up 1200 acres on the isthmus between Lakes Mendota and Monona, persuaded the legislators to select his "paper town" over seventeen other possible townsites.

Even with primitive tools the Irish miners did well in the early years of mining, and they continued to dominate the New Dublin area until the 1840s, though the name of the community was changed to Schullsburg. After the easily accessible lead deposits were depleted, however, larger amounts of capital were needed to finance the more costly underground operations. The mines fell into the hands of Eastern capitalists who were prejudiced against Irish workers, and they began trying to purge the Irish from their work force. When the Irish miners demanded higher wages, the mining companies sent agents to Sweden to recruit miners to replace the Irish (Byrne *et al.*, 2008). Before long the Irish were not a significant part of the mining industry in Wisconsin, and the bulk of subsequent Irish immigration went to counties bordering Lake Michigan, especially in or near Green Bay and Milwaukee. By 1847 there were 2500 Irish in Milwaukee, mostly in the Third Ward, which was known as the Irish ward (Kellogg, 1920). The total number of Irish in the state was about 21,000 in 1850 and 50,000 in 1860 ("Ethnic Groups in Wisconsin, n.d.). Though there was a considerable amount of anti-Irish prejudice in Wisconsin, it did not lead to anti-Irish riots and mob violence such as that which occurred in eastern cities.

A major ethnic conflict emerged in 1889 and 1890 over the issue of language of instruction in parochial schools maintained by many German Catholic, German Lutheran, and Norwegian Lutheran communities. State political offices had been firmly under the control of the Republican Party since 1855, with the exception of a brief interruption from 1872-1875 when it antagonized the German population with a strict saloon licensing law. Generally, leaders of the party tried to avoid antagonizing the German population, since they had considerable support from the group. In 1888, however, William D. Hoard, a politically inexperienced outsider in the party, who was the publisher of *Hoard's Dairyman*, was nominated and elected governor. At the request of Governor Hoard, Assemblyman Michael Bennett, an Irish Catholic from Pine Knot, introduced a bill that instituted

compulsory education for children ages 7 to 14 and required that principal subjects be taught in English in both public and private schools. Bennett essentially copied a model law drafted by a group of educational leaders in Chicago that included the clause, "No school shall be regarded as a school unless there shall be taught therein, as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history in the English language." It was passed by the Wisconsin legislature in 1889 without opposition and without debate, and Governor Hoard proudly signed the bill.

Two months later the German Lutherans began to protest. The Wisconsin Synod had about 9,000 Wisconsin children in 164 parochial schools, a third of which used German exclusively as the language of instruction. It denounced the law as "tyrannical and unjust" and demanded repeal or drastic modification. Other Lutheran synods followed suit, including the Norwegians, and then the German Catholics joined the protest. Governor Hoard lashed out at the protesters, fanning the flames further, to the dismay of other Republican leaders:

> We must fight alienism and selfish ecclesiasticism, for unless we do these dangers will rise and confront us in the future. The parents, the pastor, and the church have entered into a conspiracy to darken the understanding of the children, who are denied by cupidity and bigotry the privilege of even the free schools of the state. A large proportion were purposely kept in ignorance (Whyte, 1927, p. 388).

Hoard's campaign for a second term in 1890 centered around the school issue and his own rhetoric emphasized defense of the public school system, which was not really under attack by anyone. This venture into nativism by the Republican Party in Wisconsin engendered a furious reaction and brought a resounding disaster to Republican candidates in the 1890 election. Democrats captured every major political office except for one Congressional seat. When the new legislature convened after the election, the Bennett law was promptly repealed and replaced by a new law without the English requirement (Jensen, 1971, pp. 122-148).

Even though the antiassimilationists had won, they realized that their children would need to gain equal facility in English to compete for jobs with children from English language schools, and most of the Catholic and Lutheran communities that still had foreign language instruction in their schools voluntarily began to switch over to English. In 1898 the legislature passed a new law requiring English instruction in all schools and limiting foreign language instruction to one hour a day. It ceased to be an inflammatory issue (Ranney, 1999, p. 341). Worries about the assimilation of immigrants proved to be unfounded, and most of the groups became thoroughly

assimilated and Americanized, though they maintained a symbolic affiliation to their ancestral culture through the celebration of ethnic holidays, preparation of ethnic foods, and interest in cultural history.

Anti-German Prejudice and Discrimination in Wisconsin

Because of heavy German immigration to Wisconsin in the nineteenth century, Milwaukee became a largely German city. By late in the century as many as two-thirds of the city's population was German speaking, the highest proportion of any major city in the country, even more than Cincinnati and St. Louis, the two other principal cities in the "German American Triangle." The Germans came in different waves from different parts of Central Europe and thought of themselves at first more as Prussians, Bavarians, Rhinelanders, etc. rather than as Germans, and there was some conflict among the groups. Gradually a unified German American culture emerged, and the people took pride in Milwaukee being the center of German culture in the United States—the *Deutches-Athen*, the German Athens.

Each of the German immigrant groups had a sense of *kultur*, a feeling that German culture was superior to Anglo-Saxon culture, which they saw as puritanical and restrictive of festivity and enjoyment or *gemütlichkeit*. The Germans had a love of music, dancing, festivals, and beer (M. Anderson and Greene, 2009, p. 5). German athletic and social clubs (*Turnverein*), singing clubs (*Liederkranz*), musical societies, drama clubs, and art groups proliferated, and there were many German language newspapers and book publishers in Milwaukee. Early historian James Buck recorded 138 taverns in Milwaukee as early as 1843, an average of one tavern for every forty residents at the time. By 1856 there were more than two dozen breweries in the city, most owned and operated by persons of German descent, and Milwaukee became the nation's leading beer producer (Milwaukee Timeline, n.d.). Beer and alcohol became a focal point of ethnic conflict between Anglos and Germans in Wisconsin throughout the rest of the century, with Anglos attempting to pass prohibition or at least maintain tight regulations.

When World War I started in 1914, the United States remained officially neutral until 1917, though the sympathies of most Americans were with the Allied Powers. During this period most German Americans in Wisconsin tended to support Imperial Germany and the Central Powers, and many families had pictures of Kaiser Wilhelm II on their living room walls, but this caused little difficulty as long as the U.S. remained officially neutral. Charity Bazaars for the "Benefit of War Sufferers in Germany, Austria and Hungary" raised millions of dollars in relief aid in many major cities. In Milwaukee local Germans and Austrians rented the Auditorium for a week-long

charity war bazaar that attracted 175,000 people and raised over $160,000 ($3 million in 2016 dollars) (B. Jacobson, 2013; Gurda, 2007, p. 65).

When President Woodrow Wilson declared war against Germany and the Central Powers on April 17, 1917, the situation of German Americans suddenly changed in a disastrous direction almost overnight. President Wilson immediately designated all German citizens in the country as "alien enemies," and they were banned from living near military facilities or airports or in port cities or the national capitol. If they lived near a defense plant, which was just about anywhere in Milwaukee, they had to get a special permit. They were required to disclose their bank accounts and property to an Alien Property Custodian. In 1918 some 250,000 German citizens were required to register at their local post office and be fingerprinted, and they were told to carry their registration cards at all times, and report any change of address or employment. The Justice Department prepared a watch list of 480,000 German aliens. A total of 6,300 German Americans were arrested as dangerous, but most were paroled and only 2,300 were interned in military prison camps. About 1,400 civilians—academics, journalists, business people, artists, etc.—were interned at Fort Oglethorpe in Georgia, and 800 were interned at Fort Douglas in Utah, along with German prisoners of war and 200 conscientious objectors. The Justice Department secured indictments of 2,000 under the Espionage Act, but not a single person was actually accused of being a spy. Some of the internees were not released until March and April, 1920—more than sixteen months after the Armistice was declared (Wüstenbecker, 2014; Boundless, 2015; "Anti-German Hysteria," n.d.; Gurda, 2007).

Soon after the U.S. entered the war, Congress passed laws restricting the rights of speech, publication, and trade, and even the mildest dissent from the war could lead to arrest, trial, and prison sentences of five to twenty years. The Bill of Rights was never more flagrantly ignored by the President, Congress, and the judicial system. President Wilson and his Attorney General were particularly worried about the loyalty of German Americans, and they formulated a plan to use amateur volunteers to observe and spy on their neighbors—both foreign- and native-born Germans. The American Protective League mushroomed into a network of some 200,000 "untrained, volunteer, amateur detectives," who were deputized as a semi-official branch of the Bureau of Investigation and furnished with badges and certificates. Wilson also encouraged states to form commissions to promote the war effort, and some of these, such as the National Security League and the American Defense Society, became very powerful "superpatriotic" organizations assessing the "loyalty" of people and suppressing civil liberties. German Americans were often compelled to attend public meetings to declare their hostility toward Germany and to affirm their wholehearted

support for the Allied war effort. They were expected to buy war bonds, give to the Red Cross, sing the national anthem, and kiss the American flag.

The government created a propaganda agency, the Committee on Public Information, under the direction of journalist George Creel, to build support for the war. In alliance with the self-proclaimed patriotic loyalty organizations, it brought on what can only be described as a public anti-German hysteria, that resulted in countless injustices. Occasionally it led to violence, with beatings and tar-and-featherings, not only of dissidents, but of German Americans who were entirely innocent of any wrongdoing or disloyalty. On April 5, 1918, A German coal miner named Robert Prager in Collinsville, Illinois, was falsely suspected of being part of a nonexistent conspiracy to blow up the mine, though there was no evidence whatever against him. He had been in the country since 1905, had applied for American citizenship, and had tried unsuccessfully to join the U.S. Navy. A group of drunken miners seized him and paraded him through the town and threatened to hang him. The police took him into protective custody, but a growing mob, inflamed by more alcohol, later seized him from the jail, put a rope around his neck, and hanged him from the limb of a tree. Twelve people from the mob were tried for murder, but all were acquitted, even though the murder was committed in public and there was no evidence that Prager was a "spy" ("War Hysteria & the Persecution of German-Americans," 2012).

A similar incident took place in Wisconsin on Oct. 20, 1918, involving a farmer named John Deml in Outagamie County, a heavily German and Scandinavian area. Just after midnight a large group of men came in many cars and surrounded his house. They pounded on the door and demanded to be let in, threatening to break down the doors. They said they were from the Council of Defense and they wanted him to "sign up" for more war bonds. He said he had done his share the previous spring when he bought $450 of war bonds. They told him that he had been given an additional assessment to buy another $850 in war bonds—an amount that he could not afford. According to a statement Deml made later, "I said, 'I will not sign up at this time of night.' Then a man shouted, 'Get the rope!' The first I knew was when the rope was about my neck and around my body under my arms." He was forced to his knees and beaten, but after a while he was released and told to come into town Sunday morning to purchase the war bonds. He did not. The gang of men probably only intended to scare Deml into submission, but the confrontation could easily have developed into a lynching if the mob had been larger, it had taken place in public in daytime in the nearby city, and alcohol had flowed more freely ("Prussianizing Wisconsin," 1919, pp. 101-102).

On September 14, 1918, a mob of 200 people surrounded the house of Mrs. Caroline Krueger in Clark County, Wisconsin. Her three sons were

pacifists and refused to serve in the army, so the mob riddled the home with bullets that killed one of the sons ("Anti-German Hysteria," n.d.) In March, 1918, E. A. Schimler, a Professor of German at Northland College in Ashland, Wisconsin, was taken from his room at midnight by almost a dozen masked men, taken to a deserted place outside the city, stripped, deprived of his clothes and wallet, and then coated all over with a generous application of tar and feathers. They left him to walk back to the city, where police took him to the YMCA to clean his body. He apparently was attacked for no other reason than that he taught German. The mayor offered a $100 reward for information that would lead to the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators, but they were never apprehended ("Professor of Northland Tarred and Feathered," 1918).

The war against the troops of the Central Powers soon turned into a general war against German language, culture, and all things German. In Milwaukee, the most German large city in the nation, instruction in the German language and the study of Goethe and Schiller disappeared from school classrooms (Gurda, 2007, p. 66). By March, 1918, 38 of the 48 states had restricted or ended German-language instruction in schools, and Ohio, Iowa, and Nebraska passed laws prohibiting the use of any foreign language in public places or on the telephone, though the latter were declared unconstitutional in 1923 and 1925. The superpatriots argued that preservation of the German language would retard the assimilation of German immigrants and would brutalize young people. One argued, "Any language which produces a people of ruthless conquestadors [sic] such as now exist in Germany, is not a fit language to teach clean and pure American boys and girls." German language newspapers were suppressed—almost 100 in Wisconsin alone—and libraries removed German language books, music scores of German composers, and even English language books about Germany from their shelves, sometimes even staging public burnings—an eerie precursor of Nazi book burnings in the 1930s. In Baraboo the Wisconsin National Guard ignited the bonfire of German books on Main Street. In Davenport, Iowa, one of the most heavily German cities in the Midwest, the Board of Education itself hosted a book burning of 500 German textbooks in front of students from several schools.

Most German American church congregations switched from German to English for religious services, and the remaining parochial schools using German also adopted English. A Minnesota minister was tarred and feathered when he was overheard praying in German with a dying woman. In many locales it was forbidden to speak German in public. There was a wave of renamings to avoid any reference to Germany or German culture. Berlin, Michigan, became Marne; Berlin, Iowa, became Lincoln; and Berlin, Ohio, became Fort Loramie. Germantown, Nebraska, became Garland.

East Germantown, Indiana, was changed to Pershing. German foods disappeared from restaurant menus or were renamed. Sauerkraut became liberty cabbage, hamburger became liberty steak or liberty sandwich. Frankfurters were renamed liberty sausages and then hot-dogs. Dachshunds became liberty pups and German shepherds were renamed Alsatian shepherds and even German measles was called liberty measles by a few (Wüstenbecker, 2014). Many German families sought to avoid further harassment by changing their family names to appear less German by shortening or translating them. *Schneider* (tailor or cutter) was Anglicized as Taylor, and *Schmidt* (blacksmith) became Smith (Gurda, 2014).

Before World War I about 25 percent of American high school students studied German. By 1922 it had plummeted to 0.6 percent and even by 1948 was still only 0.8 percent (Baron, 2014). A survey by the Department of Education in 1997 found that 24 percent of American high schools taught German—far below the percent that taught Spanish and French—and it fell to 14 percent in 2008, as many high schools dropped German to make room for teaching Chinese (Dillon, 2012).

German cultural organizations and social clubs during World War I either were forced to change their names to eliminate any German reference or were shut down for the duration of the war. The elite Deutscher social club in Milwaukee had to change its name to the Wisconsin Club, and the best private school in the city, the German English Academy, was renamed the Milwaukee University School. Orchestras in Milwaukee were not permitted to play classical music by German composers—not just Wagner, who was associated with German nationalism, but also Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, and Brahms, the greatest composers of Western music. Frederick Stock, the German conductor of the Chicago Symphony, was fired, and Karl Muck, the German-born conductor of the Boston Symphony, was imprisoned for continuing to include some German music in his programs.

The *Milwaukee Journal* delegated a reporter, Frank Perry Olds, to read the German newspapers in Milwaukee and write exposés of what he regarded as unpatriotic or pro-German views in the newspapers. For its efforts in attacking press freedom, the newspaper in 1919 received a Pulitzer Prize for Public Service—according to the citation, "For its strong and courageous campaign for Americanism in a constituency where foreign elements made such a policy hazardous from a business point of view." The Wisconsin Loyalty Legion succeeded in having the description of Milwaukee as the "German Athens" removed from state guide books, and it also draped cloaks over the Goethe and Schiller statue in Washington Park in Milwaukee—but only because they were denied permission to destroy it (Anti-German Hysteria," n.d.).

In October, 1919, almost a year after the Armistice was signed, the palatial Pabst Theater, one of the leading German-language theaters in America, tried to present Schiller's play "William Tell," in the original German. A vigilante mob of war veterans positioned a cannon in front of the theater and promised some real fireworks if the producers tried to raise the curtain. The *Milwaukee Journal* asked the Pabst Theater to discontinue German language plays, which it did. In the words of historian John Gurda, "German culture was pretty much cut off at the knees" (Gurda, 2007, 2014).

One of the important landmarks in Milwaukee in 1917 was a one-third size replica of Johannes Schilling's statue of Germania overlooking the Rhine and commemorating the defeat of Napoleon III and the rebirth of the German Empire in 1871. (The French retaliated by building an even larger statue of Miss Liberty, which they gave to the United States to stand in New York harbor and welcome immigrants.) The Milwaukee copy stood atop a front portico of the eight-story Germania Building at 135 W. Wells St. The owner of the Germania Building was George Brumder, an immigrant from Alsace-Lorraine who rose to become a wealthy publishing and banking magnate and owner of the *Germania-Herald*, an important German language newspaper. After America entered the war in 1917, a British-Canadian recruiting officer, Lieutenant A. J. Crozier, began a campaign to remove the statue. He told the *Milwaukee Journal*, "The sight of that statue at a time like this makes me see red." George Brumder had died by this time and been succeeded by his son William, who had been a football star at the University of Wisconsin but had also studied in Strasbourg, Leipzig, and Berlin. To protect the property, William decided to remove the statue, rename the building Brumder, and rename the Germania National Bank as the National Bank of Commerce. He also felt compelled to rebrand the family's popular *Germania Kalendar* as *America Calendar*, with the cover featuring a picture of the Statue of Liberty rather than Germania. He did not want to see the statue destroyed by a mob, so he asked the gifted metalworker Cyril Colnik to gather a group of helpers to pull off a midnight "theft" of the statue and hide it in his workshop, where it remained for decades. It eventually disappeared, and no one knows its fate (B. Jacobson, 2013). The name of the Brumder Building was changed back to Germania in 1981.

By the time of World War II, German Americans were much more assimilated and Americanized, and there was not the same kind of anti-German hysteria gripping the nation. Nevertheless, a large number of German Americans were forced by the government to leave sensitive coastal areas, and recent immigrants, including our own Hans Gerth, had to register as enemy aliens and remain confined to their home communities.

The Inglorious Record of Early Wisconsin Sociologists on Race and Ethnicity

Though Richard T. Ely and the social scientists he brought into his department at the University of Wisconsin in the 1890s and 1900s were considered progressives in their day, they were anything but champions of racial and ethnic minorities. They were not exercised about the issue of discrimination toward minority groups and saw minorities primarily as a threat to the welfare of working class white Americans. As I pointed out in earlier chapters, Commons and Ross published explicitly racist books and some of the writings of Dowd and Lescohier could also be interpreted in that light. It is difficult to determine the extent to which these racist ideas were incorporated into the courses that they taught in the absence of transcripts of lecture notes. There is some evidence, however, in the catalog descriptions of courses and in the textbooks published by the faculty.

John R. Commons joined the department in 1904, and according to the 1903-4 university catalog he taught Pol. Econ. 62, "Race Elements in American Industry," in 1904. The catalog description has a strong suggestion that it contained the themes elaborated in his racist book, *Races and Immigrants in America,* that he published in 1907:

> The unique feature of American industrial and labor problems is the variety of races in industries and localities, the competition of races, prepare a way for the proper understanding of labor history in the United States this course will include an examination of the industrial qualities of the several races, their capacities as producers, their part in promoting American industrial supremacy, their standards of living, the relative influence of climate, civilization and heredity on industrial capacities, the sources of immigration, the distribution of races in industries, and localities, the competition of races, the influence of industry and labor organizations in the assimilation of races, legislation regulating immigration, etc. Five hours a week. Professor Commons.

The course was not taught in 1905, and it disappeared from the university catalog in 1905-06. He apparently did not continue teaching courses of this nature, perhaps because of the arrival of E. A. Ross, who took up the cause of raising alarms about immigration and its "threat" to American workers.

Ross did not teach courses that were explicitly about racial or ethnic groups except for a course of six lectures on "Race and Society" in 1909-10. He was a prolific textbook writer, however, and they give some evidence of what was probably in his introductory sociology courses. His 1905 text,

Foundations of Sociology, contains a chapter on "The Causes of Race Superiority" in which he made claims about different types of abilities of an assortment of racial and ethnic groups, though his argument was based on the acceptance of popular stereotypes rather than evidence. He also cautioned that racial differences may be due to social conditions rather than hereditary factors, and he objected to the crude biological racism of some other writers. He concluded, however, that old line white Americans were a superior group:

> It is true that our average of energy and character is lowered by the presence in the South of several millions of an inferior race. It is true that the last twenty years have diluted us with masses of fecund but beaten humanity from the hovels of far Lombardy and Galicia. It is true that our free land is gone and our opportunities will henceforth attract immigrants chiefly from the humbler strata of East European peoples. Yet . . . I believe there is at the present moment no people in the world that is, man for man, equal to the Americans in capacity and efficiency (Ross, 1905, p. 384).

He also espoused the doctrine of "race suicide"—the notion that new immigrants are outreproducing the dominant white Anglo group, so that "the higher race quietly and unmurmuringly eliminates itself. . . ." (*Ibid*, p. 383).

Ross confirmed his radical reputation as a teacher by offering "Seminary on Bad Government" in 1905-06 and "Seminary on Modern Sin" in 1906-07. The "sinners" he had in mind were the "robber barons" and other large monopoly capitalists of his era. Ross liked to mock the sanctimonious big business tycoons, and he believed that it was his publication of the book *Sin and Society* that led to his almost being fired at Wisconsin. Ross' progressive credentials were tarnished in modern eyes, however, by his racist proclivities. In 1907 he began teaching courses on population and remained the department's principal expert on population for many years afterward. These courses probably incorporated his racist views of immigration, including the notion of "race suicide." Ross was an outspoken supporter of eugenics in his early years at Wisconsin also, and it is not unlikely that some of these ideas found their way into his population courses and seminars.

Ross still retained many of his racist ideas in his 1920 text, *Principles of Sociology*. He appeared startlingly naïve in writing

> . . . No one can doubt that races differ in intellectual ability. Otherwise why should most unbiased observers rate the Chinese intellectually above the Japanese, the Chinese of Fokien above those of Hupeh, the Indians of Peru above the Indians of Ecuador, the Senegalese above the

> Guinea Negroes, the North Italians above the South Italians, the Russian Jews above the Slavic Russians, the Armenians above the Kurds, the Arabs above the Turks? Some of these contrasts may be due to opportunity, stimulation or social inheritance, but surely not all (Ross, 1920, p. 63).

Ross admitted that there was not yet a final conclusion to be drawn concerning the comparative brain power of races, but he expected that the development of better tests of mental ability would soon dispel the fog shrouding the subject. In the same volume he expressed opposition to discrimination based on racial differences, and he even quoted H. G. Wells, who said,

> I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than Race Prejudice; none at all. . . . It is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world.

But in spite of seemingly expressing approval of Wells' lofty sentiments, Ross was equivocal. He wrote that there were no grounds for oppressing, dispossessing, or exterminating any portion of mankind, but he thought it acceptable to show preferences for one race over another in "disposing of opportunities" and "admitting strangers to the national society" (Ross, 1920, p. 66).

Ross taught a graduate seminar on "Group Conflict" between 1924 and his retirement in 1937, and it is probable that it followed the general lines of the chapter on "Race Conflict" in the 1930 and 1938 editions of his *Principles of Sociology*. By this time Ross had abandoned most of his racist ideas, and his central concern became the reduction of conflict among racial and ethnic groups. He argued that segregation was not an effective means of reducing conflict, because unless "the weaker race generally acquiesces in such restrictions latent conflict will persist" (Ross, 1938, p. 262). Most of his discussion of racial conflict, however, is vacuous and lacking in insight. He concluded, however, "Than the relations of color races no social question is more in need of scientific approach, rational self-control, and the organized effort of the best element in all races" (*Ibid*., p. 265). He was three decades late in recognizing the importance of sociological research on this topic.

As I discussed in Chapter 6, vol. 1, in 1919 during the wave of anti-immigrant hysteria, President Charles Van Hise sought to deflect pressure on the university by hiring the young economist Don Divance Lescohier to teach courses on immigration and Americanization. This did not counter the racist views of Ross on the subject, for Lescohier adopted very much the same perspective as Ross. Lescohier advocated restrictions on European

immigration, which was coming largely from eastern and southern Europe, to protect the wages and working conditions of American workers. He most strongly advocated the curtailment of Asian immigration. Between 1919 and 1934 he regularly taught a course on "Americanization" and "The American People" (later renamed "Immigration and Race Problems"), He preferred to teach the latter which he considered to be a more sociological analysis of population problems.

John L. Gillin was a prolific author of textbooks on introductory sociology, social pathology, and social problems. His four editions of *Social Pathology* published between 1933 and 1946 have only a few pages on race relations, mainly on lynchings and race riots. When he started writing textbooks on social problems, he devoted two chapters to race relations in each edition, one on the bases of race conflict and one on policies and programs for dealing with problems of minorities. The third edition of *Social Problems*, published in 1943, is representative of Gillin's thinking—and that of a great many other sociologists—up to that time. It was co-authored in 1943 with three of his colleagues at Wisconsin, Clarence Gus Dittmer, Roy J. Colbert, and Norman Mantonya Kastler. It took an accommodationist approach to American race relations, similar to that of Booker T. Washington. The authors rejected the view that African Americans are inherently inferior, but they argued that the use of political action to try to secure the right to vote and full civil rights was futile.

> It is an American practice to attempt to solve any and every sort of social problem through political action. . . . It is little wonder, therefore, that a large proportion of the Negro population as well as a considerable number of whites should pin their faith for a solution to the problems of race relations on this American obsession for political action. They are convinced that if the Negro were given full and unrestricted use of the ballot, and allowed his "rightful and proportionate place" in politics and governmental positions, as was intended under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, then the injustices and vexing discriminations would be corrected. . . . But, idealistic and democratic as this proposal may seem, there is not the remotest possibility of its being realized (Gillin et al., 1943, pp. 93-94).

The authors went on to argue that public opinion does not support the law and that if African American political action begins to threaten white interests, all doors will be closed to them. They concluded ". . . political action will not solve the problem of race relations." They then quoted Booker T. Washington about the futility of trying to use political action to improve the welfare of African Americans, and they gave tacit approval of a strategy

of securing separate but truly equal institutions and opportunities. They had kind words for segregation as a means of avoiding race conflict and for providing opportunities for the advancement of the minority group members. In a risible passage they even naively accepted the contention of southern segregationists that African Americans in general preferred separate amusement and recreational facilities:

> In general, the Negroes prefer separate amusement and recreational accommodations and have usually organized and provided their own play, where separate public accommodations for them were lacking. Even in athletics they have seldom sought to compete with the whites, especially where their numbers were large enough to permit their keeping to themselves (Gillin et al., 1943, p. 103).

The Reorientation of Wisconsin Sociology on Race and Ethnicity

In the following years of the 1940s American culture began to change. Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, was published in 1944 and had a major impact on the thought of sociologists, though it led to a greater focus on white prejudice than on the possibility of direct political action by African Americans. Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947 and broke the modern-day major league baseball color barrier, which had been in effect ever since Moses Fleetwood Walker and his brother had been forced out of the major leagues in the 1880s. President Harry S Truman issued an Executive Order integrating the armed forces in 1948. The University of Oklahoma was forced to admit Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher, an African American law student, by a 1948 US Supreme Court decision, but it required her to sit in a chair in classrooms with a chain around it and a sign over it that read "Colored." Other African American students were also admitted, but the university attempted to maintain internal segregation in the classrooms and in the cafeteria. George W. McLaurin, a doctoral student in education, was made to sit in an anteroom apart from white students, but he filed suit against the university, and the Supreme Court ruled in 1950 that the school restrictions impaired his ability to learn and violated the equal protection of the laws section of the Fourteenth Amendment. The legal precedents and the public perception of the absurdity of the internal segregation rules helped to prepare the way for the epochal 1954 Brown v. Board of Education school desegregation decision.

When Gillin and his colleagues published a fourth edition of *Social Problems* in 1952, the section on race relations was completely rewritten and recast by Norman Kastler, who was apparently more aware of the new

social currents than his colleagues. The old accommodationist perspective was abandoned, and the need for political action to secure civil rights for minorities was embraced. Two years before Brown vs. Board of Education and four years before the Montgomery Bus Boycott, it advocated strong measures to end discrimination toward African Americans. Kastler said in an interview, "Unless we can put our own house in order, we may well find ourselves in the tragic position of having betrayed our democratic heritage—losing it not alone for ourselves but for the world." ("Sociologists' New Text Warns on Race Relations," 1952, p. 14). Though Gillin did not write the new chapter, he accepted its point of view and continued to be listed as senior author on the title page.

Notwithstanding the difficult problems that racial and ethnic minorities in Wisconsin and the nation faced, it had taken fifty years (or seventy years from the time of John Bascom) for Wisconsin sociologists to reach this point of understanding. The old order had passed. Commons retired in 1933, Ross in 1937, Gillin in 1941, and Lescohier stopped teaching his Americanization courses in 1934. In 1942 or 1943 the Department of Sociology for the first time deemed the subject of racial and minority groups worthy of having a specific course—Sociology 164, "Problems of Racial and Other Minority Groups in the United States." It was taught by Thomas C. McCormick, a methodologist who became chair of the department in 1942. He was a native of Alabama and spent much of his career in the South. I have not found any information about his views regarding minority groups, but he was a sound scholar, and J. Milton Yinger, who became a leader in the race relations field, was one of his graduate students. I seriously doubt that he took a "southern view" of race relations. The next year he introduced a second course, Sociology 186, "Social Psychology of Prejudice,' and in 1950 he taught a graduate seminar on prejudice and discrimination. After his death in 1952 Marshall B. Clinard taught the course on problems of minority groups and the anthropologist Milton L. Barnett taught the courses and seminars on prejudice and discrimination in the 1950s.

In 1952 the department hired a sociologist for the first time who was a specialist on race and ethnic relations—Morton Rubin—but perversely did not assign him to teach courses in the area. Rubin was well prepared. He had written a master's thesis at the University of North Carolina on the French Basque community, which he had encountered during World War II working as a French translator in the army. He then did a study of the segregation of blacks in Wilcox County, Alabama, for his PhD dissertation at North Carolina. It was published as *Plantation County*. He had met Jewish refugees from the Holocaust during the war and went to Israel in 1951 to work for a time as a social worker. He returned to Israel on several occasions and in 1974 published a study of Arabs and Jews in a northern Israeli

town. Rubin joined the Wisconsin department in 1952 and left in 1957 as an Assistant Professor to go to Northeastern University in Boston, where he remained until his retirement. At Northeastern he was a noted teacher of race relations, and when a crisis erupted over busing of school children in Boston, he started teaching an extremely popular course on "The Sociology of Boston," examining the city's history and its problems concerning race, poverty, and education (Hirsch, 2011).

A young Stanley Lieberson arrived at the University of Wisconsin in 1961 and took over most of the teaching about racial and ethnic minorities for a few years, both the old course on problems of American minority groups and a new more theoretical course on race and ethnic relations. He was particularly interested in the role of language in ethnic relations and incorporated this into his courses. In 1965 I started teaching the course on problems of American minority groups and continued to do so for the next two decades, while Seymour Spilerman and then Karl Taeuber taught the course on race and ethnic relations.

A number of others also taught courses on minorities from time to time, but perhaps the commitment of Wisconsin sociologists to the subject was best demonstrated in the research that was carried out—not just by race and ethnic relations specialists but by most of the demographers and by those in other specialty areas. Particularly noteworthy were contributions by Robert Hauser, Hal Winsborough, Franklin Wilson, David Featherman, Marta Tienda, Doris Slesinger, Larry Bobo, Gary Sandefur, Matthew Snipp, Adam Gamoran, and Pamela Oliver. Karl Taeuber not only taught advanced courses in race relations but he and Alma Taeuber did pioneering research on housing segregation. Karl came to be recognized as one of the nation's leading authorities on the subject of residential segregation, and he was in much demand as an expert witness in school desegregation court cases. Nevertheless, race and ethnic relations did not become a prelim area until 2013, and students who wished to specialize in the area had to select demography, political sociology, or some other area as their formal specialization during their graduate training.

Student Volunteers in the Civil Rights Movement in the South

In the spring of 1964 the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized a voter registration campaign for African Americans in Mississippi that they called the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project. Their ambitious plan was to recruit a large number of out-of-state volunteers—primarily white northern college students—to spend the summer working on the campaign with the local CORE and SNCC people. The campaign was coordinated by a local umbrella

organization known as the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) directed by Robert Moses, an enigmatic leader with an abundance of charisma. Moses realistically expected that some of the workers would meet with violent opposition, but more than a thousand college students who wanted to get involved in the civil rights movement volunteered.

Three young Wisconsin sociologists—Jay Demerath, Gerald Marwell, and Michael Aiken—got the idea that this would be a wonderful opportunity to study the effect of civil rights work on the college student volunteers. Working through the president of the SNCC chapter on the Wisconsin campus, they called up Moses and proposed the study to him. They would administer a questionnaire to the volunteers during their training period and repeat it at the end of the campaign, with a follow-up some years later. Moses agreed, and two of the funding organizations, the National Council of Churches and the National Training Laboratory, were also supportive. When Aiken traveled to the training session with the newly prepared survey questionnaires, however, he found that Moses did not recall his earlier approval, and the COFO Steering Committee was reluctant to permit the study. Some feared that the survey might reveal the presence of some Communist students among the volunteers, and they argued if the news leaked out, it might discredit the campaign. The critical factor, though, seemed to be that a white Harvard psychiatrist had Moses' ear, and the psychiatrist, asserting his disciplinary bias, argued that sociological survey methods were essentially worthless and that the study had no strategic value for COFO. The study was not permitted (Demerath, Marwell, and Aiken, 1971, pp. 2-5).

The Freedom Summer did have a major impact and helped pave the way for the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. About 17,000 African Americans attempted to register to vote, but only 1600 applications were accepted—an outcome that created greater support for the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Some 41 Freedom Schools were also created to teach literacy and citizen's rights. The successes, though, came at great cost. As I think Moses anticipated, there was a much greater sense of public outrage when white activists were the victims of violence rather than just black civil rights workers. During the ten weeks of the campaign 1062 activists were arrested, 80 were beaten, 37 churches were bombed or burned, 30 black houses or businesses were bombed or burned, at least 7 civil rights workers or supporters were killed, and 3 were critically injured. The case that received the most publicity was the murder of two of the white volunteers, Michael Schwerner from Columbia University and Andrew Goodman from Queens College, along with James Chaney, a local African American. Within a week of their arrival in Mississippi they were killed near Philadelphia, Mississippi, by a gang of Ku Klux Klansmen, with the active collaboration of the local law enforcement officers. Goodman had been a former student at UW-Madison before

transferring to Queens ("Freedom Summer," n.d.). COFO, which was only a temporary coalition of SNCC, CORE, SCLC, and the NAACP, disintegrated after the Freedom Summer due to the tensions among the organizations, which had different ideologies and organizational styles and goals. Moses had the same antipathy to structured authority as SNCC, and he withdrew from the organization, changed his name and moved to an undisclosed location that was out of reach. It was clear that there would not be a similar volunteer program run by a coalition of groups the next summer, but the following March SCLC announced that it would undertake the task alone. It formed a subunit named SCOPE and set out to recruit 500 or more volunteers to work primarily on voter registration in the South during the summer of 1965. SCLC was also more welcoming of white support than SNCC or CORE, and it recruited local faculty sponsors on college campuses around the country to aid in recruiting volunteers and to serve as counselors and workshop leaders in the training sessions.



NICHOLAS JAY DEMERATH III (UW ARCHIVES)

Demerath, Marwell, and Aiken concluded that conditions were much more propitious for undertaking the research that they had planned earlier, and they set out to secure permission. Once again that encountered reluctance from the director and staff of SCOPE, but after some difficult negotiations, winning the support of some influential people, and gaining the approval of Martin Luther King, Jr., himself, they were able to carry out the study. They were able to gain a response rate of about 80 percent on the "before" questionnaire, and also succeeded in administering a second questionnaire at the end, as well as a small follow-up with forty volunteers four years later. They published the results of the study as *Dynamics of Idealism: White Activists in a Black Movement* (Demerath III, Marwell, and Aiken, 1971). Of particular interest to sociologists was an opening chapter, "Notes from a Research Diary," showing the difficulties that academics might encounter when attempting to study aspects of a social movement that is under severe stress and is wary of outsiders.

Many UW-Madison students participated in the SCOPE campaign, and still more participated in other civil rights activity in the South. Many felt a need to talk about their experiences and reflect on the things that had happened. They came to Demerath, Marwell, and Aiken at the beginning

of the second semester in 1966 and asked them to teach a course that semester that would answer this need. Unfortunately, the spring schedule was already locked up and it was not possible to release any of them from their other teaching responsibilities, but they agreed to organize a course to be taught jointly as an overload without official teaching credit. They wanted to limit enrollment to students who had experience doing civil rights work in the South, though they were unsure whether the university would permit them to use a nonacademic qualification as a prerequisite. As chair I advised them to go ahead, since there was a precedent of a course limited to returned Peace Corps volunteers. In the absence of an appropriately titled regular course, they asked interested students to enroll for "Independent Reading" credits. They were surprised when thirty students signed up. They hit a snag, though, because reading courses were not open to freshmen, sophomores, or students with less than a 2.5 grade point average, and this would disqualify a few students. I then decided to make an urgent appeal to the Social Science Divisional Committee to approve a one-time special course, Sociology 638, "The Civil Rights Movement and the South," for three credits, open only to those with experience doing civil rights work in the South. I wrote that the class would "seize a rare opportunity to allow makers of social change to ponder their activities in academic perspective. . . . These students expressed a unanimous desire for a class in which they could place their experiences into an intellectual framework and learn from each other as well as from particular faculty members."

Fortunately, the Sociology Executive Committee, the Social Science Divisional Committee, and L&S Dean Leon Epstein all approved this last-minute curriculum addition. The course was organized with 16 weekly sessions, each attended by Aiken, Marwell, and Demerath, as well as one or two guest faculty speakers. The guest speakers included some of the most eminent scholars at the university, including Merle Curti, Leonard Berkowitz, George W. Foster, Stanley Lieberson, Karl Taeuber, Robert Lampman, Gerald Somers, Austin Ranney, and President Fred Harvey Harrington. I remember I appeared at one session and discussed the African American family and the Moynihan Report controversy. The course was one of the most intellectually exciting and successful courses we ever offered, but it was never repeated. After 1965 white volunteers were less welcome in the southern civil rights movement, and there was a precipitous drop in opportunities for white college students to participate.

Demerath left Wisconsin in 1970 to become Executive Director of the American Sociological Association, where he was the founding editor of *ASA Footnotes*. In 1972 he moved to the University of Massachusetts and remained there for the rest of his career. Aiken had a brilliant career at Wisconsin teaching complex organizations, charming everyone with his

ingratiating Mississippi accent, and serving as an outstanding department chair. With his flair for administration of "complex organizations," he began a career as a university administrator in 1984. (See Chapter 10, vol. 2.) Marwell remained at Wisconsin until his retirement in 2001, at which time he moved back to his native New York City and taught at New York University.

Personal Addendum: How I Became a Race Relations Specialist

Like many sociologists in the 1960s, I became a specialist in the field of race and ethnic relations largely as a consequence of exposure to the direct action civil rights movement. My interest was stimulated first by Quaker social activists whom I met when I joined an American Friends Service Committee work camp in central Mexico during the summer of 1948 just after graduating from high school. It was reinforced by an undergraduate course on race relations taught by a young Hiram J. Friedsam at North Texas in 1949. It was the best college course I ever took, and it introduced me to the militant views of W. E. B. Dubois, the chief intellectual opponent of Booker T. Washington. Like Friedsam, I was convinced that Dubois was on the right side, and I became a lifelong admirer of Dubois. In graduate school at the University of Texas I did not have the opportunity to receive any training in race relations. My dissertation under the supervision of Walter Firey was in the area of the sociology of development, but in 1955 this was not a recognized field in sociology, and jobs in the area were essentially nonexistent. After a Fulbright year studying social anthropology at Oxford and a one-year stint as a rural sociologist at Kansas State College, I moved on to Florida State University in 1957 at the very moment when Tallahassee was in the front lines of the direct action civil rights movement. It seemed that everything that happened in Montgomery under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., was repeated in Tallahassee a short time later.

The Montgomery bus boycott began in December, 1955, when Rosa Parks, an African American assistant tailor in a local department store, refused to obey a bus driver's order to get up and give her seat to a white man who was standing. Her act of civil disobedience was unpremeditated, but it was due to principle, not fatigue. She had been a member of the NAACP since 1943 and the previous summer had attended a workshop on social and economic justice at the radical Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. At the time of her arrest she was secretary of the local NAACP chapter and was aware that it was looking for a lead plaintiff in a court suit challenging segregation laws (C. Klein, 2013). African American leaders in Montgomery immediately formed a new organization, the Montgomery Improvement Association, which elected Martin Luther King, Jr., head. The Association organized a boycott of the city buses to start on Feb. 5, the day of Parks'

trial. The boycott went on for thirteen months and was so successful that it caused severe economic difficulties for the bus company. In June, 1956, a District Court declared the bus segregation law unconstitutional and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the lower court's decision the following November. Montgomery was forced to comply, and the bus boycott officially ended December 20, 1956. The movement led by King, however, was only just beginning.

A bus boycott very similar to the one in Montgomery was organized in Tallahassee six months after Rosa Parks initiated events there. On May 26, 1956, two women students from the all-African American Florida A. & M. University—Wilhelmina Jakes and Carrie Patterson—sat down in the "whites only" section of a city bus and refused to move to the "colored" section when ordered by the bus driver. They were arrested by city police and charged with "placing themselves in a position to incite a riot," though the white woman they sat beside did not object to their presence. The next night, after they were released on bail, a cross was burned in front of their residence, and the women moved to the FAMU campus for safety. In the following days FAMU students organized a campus-wide boycott of city buses, and demanded that all riders should be permitted to sit in any empty seat they chose, that drivers should give courteous and equitable treatment to all riders, and that black drivers be hired for routes that primarily served the black community.

On May 29 C. K. Steele, a Baptist minister and NAACP leader, called a mass meeting attended by 500 people, and a new organization, the Inter-Civic Council, was formed consisting largely of clergy and independent business owners not economically dependent on whites. The NAACP was under attack by white segregationists, who accused it of being a Communist organization composed of outside agitators, so it was thought better to have a new local organization direct the boycott and organize a car pool system. Steele and twenty other ICC members were arrested and convicted of operating an illegal transportation system without a franchise, and the police continually harassed the organizers and car poolers. Segregationists smashed windows in Steele's home, and crosses were burned numerous times to try to intimidate the protesters. Steele was credited with the slogan of the movement: "I would rather walk in dignity than ride in humiliation." The Florida legislature joined in with an investigating committee trying to link civil rights organizations with an international Communist conspiracy, while virtually ignoring the violence being perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan and other segregationist groups in Tallahassee (Grandage, 2013).

The boycott was very successful and the bus company was forced to shut down all operations in July, though it resumed operations on a reduced basis in August. On November 13 the U.S. Supreme Court declared Alabama

bus segregation laws unconstitutional, and the ICC voted to end the boycott on December 23. Steele and other leaders managed to ride buses in seats reserved for whites without incident, but the bus manager and nine drivers were arrested by city police for allowing them to do so. A larger ride-in was called off when a violent white mob of 200 gathered to attack the riders. Governor LeRoy Collins suspended all bus service in Tallahassee on January 1. The City Commission repealed the bus franchise segregation clause the next week because of a federal ruling that outlawed segregation on Florida buses, but it adopted a new requirement for drivers to assign seats to provide "maximum health and safety" for passengers. The buses started operating again on January 12, but on January 19 three FAMU students and three FSU students were arrested after testing the seating arrangements. Two of them served 15-day jail terms before their sentences were suspended. By May segregated seating on the buses was no longer being enforced. Reverend Steele became a founding member of the Southern Christian Leadership Council and was a close associate of Martin Luther King, Jr. ("Sit-Ins of 1960's," n.d.; "Tallahassee Bus Boycott Timeline," n.d.; Grandage, 2013).

I arrived at Florida State University, a still segregated university that excluded all African Americans in Tallahassee, as an assistant professor in August, 1957, just a few months after the end of the bus boycott. Racial tensions were still high. Some African Americans spoke of Tallahassee as "Little Mississippi." It was not the Florida of popular imagination. Only seventeen miles from the Georgia border, it shared the same culture as southern Georgia. Though a large number of the students at FSU were segregationists, I believe that virtually all of the faculty were opposed to racial segregation, even those who were native Southerners. The institutional forces of segregation, however, kept FSU and FAMU almost entirely apart, and I believe the only interchanges between the two faculties occurred among the sociologists. My officemate, Lewis M. Killian, collaborated with Charles U. Smith, the senior sociologist at FAMU, on changes in informal leadership in the African American community in Tallahassee as a result of the bus boycott. I also collaborated in some research with John Moland, a young sociologist at FAMU, but I found it prudent to meet with him usually on the FAMU campus. We could not get together in a restaurant over a cup of coffee or a meal. It was not until several years later after Moland had moved to Nashville that we were able to go out to a restaurant together.

Lewis Killian was one of the colleagues I admired and looked up to most at Florida State, and he took me under his wing. He was a native of rural Georgia with an engaging soft Georgia drawl. At the University of Georgia in Athens he got interested in race relations and wrote a sociology master's thesis on domestic servants, who were usually black in Georgia. He completed a doctorate at the University of Chicago with a dissertation dealing with

the relations of white workers from the southern mountains (disparagingly called "hillbillies") with African Americans. He taught at the University of Oklahoma during the early years of desegregation there and attempted to befriend African American students and break down the internal barriers and restrictions they faced at the university. When he moved to Florida State University in 1952 he taught race relations and began doing research on the subject. He soon became well known to public officials in Florida, and the state Attorney General asked him to conduct a study of how various groups in the state would adjust to school desegregation. He found that with the exception of most white school principals, ministers, and newspaper editors, a majority of whites were strongly opposed to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, but he found little evidence that desegregation would lead to violence and cause significant turmoil. When the bus boycott started in Tallahassee, he and C. U. Smith closely observed events and started doing interviews with both leading white political leaders and prominent black leaders in the community. They found that the top black leaders prior to the boycott were all accommodating leaders, led by Jake Gaither, the highly successful football coach at FAMU. who was later elected to the College Football Hall of Fame in 1975. Most of them were in positions in which they were economically or politically vulnerable to white pressure. The bus boycott brought a complete turnover in top leadership positions in the African American community, with the accommodating leaders, who had not been participants in the ICC or bus boycott, being replaced by militant boycott leaders. As in Montgomery, most of the new top leaders were Baptist ministers and were economically independent from whites (C. Smith and Killian, 1958).

Killian's public visibility led to his becoming a scapegoat for some of the segregationist leaders. According to Killian, some of the white leaders he had interviewed were convinced that his leadership study had been "designed to plan the strategy for the sit-ins." They believed that he was the "mastermind" behind the later sit-ins and that his sole purpose had been to identify the most effective black leaders and the best strategy for them to use ("Tallahassee Civil Rights Oral History Collection," 1978). When someone told me that the local state senator, F. Wilson Carraway, was seeking to have Killian dismissed from the faculty, I was incensed. Unfortunately, when I first came to Tallahassee I had established a checking account in the local bank where Carraway was the President. I decided to go to the bank to close the account and move my meager finances to a politically neutral bank—a tiny boycott of my own. When the teller asked why I was closing the account, I told him that I disapproved of Senator Carraway's criticisms of Killian, which I thought were contrary to the principle of academic freedom. The teller went straight to Carraway's office, and the senator came charging out

to have an angry confrontation with me in the lobby. Of course, neither of us convinced the other of anything, but I took some satisfaction that my small gesture had such a strong effect on him. Carraway continued to champion segregation in the Florida Senate until 1965 and was President of the Senate from 1962 to 1964.

Killian had other interests besides race relations, notably social psychology and collective behavior, and perhaps because he had a newly diagnosed case of hypertension, he wished to have a more tranquil life, so he recruited me to start teaching the race relations courses at FSU. I was happy to do so, but I soon discovered why he found the class so stressful. The classes were almost equally divided between outspoken segregationists and ardent integrationists. All but the most mundane factual statements were likely to anger half the class, and it was hard to maintain an atmosphere of civility in the classroom. I vividly remember one young woman from Mississippi who bragged that her father was the head of one of the principal White Citizen's Councils in Mississippi and her outspoken comments surely reflected her father's views. It was exciting and challenging but stressful to teach race relations in such a contentious environment, but I certainly preferred it to my other major teaching assignment as the department's sociological theory teacher.

The direct action civil rights movement intensified in 1960 when African American college students began to organize their own demonstrations. In the summer of 1959 two FAMU students, Patricia and Priscilla Stephens, attended a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) workshop in Miami, and on returning to Tallahassee organized a CORE chapter—not officially recognized—on the FAMU campus. They experimented with various forms of protests around Tallahassee, including picketing and sit-ins, but they generated little notice and minimal publicity ("Tallahassee, Florida, Students Sit-in," n.d.). That fall some African American women in the NCAA chapter at Bennett College for Women in Greensboro, North Carolina, invited some students from North Carolina A&T to meet with them and discuss strategies and tactics for protesting segregation. They had previously been in touch with the NAACP in Oklahoma City where direct action had succeeded in desegregating local restaurants. They decided to employ sit-ins at store lunch counters, which in those days before McDonalds, were the principal purveyors of low-cost fast food. Woolworth's, McCrory's, and Kress had hundreds of stores around the country—most with lunch counters that were either reserved for whites or that were segregated by race in southern states. Many drug stores, bus terminals, and public buildings also had segregated lunch counters. The President of Bennett College suggested that the students wait until after Christmas so that momentum would not be lost during the holiday period. On February 1, 1960, four African American male students

from North Carolina A&T sat down in the "whites only" section of the lunch counter at Woolworth's in Greensboro and asked to be served coffee and doughnuts. They were refused service. They were prepared to be arrested, but that did not occur, and they remained sitting at the counter until the store closed. The next day more than twenty students from Bennett and A&T sat-in between 11:00 and 3:00 but again were refused service. They were not arrested, but white customers heckled the students. The second day of the sit-ins was covered by TV and newspapers. Sixty people sat-in on the third day, and by the fourth day there were more than 300. By then the police had started arresting demonstrators, including about a dozen "Belmont Belles" who were jailed. The President of Belmont visited them in jail and carried their assignments to them so they would not fall behind in their studies. Eventually more than 40 percent of the Belmont students served time in jail as a result of their civil rights protests. Within one week the sit-ins spread to other cities in North Carolina and other states ("Sit-Ins of 1960's," n.d.; "Bennett College," *Wikipedia*, n.d.).

Twelve days after the Greensboro sit-ins began, on a Saturday morning on February 13, 1960, Patricia and Priscilla Stevens led eight African American students from FAMU and the local high school in a sit-in at the downtown Woolworth's in Tallahassee. They were not served, but things remained peaceful, and there were no arrests that day. The next Saturday morning on February 20, eleven African American students from FAMU were joined by six white sociology students from Florida State University, and they sat together interspersed in a nonsegregated manner at the lunch counter. All of the FSU students were from the sociology classes that Snell Putney and I were teaching, and we agreed to accompany them to serve as observers. We stood behind the row of stools at the counter but did not sit down, partly because we regarded this as the students' demonstration and partly because of a realistic fear that we might be fired if we were direct participants. This was the very first racially integrated lunch-counter sit-in that took place in the South, and it was significant because it showed that white southerners were not monolithically opposed to desegregation. The same biracial tactic was later used in the Freedom Rides across the South. This time the mayor and a squad of city police appeared on the scene and ordered the demonstrators to leave. When they refused, the eleven African American students were arrested and charged with "disturbing the peace by engaging in riotous conduct and assembly to the disturbance of the public tranquility." The white students were not arrested. Prosecutors in the South tried to avoid charging civil rights demonstrators with violations of the segregation laws, since a court might declare such laws unconstitutional, so they usually just charged them with general crimes such as "disturbing the peace" or "disorderly conduct." This enabled store owners to maintain that

they had to deny service to African Americans, because "it was the law."

The eleven students who were arrested were all found guilty, and eight of the eleven, including the Stevens sisters, chose to go to jail rather than pay a $300 fine. They were the first civil rights group to adopt a "Jail-No-Bail" position and served 49 days in the Leon County Jail. While in jail, Patricia Stevens wrote a letter to Martin Luther King, Jr., telling him of her experiences, and he wrote back in a telegram, "I have just learned of your courageous willingness to go to jail instead of paying fines for your righteous protest against segregated eating facilities. Through your decision you have again proven that there is nothing more majestic and sublime than the determined courage of individuals willing to suffer and sacrifice for the cause of freedom." Three years later King wrote his own famous letter from Birmingham jail. Patricia was expelled from FAMU for leading protests, and with her husband, civil rights lawyer John Due, she spent her life as a CORE and NAACP leader and activist demonstrating for civil rights. Decades later FAMU awarded her an honorary doctorate for her civil rights leadership ("Sit-Ins of 1960's," n.d.; "Civil Rights Demonstrations," n.d.). Two of my white students who participated in the sit-in, Bill and Jennie Yancey, went on to do graduate work in sociology at Washington University in St. Louis. Bill collaborated on a book with Lee Rainwater criticizing the Moynihan Report about the black family, and he later had a long, distinguished career teaching at Temple University.

After this, civil rights demonstrations escalated. Much larger numbers joined the sit-ins on March 5th and 12th, again with some white FSU students participating. The students were harassed by white segregationists, probably Ku Klux Klansmen, variously armed, but the police did not attempt to restrain them. Instead they arrested some 240 nonviolent student demonstrators on March 12. This provoked almost a thousand FAMU students to march downtown carrying posters. A Citizen Council mob carrying weapons blocked their way and the students turned back, but the police arrested still more students. In another part of the city a group of students protesting the arrests was given three minutes to disperse by the mayor, but before the three minutes were up, the police fired tear gas and several women students were burned ("Tallahassee, Florida, Students Sit-in," n.d.). One of my student assistants was arrested, and when the police pushed him into a holding cell containing a group of segregationists—in all likelihood Klansmen—they called him a "nigger-lover." He was badly beaten by the other prisoners and had his jaw broken. For the next several weeks his jaw was wired shut, and he had to be fed through a straw. Another of my student assistants was the editor of the *Florida Flambeau*, the student newspaper, and she and her staff produced a series of issues with outstanding coverage of the civil rights demonstrations in Tallahassee—far better and more objective than any of

the Florida or national newspapers. I thought its excellence deserved recognition, so I put together the required scrapbook and nominated it for a Pulitzer Prize in Journalism. I did not expect the Pulitzer Board to give the award to a student newspaper, and it did not, but the quality of its reporting was certainly equal to that of the award recipients.

Governor Leroy Collins ordered the FAMU students confined to the campus, and he blamed the student demonstrators for the disturbances. Collins was a native of Tallahassee and was a segregationist when he was elected governor, but he was more broadminded than most southern governors. Killian and another sociology colleague, Charles Grigg, were invited to meet with Governor Collins in March, 1960, to discuss the sit-ins and race relations in general. They suggested that it was unfair to blame the students for the disorders, since they had been entirely nonviolent and peaceful. They urged him to look beyond the law and "judge the demonstrations within a more ethical, moral framework." They advised that if he did not recognize that African Americans had a moral right to demonstrate against segregation, the demonstrations would surely continue. Collins listened attentively, and shortly afterwards he announced that he was forming a statewide bi-racial committee to try to ease racial tensions. He also urged local governments to form similar bi-racial committees ("Tallahassee Civil Rights Oral History Collection," 1978). He was the first southern governor to urge the acceptance of desegregation once the Supreme Court made its ruling, and he quickly took on the mantle of a southern moderate, permitting him to play a role in national politics. During the next few years Killian and Grigg did a series of studies of race relations in other Florida cities and published a book, *Racial Crisis in America* (1964). They concluded that the bi-racial commissions that were widely established were ineffective in bringing about significant changes in the racial situation and in fact tended to hold back progress. It was not cooperation between the races that reduced racist practices. It was the force of federal law that cracked the hard nut of Jim Crow segregation, and it was the direct action movement of African Americans themselves that brought about the change in federal law and law enforcement.

When I moved from Florida State University to the University of Wisconsin in 1963, I expected to feel a sense of relief escaping from the ever-present conflicts over the issue of race and segregation. To my surprise, I found myself missing the sense of camaraderie and esprit de corps with my faculty colleagues in Tallahassee—a feeling that we were an embattled group struggling in a hostile political environment to bring about a better social order. That element was largely missing in Madison then, though Wisconsin faculty soon faced political challenges of a different nature.

I did enjoy teaching race relations classes that included nonwhite as well as white students, and in which discussions could be carried on without

vituperation and insults. There was always a good representation of minority students in the classes because of the natural interest they had in the subject. Some of them were not well prepared for college work, but I tried to work with them and give them assignments that would capture their interest and develop their skills. The Athletic Department started encouraging their minority athletes to take the course on problems of American minorities, and I was happy to see their numbers increase. I had to be scrupulous, however, in not giving any special opportunities to athletes that were not available to other students. That was strictly forbidden by NCAA rules.

In one of my first classes on racial and ethnic minorities at Wisconsin I was particularly impressed by an intense young African American man who asked searching questions and whose rapt attention never wavered. His name was Eugene Parks, and he seemed to be devoted to learning everything he could about the history of black-white relations in the United States. He ran for county sheriff in a write-in campaign—unsuccessful—but in 1969 at the age of 22 he was elected to the Madison Common Council—the first person of color to win public office in the county. He became a gadfly in city and county politics, single-mindedly advocating for minority interests. He was abrasive, outspoken, and quick to see slights and take offense, which made him unpopular with many city officials, but he served in many important positions during his career, including Assistant to the Fire Chief and Director of the Affirmative Action Department. He died in 2005 at the age of 57 but left an indelible mark on his native city.

In 1980 our Sociology of Economic Change program had a teaching crisis when Charles Cell, our young China specialist, left the department and entered the UW Law School to earn a law degree. I took the opportunity to return to my original area of specialization in the sociology of development, and took over the graduate survey course on the Sociology of Economic Change. I reduced my teaching and research in the race relations area, and gave it up entirely after Lawrence Bobo and Gary Sandefur joined the department in 1984. They were both very well trained in the area and also had the advantage of being members of minority groups themselves—something that gave them more of an aura of "authenticity" in the eyes of undergraduates and enabled them to serve as role models for minority students. I was then able to redirect my commitments to the study of the social and economic problems of the poor countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—my original area of specialization.

Current Status of Race and Ethnic Studies

In recent years most of the sociologists with serious interests in race and ethnic studies have retired or departed, and this remains a relatively neglected

area of specialization. Until very recently there was no prelim in race and ethnic studies. Under the prodding of Mara Loveman the faculty finally added a prelim in Race and Ethnic Studies on April 17, 2013. It was added to the Group I set of prelims, which indicates recognition of the importance and centrality of the subject, but Loveman herself departed shortly afterwards that year for UC-Berkeley. In October, 2014, a group of thirteen concerned sociology graduate students submitted a letter to the faculty asking that the Sociology Department request the College of Letters and Science for an associate professor level position to hire a sociologist "with primary expertise in race methodology, measurement and theory." They expressed their concern that there has been a decline in faculty who primarily research, train, and teach in the field of race and ethnicity:

> Our main concerns are: 1) that the department lacks institutional resources for graduate students—primarily students of color—who are seeking training in the field of race; and 2) that graduate students are teaching undergraduate classes on Race without adequate training (Letter to the Sociology Faculty, Oct. 27, 2014).

They pointed out that Soc. 922, a seminar in race theory, was the only substantive graduate course on race that had been offered in the last five years. Students preparing to take the Race and Ethnic Studies prelim were thus left on their own to study the wide range of literature that is not covered in Soc. 922. Also the Race and Ethnicity Training Seminar was left without faculty leadership in 2014-2015 and was being organized and run by the graduate students themselves. Because of the dearth of theoretical and methodological training provided in the area, students who wished to specialize in race and ethnicity feared that they might be handicapped in competing for postdoctoral opportunities or tenure track positions with graduates of programs that provided more faculty resources and more substantial curricular offerings. They also called attention to the fact that specialists in race and ethnicity were in high demand in the academic marketplace. In 2012-2013 it was the second most frequently advertised specialization area. Finally, the students expressed concern that with the decline of faculty in the race and ethnic area, the Sociology Department had increasingly employed graduate students to teach the undergraduate courses on race. They believed that the graduate student instructors had not been given sufficient guidance or curriculum support, and this might be affecting the quality of the instruction the undergraduates were receiving.

The graduate students made a very strong case for making a senior hire in the race and ethnic area. Unfortunately, the imposition of a massive cut in state funding for UW-Madison by Governor Walker and the Legislature for

the 2015-2017 biennium made it difficult at that time, but future prospects look more promising.

As I have tried to demonstrate in this chapter, the failure of Wisconsin sociologists to address the state's serious racial and ethnic problems in the early decades of the 20th century—and indeed, their shameful role in supporting and furthering racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination—makes it morally incumbent for the university to rectify its past failures and to build a strong program in race and ethnic studies. If this is a violation of "value-free" sociology, so be it.

The Sociology of Sport

The Strange Sociological Blind Spot Toward Sport

The sociology of sport has never been a significant part of the sociology program at Wisconsin—or just about anywhere else. Nevertheless, it has had an interesting history at UW-Madison, and it has been a special, though minor, interest of mine. Courses and training programs in the psychology of sport have been common at American universities for a long period, and the University of Wisconsin has itself long had training programs in this area in the Department of Men's Physical Education, which was later merged with Women's Physical Education in 1978 and finally reorganized as the Department of Kinesiology in 1990. Sport psychology services are also offered to athletes through UW Health's Department of Psychiatry. The psychology of sport, however, is profoundly different from the sociology of sport. It is for the most part concerned with techniques for improving athletic performance through imagery, motivation, attentional focus, and self-regulation. Sociology of sport, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the study of the social organization, culture, and institutional connections of sport in society. It has a much more critical perspective.

Sociologists paid little attention to sport as a social institution before the 1960s. This is surprising, considering the prominent place that sport has long occupied in society and the degree to which it captures the hearts and minds of people in their everyday lives. The ESPN Sports Poll over the last twenty years found that 85 to 90 percent of Americans are interested in sports and 28 to 32 percent are avid fans. The latter today follow on average of four of the top twelve sports. No other free-time activity or interest comes close to sports in the degree of engagement or number of persons actively involved, with the more recent exception of television viewing (much of which is devoted to sport) and use of the internet and social media (Luker, 2014, pp. 12-13). According to the Miller Lite Report (1983), based on telephone interviews with 1139 persons in a nationally representative sample in 1982,

- 31% had a very high and 20% a somewhat high interest in watching a sporting event
- 38% attended sporting events more than 10 times a year; 25% attended more than 20 times a year
- 75% watched or listened to sports news on television or the radio daily or almost daily
- 73% watched sports events on television daily or almost daily
- 60% talked about sports with their friends daily or almost daily
- 58% read the sports pages of their newspaper daily or almost daily
- 57% played some kind of sport in high school, college, or in a professional or amateur league
- 42% said they participated in at least one sports activity daily or almost daily
- 62% of parents said their children participated in organized sports
- 40% of parents said they frequently engaged in some kind of sports activity with their children
- 41% of those between 14 and 17 and 20% of those over 64 fantasized about being a professional athlete

Since then television has become increasingly dominated by the ESPN juggernaut, with eight domestic networks and 24 international networks broadcasting over 30,000 hours of live programming a year to more than 200 countries. It is valued at $40-$60 billion, the most valuable media property in the world, and it has used its great wealth to engage in anticompetitive practices that provoked an anti-trust investigation by the Department of Justice. In the United States it reaches almost 100 million households and broadcasts more than half of all live sports in the country (ESPN, Inc. Fact Sheet). According to *Bloomberg Business Week*,

> Through dozens of ESPN-branded TV, Web, and mobile platforms, it also shapes the ways in which leagues, teams, and athletes are packaged, promoted, marketed, and consumed by the public. In a real sense, ESPN no longer covers sports. It controls sports (Greenfeld, 2012).

Sports news used to have the largest amount of space in daily newspapers, and the sports section was the first and most intensely read part of the newspaper, but with the decline of newspapers in recent years, most people now get most of their sports news from television.

Millions of children now participate in organized youth sport programs, and almost all high schools, colleges, and universities have competitive inter-school sports programs, in many cases highly professionalized. A

2009 study by the A. T. Kearney management consulting firm estimated that the global sports industry is worth $480-$620 billion and is growing steadily. The sports event market alone is $5.8 billion for American football, $5.5 billion for baseball, and $2.7 billion for basketball. They are dwarfed, however, by the world market for football (soccer), which is worth $19.5 billion (Collignon, 2011). Probably the world's most popular sports team is the Manchester United football club, which is estimated to have more than 380 million fans worldwide (Lever, 2009 Preface, p. viii). Its website is published in seven languages and attracts 47 million page views per month. The cumulative audience for the 55 games they played in 2013-14 was more than 2.8 billion viewers. The team has more than 7 times as many Facebook connections as the New York Yankees or the Dallas Cowboys.

The United States is far from being the most sports-mad nation. Anecdotal accounts suggest that Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Britain, Australia, South Africa, Spain, Nigeria, and many other countries probably surpass it, though comparable statistical data are hard to come by. In Nigeria a survey by the market research firm Repucom in 2013 found that 83 percent of Nigerians are interested in football, and 65 percent play the sport. When Brazil lost to Uruguay in the World Cup finals of 1950, the nation went into mourning, with people regarding it as an extreme tragedy. The nation was effectively paralyzed emotionally and psychologically, and the Minister of Sport believed it caused a general decline in self-esteem among the people (Schorr, 2014). Again in the 1966 World Cup Brazil was unexpectedly eliminated with losses in the first round to lightly regarded teams from Hungary and Portugal. Once more the Brazilian public showed an extreme reaction. Janet Lever, who was seeing her first World Cup, wrote,

> BBC-TV showed the Brazilian reaction to the embarrassing defeats: men and women in Rio de Janeiro openly wept; one ship-dwelling fan attempted suicide by throwing herself overboard; Brazilian flags were lowered to half-mast and buildings were draped in black crepe; angry mobs burned players and coaches in effigy. America has devoted sport fans, but I had never witnessed such a reaction to loss. I was impressed and baffled at how a sport could mean so much to a nation (Lever, 1983, p. xxx).

A lopsided World Cup loss in 2014 when Brazil was again the host country also had a devastating effect. Much violence accompanied the second round World Cup competition between Honduras and El Salvador in 1970, and when the army of El Salvador took the occasion to launch an attack on Honduras, it was quickly labeled the Football War (*La guerra del fútbol*). Actually the war was a result of more fundamental conflicts over economics

and immigration, but the violence that accompanied the matches between the two countries may have had a triggering effect.

With so many people passionately invested in sports, why has the sports world received so little attention from sociologists? A number of sociologists of sport attribute it to the low prestige and stigmatization of the field. Sports is often viewed as a triviality, a mere entertainment, unworthy of serious study. Or perhaps it is denigrated as a nonintellectual, physical, working class part of mass culture. It is rare for a young sociologist to specialize in the area, for fear that it would be difficult to find a job in a low status field. At least in the early years most of the well-known sociologists of sport came to the field late after they had tenure or were secure in their positions. Very few taught in the most prestigious departments. The failure of the area to attract "the best and the brightest" coming out of graduate school has perpetuated the mediocrity of much of the sociological research on the subject, which has in turn reinforced the view that it is a low prestige field.

In truth, much of the best sociological research on sports is being done not by sociologists but by investigative sports journalists. Local sports reporters tend to be mired in routine reporting on local teams and have little time to dig below the surface, but national sports magazines and sports television have some exceptional journalists who are among the nation's very best investigative reporters. In my opinion, most sociologists of sport would be hard pressed to match the insights provided in Jeff Benedict and Armen Keteyian's *The System: The Glory and Scandal of Big-Time College Football* (2013) or the priceless stand-up routine of George Carlin comparing baseball and football to show social changes in America. (Check out Carlin's monologue: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qmXacL0Uny0).

Harry Edwards' Career as a Sociologist of Sport

Harry Edwards was one of the very few to enter the field of the sociology of sport in graduate school and to land a tenure track position in a major department after graduation. Edwards sometimes liked to suggest that he was the founder of the sociology of sport. He was not, but he was the most visible, controversial, and influential sociologist of sport from 1967 onwards. He was also the first to publish an integrated textbook presenting a sociological analysis of sport as a social institution (Edwards, 1973). He was an inspiration to me when I later began to take some interest in the field—and hence I make this digression to discuss his career and influence.

Edwards was a four-sport athlete at Fresno City College for one year and then transferred to San Jose State College in 1960 on a track and field athletic scholarship. He was disillusioned, however, with the treatment he and other African American student athletes received. There was housing

and employment discrimination, and a segregated campus social life. He was also incensed that the college funneled African American athletes into an undemanding physical education major to keep them eligible to compete and did little to help them complete their degrees. Edwards graduated with a major in social work in 1964—the first African American athlete to graduate at San Jose State since the early 1950s ("Edwards, Harry, 1942-"). (http://www.blackpast.org/black-past-features).

Though he was gifted enough to become a professional athlete, Edwards enrolled as a graduate student in Cornell University's sociology program, and he began to study the place of sport in American society. He was particularly interested in the types of discrimination faced by athletes of color. After completing his master's he took a leave to teach at San Jose State between 1966 and 1968, and, with Kenneth Noel, organized the United Black Students for Action (UBSA). The organization's protests about discrimination led to the cancellation of San Jose State's opening football game in 1967. It was the first time a major college had cancelled an athletic event because of racial protests, and it led to San Jose's making reforms to address many of the issues that the UBSA had raised.

The organization then morphed into the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR), with Edwards in a leadership position. It attempted to organize a boycott of the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City. The boycott did not materialize, but when Tommie Smith and John Carlos, both African American athletes from San Jose State, placed first and third in the 200-meter dash, they mounted the platform, bowed their heads, and raised their black-gloved fists in a "black power salute." Peter Norman, a white athlete from Australia, finished second, and did not raise his fist. He was, however, a vocal critic of his government's "white Australia policy," and he joined Smith and Carlos in wearing the OPHR badge on the platform. Avery Brundage, the President of the International Olympic Committee, reacted with outrage at the introduction of political protest in an Olympic ceremony and ordered Smith and Carlos suspended from the US team and banned from the Olympic Village. The US Olympic Committee refused to comply, but when Brundage threatened to ban the entire US track team, Smith and Carlos were expelled. Brundage, a prominent Nazi sympathizer in the 1930s, had made no objections to the Nazi salute by German participants in the 1936 Berlin Olympics, even though he was then President of the USOC. Back in the United States Smith and Carlos were subjected to much criticism and abuse for their protest, but forty years later they received the Arthur Ashe Courage Award at the 2008 ESPY Awards ("1968 Olympics Black Power Salute," n.d.).

After the 1968 Olympics Harry Edwards suddenly became a major media figure as the notorious mentor of Smith and Carlos. In later years

he attributed the sweeping changes that have occurred in the sports world since those days to the catalytic events that took place in an eighteen-month period in 1967 and 1968—the period when he was organizing protests. After the Olympics Edwards returned to Cornell, where he continued his work toward a PhD and completed his first book, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete*, published in 1970. He had some trouble convincing his dissertation committee that sports was a subject worthy of sociological examination, but his arguments won them over and he was able to complete a dissertation on the sociology of sport in 1971 that became the basis for the textbook on the subject that he published (Edwards, 1973).

Edwards joined the sociology department at the University of California-Berkeley in 1970, where he taught mostly courses on minority groups and the sociology of sport. He complained, however, that his colleagues regarded the sociology of sport as less a serious field of research than as just a fascinating subject for undergraduate teaching. His sociology of sport class regularly attracted hordes of students, usually numbering from 600 to 800, but once reaching 1100. Since his chosen field received little respect, he said, "I began to move out into the field as a scholar activist and to interface with the action down on the ground with the sports teams" (Pollzzie, 2009). In 1985 he worked with the San Francisco 49ers to develop the Minority Coaches Internship and Outreach Program with Coach Bill Walsh. In 1987 he became special assistant to the Commissioner of Major League Baseball and worked for five years to increase the representation of minorities and women in baseball. From 1987 to 1995 he worked with the Golden State Warriors in the NBA on player counseling and programs. His programs to help professional football players deal with the challenges they face were adopted by the entire National Football League in 1992. He retired from the University of California in 2000 but remains an activist ("Harry Edwards," 2011-2013).

Early Development of the Field

Actually, quite a number of sociologists and other scholars had been cultivating the field of the sociology of sports in the 1960s before Edwards, particularly in Europe. In 1968 the German sociologist Günther Lüschen prepared a trend report and bibliography on the sociology of sport for the International Sociological Association (Lüschen, 1968). In it he listed 892 article and book titles, about 55 percent published in Europe, 32 percent published in the US, and 13 percent published in Japan and other countries. This was less impressive than it appears, for the quality was uneven, many of the offerings were only marginally sociological, and the output was largely ignored by mainstream sociology in the US. Only about thirty American

colleges and universities offered a course that might be regarded as sociology of sport, and nearly all were in departments of physical education rather than sociology. Sociology departments offered courses on leisure, but avoided the term "sport" in course titles (Loy and Kenyon, 1969, p. 7).

Gerald S. Kenyon and John W. Loy, Jr., both at the University of Wisconsin, were among the most important pioneers in developing the sociology of sport in the United States. Kenyon was a social psychologist who joined the Department of Physical Education for Men as an assistant professor in 1961 and taught courses in the psychology of sport and the sociology of sport. He organized a C.I.C. ("Big Ten" plus Chicago) Symposium on the Sociology of Sport on November 18-20, 1968, and there were some mainstream sociologists who were speakers at the symposium, including Gregory P. Stone, Charles H. Page, and Walter Schafer, but no one from the Wisconsin Department of Sociology participated (Kenyon, ed., 1969). In fact, Kenyon worked largely in isolation from faculty in the sociology department. He had a research grant from the US Office of Education in 1966-1968 to conduct a cross-national study of the values held for physical activity by 4000 secondary school students in Canada, Australia, England, and the United States. In his final report, he concluded, ". . . the experience derived from conduct of the research phase of this project, together with the opportunity to visit investigators in several countries in Europe, and to participate in several international meetings, has led the investigator to conclude that the future for cross-national research in the sociology of sport is indeed bright" (Kenyon, 1968, p. 1). The future of cross-national studies in the sociology of sport actually turned out not to be so bright. Kenyon was promoted to professor in 1969, but the next year he moved from Wisconsin to the University of Waterloo in Canada, where he continued to pursue his interest in the sociology of sport.

The other Wisconsin pioneer in the sociology of sport was John W. Loy, Jr., who was Kenyon's PhD student in the Department of Physical Education for Men. He completed a dissertation in 1967 on "Socio-psychological Attributes of English Swimming Coaches Differentially Adopting a New Technology" and applied theoretical concepts and methods derived from the sociological literature on the adoption of innovations. Joseph Elder from Sociology served on his committee and he and Eugene Havens from Rural Sociology provided advice and helped to guide him to the sociological literature on adoption of innovations. Loy cited a number of papers by Havens and Eugene Wilkening and a host of other sociologists in his dissertation. Loy was never a member of the faculty at Wisconsin but was a fellow and a teaching assistant in 1963-65. After graduating he taught at UCLA, the University of Massachusetts, the University of Waterloo, the University of Illinois, and the University of Otago (New Zealand). He coauthored and

coedited a number of books and readers on the sociology of sport, mostly in collaboration with Kenyon.

The North American Society for the Sociology of Sport gave its Distinguished Service Award to Kenyon—the first recipient—in 1993, to Loy in 2003, and belatedly to Harry Edwards in 2009. (http://www.nasss.org/awards/distinguished-service-award/).

The Wisconsin Dept. of Sociology Introduces a Course on the Sociology of Sport

After Kenyon departed in 1970, the sociology of sport was not taught again at Wisconsin for almost twenty years, until I began teaching an undergraduate course on the subject in the 1980s. It was never a serious research interest of mine, but over a period of years I began to take more interest in the subject. For some years I had been teaching one of the freshman-level courses on Problems of American Minority Groups, which tended to attract many minority students. Some of these students were ill prepared for college work and sometimes had difficulty with traditional exams, so I sought to find additional ways to evaluate them. I began to offer students who were having difficulty the opportunity to write short research papers on a topic that really interested them. Most of the minority students were very much interested in sports—especially the athletes among them—and I suggested that they might find the topic of discrimination against African Americans in college and professional football interesting. I was aware that there had been some excellent research by sociologists of sport on this topic, particularly with regard to "stacking"—reserving central and leadership positions, such as quarterback, center, guard, and linebacker, primarily for whites and relegating African American athletes to positions that emphasized muscular strength, agility, and speed, such as running back, wide receiver, defensive back, and defensive lineman. At that time this came as a surprise to most people, since some of the biggest stars and highest salaried players were African Americans. It was difficult for most people to comprehend that there was widespread discrimination against African Americans in college and professional football, though it was common knowledge that African Americans were rarely given a chance to play quarterback in the 1980s at the big-time college or professional level. "Stacking" has declined since then, but it has not disappeared.

I found the papers my students wrote very interesting, and I began to read more of the literature in the sociology of sport. I decided that a course on the topic might capture the interest and enthusiasm of students who felt somewhat alienated from traditional academic courses. I thought this might give me an opportunity to work on their basic skills. I also saw it as

an opportunity to challenge many of the assumptions held by student fans of sport and bring them to look at sports in a more critical way. I wanted them to consider not only the positive contributions of sports but also to examine the "underside" of sports at every level, focusing on the problems of organized youth sports, high school sports, big-time college sports, and professional sports. Fortunately, there are quite a few sociologists of sport and also sports journalists whose values represent a more humane approach to sport, and I wanted to expose students to these viewpoints. In short, I wanted to teach a fun, muckraking, humanistic course.

The topic did prove to be very attractive to undergraduate students, but I was no Harry Edwards who was effective lecturing to huge classes. I limited enrollments so that we could have more class interaction, and that proved quite successful. We had a number of panel discussions each semester—I refused to call them debates—on controversial topics, after the participants had written short research papers on the topic. One topic was the famous quotation usually but wrongly attributed to Vince Lombardi: "Winning isn't everything; it's the only thing." Actually, "Red" Sanders, the UCLA football coach, was probably the first to utter it in 1950, and it was repeated in the 1953 John Wayne film, "Trouble Along the Way." Though the statement was on the face of it absurd, Lombardi did repeat it about 1959, and the quotation was quickly embraced by football fandom. Later Lombardi said he was sorry he ever said it and that he did not mean it literally. It did provide one of the more spirited panel discussions in our class, with Wisconsin's most celebrated football player and most celebrated track athlete squaring off against each other, joined by several other students on each side.

Even though the Athletic Department was aware that I was very critical of big-time college sports, they encouraged their athletes to take the course, and many of the coaches also came to speak to the class about their careers in coaching. Football's Dave McClain and Hockey's Jeff Sauer, both wonderful men, were especially supportive. Other memorable speakers were Bob Harlan, the President of the Green Bay Packers, who engineered the franchise's turnaround, Ed Garvey, the lawyer who was head of the NFL Players Association and later a candidate for Governor of Wisconsin, and Frank Remington, the law professor who was Wisconsin's Faculty Representative to the Big Ten Conference. From its founding in 1896 until its incorporation in 1987 the official name of the Big Ten was the Intercollegiate Conference of Faculty Representatives—thus an organization of faculty members rather than of universities.

Some of the students in the sociology of sport class were highly gifted athletes who went on to professional careers in football, basketball, and hockey. I tried to prepare them as best I could for the harsh realities they would face in the professional world. Some may have ignored the

information that I presented to them, since it had long been their dream to play at the next level, but at least two athletes who went on to have good careers in the NHL and the NFL reported back years later that the course had been very valuable in opening their eyes and preparing them to deal with problems they faced as professionals.

The Countercultural "New Games" Movement

In trying to induce students to think about humanistic values in sport, I introduced them to some of the concepts coming out of the New Games Movement. This movement had its origin in California as one part of the broader countercultural movement of the 1960s. Stewart Brand, who later published the *Whole Earth Catalog* and brought the hippie world and the computer geek world together, had been one of Ken Kesey's "Merry Pranksters" in 1964. In 1966 an antiwar group asked him to organize a public activity to protest the war in Vietnam, and he organized a festival in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park that called for people not to demonstrate in the usual way but to play a game he called variously Slaughter, Earthball, or Softwar. In this game the very large crowd was divided into two groups, and each side tried to push a giant canvas covered ball with the Earth painted on it over the opposing side's goal. Whenever the ball neared one goal, however, many of the players on the winning side would defect to the other side, moving the ball back toward the other goal. The ball never crossed either goal. The idea that cooperation and just playing for fun was more important than winning served as the spark that led to the New Games Movement.

People spontaneously began inventing new games that sharply contrasted with traditional games and sports. The new games tended to share certain characteristics that were in accord with the counterculture sensibilities. They could be competitive and intense but sometimes were more cooperative and mild, but in either case winning and losing were less important than just playing and having fun. They could be played by everybody, with children and adults, males and females, the athletic and nonathletic all playing together, all exercising care and restraint not to hurt one another. They could be played with little or no special equipment, they had very simple rules that could be learned almost instantly by playing, they had no coaches or referees, and the rules could be readily altered by the players to make the game more interesting, resulting in still more new games. The movement's motto was "Play Hard, Plan Fair, Nobody Hurt."

The first New Games Festival was organized by Pat "Rose" Farrington, Stewart Brand, and George Leonard in October, 1973, in Marin County, just north of San Francisco. Some 6,000 people showed up to participate. After that additional festivals were held, a New Games Foundation was

established to promote new games, and in 1975 *The New Games Book* was first published, containing rules and descriptions of dozens of games compiled from experience at the various festivals. By the mid-1980s it had sold 750,000 copies (Fluegelman, 1976; Berlinger, 2008). George Leonard, the head of the Esalin Institute in Big Sur and leader of the human potential movement, also published *The Ultimate Athlete* in 1975. It presented a participatory and humanistic orientation toward sports that had a great influence on sociologists of sport.

In June, 1977, my wife Beverly and I decided to celebrated our 25th wedding anniversary by inviting all the Sociology and Rural Sociology faculty and their spouses and children to our own New Games Festival in a park at the west end of Lake Mendota. We introduced them to a wide variety of games from *The New Games Book*, and all our families had a great time playing together. We did not tell anyone we were celebrating our anniversary, but it turned out to be one of our most enjoyable and memorable anniversary celebrations.

After discussing the history and philosophy of the New Games Movement, I sometimes took my sociology of sport class over to the lawn on Observatory Hill to play some of the new games. I warned them to wear socks and old clothes on that day for I knew that the favorite game would be "Knock Your Socks Off." I laid out a large circle with a garden hose, and everybody took off their shoes and got inside the circle in their sock feet. If a player had a sock snatched off by another player, he or she had to leave the circle. The object was to be the last player in the circle wearing two socks. The first time we played it everyone assumed that a tremendously strong 300-pound football lineman, who was later an NFL first-round draft choice, would be the final survivor, but actually he was one of the first to be ousted from the ring. Six or seven people ganged up on him and removed a sock while he was being held down. I did not last long either. A small but agile woman was the next to last person to lose a sock, but a quick, thin defensive back from the football team was the very last survivor. It was competitive, intense softwar that involved some cooperation as well, and the students loved it. The consensus, though, was that the New Games were fun to play, but they would never take the place of our standard sports. It provided an opportunity for the students to reflect about the nature of sport, however, and that was what I was after.

The New Games Movement never really offered even the slightest threat to regular sports, and eventually the utopian attempt to reform play failed. The Foundation closed down in 1990, and all its assets were sold to the YMCA. "New games," shorn of their countercultural context, however, have survived. They were widely taken up by recreational professionals and utilized for youth groups, summer camps, and even corporate team building

exercises. The games often crop up at group picnics without anyone knowing about their counterculture history.

Do Sports Teach Sportsmanship?

I enjoyed teaching a course on the sociology of sport as a respite from dealing with the grim realities of the world in my specialty areas—the social and economic problems of developing nations and minority group relations—but I never became a serious researcher in the sociology of sport, and I never tried to lure a graduate student into specializing in the area. I did have a Japanese graduate student, however—Ritsuo Inaguma—who insisted on writing a master's thesis on the sociology of sport. In 1984 I helped him design a questionnaire that we administered to classes of secondary school students in three Wisconsin cities and in Nagoya, Japan. His thesis compared the responses of Japanese and American students to a variety of questions. I did some additional analysis of the data myself on the subject of sportsmanship, and I devised scales to measure the degree to which an individual was committed to the value of sportsmanship and the degree to which they had engaged in actions while playing sports that violated the norms of sportsmanship. I was curious to see if the claims about the "civilizing" character of sports that are made so often at athletic awards banquets are really true. As I suspected, it turned out that in both Wisconsin and Japan the students who were more interested in sports or who participated in sports the most were less likely to be committed to the value of sportsmanship. According to their own self-reports they were also more likely to have violated norms of sportsmanship and taken unfair advantage of opponents. This was true of both boys and girls. In reality it appears that athletic participation breeds competitiveness and an emphasis on winning that sometimes leads to acts of unsportsmanship. With the help of Chaiwat Roongruangsee I also collected similar data from secondary school students in Thailand, but because of more pressing tasks, I never got around to publishing the results of the cross-national comparisons. I made good use of them in my sociology of sport class, though. Like most sociologists, I always delighted in challenging conventional wisdom.

The Miller Lite Report suggested that American parents give mixed signals to their children about winning. It found that 74 percent of parents said that when their children won an event it also would have been all right if they had lost, but 50 percent do not agree that it does not matter whether they win or lose. Even if they are not overly disappointed when their children lose, when they win 93 percent of the parents feel proud, 64 percent feel overjoyed, 53 percent talk about their success with other people, and 40 percent reward their victorious children with special treats or privileges

(*Miller Lite Report*, 1983, pp. 50-52). Some youth sports leagues have tried to reduce the emphasis on winning for the younger age groups by not keeping score and by requiring that all players be given playing time regardless of skill. In my observations, however, it appears to me that in our competitive culture the young players are usually aware of which team is "ahead" even if there is no official score.

Gender and Sports

In 1974 I was impressed by the doctoral research of Janet Lever at Yale, who compared the play activities of 5th grade boys and girls, ages 10 and 11. She found that 65 percent of the play activities of boys was in organized competitive games, whereas the figure for girls was only 35 percent. Drawing on the socialization research of Piaget, Mead, and Kohlberg, Lever argued

> . . . Boys' games further independence training, encourage the development of organizational skills necessary to coordinate the activities of a numerous and diverse group of persons, and offer experience in rule-bounded events and the adjudication of disputes . . . . Furthermore, boys' experiences in controlled and socially approved competitive situations may improve their ability to deal with interpersonal competition in a forthright manner. (Lever, 1976, p. 484)

Girls' games helped girls develop greater verbal skills, but Lever believed that girls had fewer opportunities to develop the social and leadership skills that provide an advantage in a wide range of work settings. Title IX was too new to have yet had an effect on girls' recreation or athletic participation.

We tried to hire Lever in our sociology department when she completed her PhD at Yale in 1974, but she accepted an offer from Northwestern instead. I was greatly surprised when a few years later the Dean at Northwestern rejected her department's recommendation that she be promoted to tenure. I regarded her research in the sociology of sport as one of the very best studies that had been conducted in the field up to that time. She also published a marvelous book about Brazilian soccer called *Soccer Madness: Brazil's Passion for the World's Most Popular Sport* in 1983 that brought much critical praise. James F. Short, for example, wrote

> I found *Soccer Madness* utterly enthralling . . . it elevates sociology of sport to a subdiscipline of the highest importance. Janet Lever's book is brilliant, entertaining, informative, and directly relevant to some of the most critical issues of our time. (Back cover of paperback edition)

Philip Morrison also praised the book in the *Scientific American*: "Lever has given the reader a small book as well written as it is thoughtful; the role of sport in human society is deserving of more study, and this account is a happy example painted in the bright colors and sharp contrasts of Brazilian life." The book has had a following and has subsequently gone through two additional editions in 1995 and 2009. I consider it one of the finest monographs ever written in the sociology of sport.

After the Dean turned down her promotion, Lever sued Northwestern for gender discrimination in a celebrated case, but in the end the courts upheld the Dean's prerogative to reject her promotion even if his decision seemed highly questionable to professional sociologists. Lever currently teaches at California State University, Los Angeles, and no longer lists the sociology of sport as one of her specialties.

My wife Beverly and I found Lever's research on play activities of youngsters rich and compelling. Beverly had earlier organized a boys' soccer team for the far west side of Madison, since there was not yet a team in the area, and our youngest son Don and his friends wanted to play. She found them a sponsor, who provided them with logo-printed T shirts, and also recruited a father to coach the team. Don and many of the other team members graduated to the Madison 56ers club team and then to the Madison Memorial High School team. Don later played varsity soccer at Northwestern University.

After Beverly learned about Lever's research, she decided to make use of her newly acquired experience to organize a girls' soccer team on behalf of our daughter Karen and other girls on the far west side. There were no youth soccer teams for girls of any age anywhere in Madison at that time. Only a handful of girls—outstanding athletes like Olympic bronze medalist Beth Heiden, Sarah Docter, and Mary Docter—played on boys' soccer teams. Beverly thought that girls who were less gifted athletically should also have the opportunity to play. We persuaded my colleague from the Sociology Department, Bert Adams, who knew much more than we did about soccer, to be the coach of the new girls' team. I wrote up a brief summary of Lever's research, and Beverly visited school principals and discussed Lever's findings with them. They were all impressed and agreed to have the girls' physical education teachers announce an organizational meeting for the team to be held on the Jefferson Middle School athletic field. However, she got a frosty reception from some of the girls' physical education teachers, who tended to look askance at competitive sports for girls and still seemed to subscribe to the notion that "nice girls don't sweat." Our daughter complained that the girls in her elementary school had to do boring things like marching around the gym while the physical education teacher beat a drum, but the boys got to have fun playing team sports.

I do not think the organizational meeting was ever announced by any of the physical education teachers, but word got around anyway, and fifteen or twenty girls showed up at the first meeting eager to play. None of them said they heard an announcement of the meeting at school. We found that young teen girls were enthusiastic about the opportunity to engage in competitive sports. In the next couple of weeks so many girls came out that the group was split into two teams. Each week the participants grew and the teams split and split again. Soon after the first teams were organized, Beverly was visited by a representative of the Madison 56ers, the most prominent club soccer organization in Madison. He wanted to absorb the girls' teams into the 56ers organization, but Beverly declined, preferring to let the girls' soccer movement grow independently. It did grow, and before long there was a whole league of teams on the west side. Then new leagues were organized in other parts of Madison. Girls' youth soccer mushroomed, and soccer became the dominant youth sport for girls as well as for boys in Madison.

Beverly stepped aside after she got the girls' soccer movement under way, and few people ever knew of her key role in its launching. Many adult volunteers came forward, and she was happy to relinquish leadership to them. Alma and Karl Taeuber, my colleagues in the Sociology Department, became some of the chief leaders and impresarios of the girls' soccer movement, particularly in the Vilas-Regent Street neighborhood. Before long the Madison high schools, seeing the popularity of girls' youth soccer, began to have girls' varsity soccer teams, and finally in 1981 the University of Wisconsin-Madison initiated soccer as a varsity women's intercollegiate sport. One of the girls who came out the first day to join Beverly's youth soccer team was a member of that first UW varsity team.

Through this period I kept in touch with Kit Saunders-Nordeen, who played the central role in getting the women's athletic program going at UW-Madison in the 1970s. There had been a little intercollegiate competition for women at Wisconsin in boating and basketball in the late 1890s, but it quickly died out due to a lack of coaching, practice time, and financial support. During the next fifty years all the emphasis was on men's sports, and women's recreation was taken over by various women's recreation and athletic associations that were opposed to competitive sports for women. A major national influence was Wisconsin's own Blanche M. Trilling, who headed various organizations that culminated in the Athletic and Recreation Federation of College Women. In 1929 she stated in the *Wisconsin Athletic Review*,

> I positively do not approve of competition for women and of the undue emphasis that is placed on individual accomplishment and the winning of championships. Rather than conforming with the structural

> characteristics and social traits of women, they are an imitation of the rules and activities in boys' and men's events (quoted in Saunders, 1980, p. 83).

What little development of women's sports there was took place within the Department of Physical Education for Women, where there was grudging financial support and outright opposition from some faculty members. It was later moved to the Club Sports Program that was started in 1970. Milt Bruhn, the former football coach, was appointed director of the club sports program, and Kit Saunders-Nordeen was named women's club sports coordinator in 1971 with a grand budget of $2,000. Each sport received only a pittance—from $100 to $500. In 1972 the budget grew to $8000 and in 1973 to $18,000—still a tiny fraction of what men's sports received. Saunders-Nordeen had to fight for every increase and had to go to the Chancellor for help when her board balked at providing sufficient funding for the growing women's sports program. Going over their heads greatly angered her board.

The passage of the Education Amendments Act Title IX in 1972 forbidding discrimination against women's educational programs vastly strengthened Saunders-Nordeen's hand. A complaint against the University of Wisconsin was filed with the HEW Office of Civil rights in 1973 stating that the university was in flagrant violation of Title IX "in its continued provision of unequal facilities and funding for athletics programs for women students and employees and unequal compensation for the coaching of its women's teams" (*Ibid*., p. 85).

In 1974 Women's Sports was moved into the Athletic Department with the men's program, and Saunders-Nordeen was appointed Director of Women's Athletics. The Athletic Board approved a 12-sport women's program with a budget of $118,000 in its first meager efforts to comply with Title IX. In 1991 the Athletic Board voted to drop five nonrevenue sports—men's baseball and men's and women's gymnastics and fencing—for financial reasons ("Wisconsin Set to Drop Baseball," 1991). The football team had won a total of only seven Big Ten games in the preceding six seasons and was not generating sufficient revenue, causing the athletic department to fall $1.9 million into debt ("Wisconsin Set to Drop Baseball,"1991). There was a public outcry when baseball was dropped and Wisconsin became the only Big Ten school without a baseball program. There was considerable public grumbling that Title IX's gender equity requirements and the women's sports program were responsible for the loss of baseball. The Board of Regents, however, upheld the action.

Women's Athletic Directors in universities across the country established the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) to regulate women's collegiate sports and sponsor national championships,

since neither the NCAA nor the Big Ten was interested in doing so in the beginning. Saunders-Nordeen was one of the leaders in formulating rules for the AIAW that were more athlete-friendly than the NCAA rules and less skewed toward the financial and other interests of coaches, athletic departments, and universities. She was hoping that women's sports could develop in a healthier way consistent with educational objectives and avoid the manifold problems and scandals of men's big-time college sports. To her dismay, however, as soon as women's collegiate sports began to have a following and even bring in some revenue, the rich and powerful NCAA moved in, started sponsoring national championships, and forced the AIAW out of existence. Ever since, women's college sports have become more and more like men's college sports. There are currently efforts to reform the NCAA, stimulated in part by legal suits brought by former players, but the evidence recounted by Benedict and Keteyian (2013) suggests that the prospects for substantial reform are exceedingly dim as long as there is big money in college sports.

I continued teaching classes in the sociology of sport until my retirement. My colleague Jane Piliavin, who had served as a member of the Athletic Board and had played an important role in leading the university to greater compliance with Title IX, took over the course in 1998 and has been an outstanding teacher. Even after she retired and moved to California, she has returned to the campus each summer to teach the class.

Current Research and Interest Areas of the Faculty

Race and ethnic studies, the sociology of economic change and development, and the sociology of sport were particular areas of interest to me, and I have devoted considerable space to their history at Wisconsin. There are a great many program areas that have been strong over the years, though with considerable waxing and waning with faculty turnover. I regret that I cannot cover more of them. Here are the areas that are currently listed as research and interest areas of the faculty in 2016-2017, excluding those faculty members who are retired.

Aging and the Life Course: Felix Elwert, Michal Engelman, Jason Fletcher, Monica Grant, Pamela Herd, Michael Massoglia, James Raymo

AgroFood Systems: Michael Bell, Monica White

Class Analysis and Historical Change: Samer Alatout, Michael Bell, Mustafa Emirbayer, Ivan Ermakoff, Joel Rogers, Gay Seidman, Erik Wright

Communities and Urban Sociology: Michael Bell, Katherine Curtis, Lewis Friedland, Joshua Garoon, Alice Goffman, Gary Green, Joel Rogers, Randy Stoecker, Michael Thornton, Monica White

Comparative-Historical Sociology: Michael Bell, Mustafa Emirbayer, Ivan Ermakoff, Myra Marx Ferree, Chad Goldberg, Anna Paretskaya

Culture: Michael Bell, Jane Collins, Mustafa Emirbayer, Myra Marx Ferree, Lewis Friedland, Joan Fujimura, Chad Goldberg, Anna Paretskaya

Demography and Ecology: Marcy Carlson, Katherine Curtis, Felix Elwert, Michal Engelman, Jason Fletcher, Ted Gerber, Monica Grant, Michael Massoglia, James Montgomery, Jenna Nobles, James Raymo, Nora Schaeffer, Christine Schwartz, Gay Seidman

Deviance, Law, and Social Control: Alice Goffman, Michael Massoglia, Pamela Oliver

Economic Change and Development: Samer Alatout, Michael Bell, Jane Collins, Joseph Conti, Katherine Curtis, Joshua Garoon, Monica Grant, Jenna Nobles, Joel Rogers, Gay Seidman

Economic Sociology: Michael Bell, Joseph Conti, Ivan Ermakoff, Jason Fletcher, Robert Freeland, Gary Green, James Montgomery, Joel Rogers, Leann Tigges, Monica White, Erik Wright

Education: Felix Elwert, Jason Fletcher, Ted Gerber, Monica Grant, Eric Grodsky

Environmental Sociology: Samer Alatout, Michael Bell, Katherine Curtis, Joshua Garoon

Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis: Mustafa Emirbayer, Cecilia Ford, Doug Maynard, Nora Schaeffer

Family: Marcy Carlson, Felix Elwert, Michal Engelman, Myra Marx Ferree, Monica Grant, Pamela Herd, Jenna Nobles, James Raymo, Christine Schwartz, Michael Thornton

Gender: Michael Bell, Jane Collins, Myra Marx Ferree, Cecilia Ford, Joan Fujimura, Monica Grant, Doug Maynard, Christine Schwartz, Gay Seidman, Leann Tigges, Erik Wright

General Social Theory: Samer Alatout, Michael Bell, Mustafa Emirbayer, Ivan Ermakoff, Robert Freeland, Lewis Friedland, Joan Fujimura, Alice Goffman, Chad Goldberg, Doug Maynard, James Montgomery, Anna Paretskaya, Joel Rogers, Erik Wright

History of Sociology: Michael Bell, Chad Goldberg, Doug Maynard

Knowledge: Samer Alatout, Michael Bell, Joan Fujimura

Law and Society: Joseph Conti, Michael Massoglia, Joel Rogers, Karl Shoemaker

Medical Sociology: Michal Engelman, Jason Fletcher, Joan Fujimura, Joshua Garoon, Pamela Herd, Doug Maynard, Jenna Nobles

Methods and Statistics: Katherine Curtis, Felix Elwert, Michal Engelman, Myra Marx Ferree, Jason Fletcher, Ted Gerber, Monica Grant, Eric Grodsky, Chaeyoon Lim, John Logan, Jenna Nobles, James Raymo, Nora Schaeffer

Organizational and Occupational Analysis: Ivan Ermakoff, Robert Freeland, Joan Fujimura, Chaeyoon Lim, Leann Tigges

Peace, War, and Social Conflict: Samer Alatout

Political Sociology: Samer Alatout, Michael Bell, Joseph Conti, Ivan Ermakoff, Myra Marx Ferree, Lewis Friedland, Joan Fujimura, Chad Goldberg, Chaeyoon Lim, Pamela Oliver, Anna Paretskaya, Joel Rogers, Gay Seidman, Erik Wright

Qualitative Methods: Samer Alatout, Michael Bell, Jane Collins, Mustafa Emirbayer, Lewis Friedland, Joan Fujimura, Joshua Garoon, Alice Goffman, Doug Maynard, Randy Stoecker

Race and Ethnic Studies: Michael Bell, Katherine Curtis, Mustafa Emirbayer, Joan Fujimura, Alice Goffman, Pamela Oliver, Michael Thornton, Leann Tigges

Religion: Michael Bell, Chaeyoon Lim, James Montgomery

Rural Sociology: Michael Bell, Katherine Curtis, Joshua Garoon, Monica White

Science and Technology: Samer Alatout, Michael Bell, Joan Fujimura, Randy Stoecker

Social Movements and Collective Behavior: Michael Bell, Mustafa Emirbayer, Ivan Ermakoff, Myra Marx Ferree, Lewis Friedland, Chad Goldberg, Chaeyoon Lim, Pamela Oliver, Gay Seidman, Randy Stoecker, Monica White

Social Psychology and Microsociology: Michael Bell, Cecilia Ford, Alice Goffman, Doug Maynard, James Montgomery, Nora Schaeffer

Social Stratification: Marcy Carlson, Katherine Curtis, Felix Elwert, Ted Gerber, Eric Grodsky, John Logan, Michael Massoglia, Jenna Nobles, James Raymo, Christine Schwartz

Other Centers and Institutes

Many centers and institutes that were organizationally outside the two sociology departments have played major roles in the research and teaching of sociology faculty and graduate students at UW-Madison. I regret that I am unable to provide a review here of the activities of sociologists in these organizations, for they have been of great importance. Among the outside Centers and Institutes in which sociologists have been most active are the following:

- Institute for Research on Poverty
- Land Tenure Center
- Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies
- Industrial Relations Research Institute
- Wisconsin Center for Education Research
- Area Studies Centers, particularly for Africa, Ibero America, Southeast Asia, South Asia, East Asia, and Europe

A FINAL WORD

There have, of course, been many changes in the department over the last six decades. Not all of the cultural features I have written about are still present, and there are certainly many new ones, as well as strengthened organizational features. The current financial austerity and the growing competitiveness of other sociology departments, as well as the hostile political climate that has developed in Wisconsin, present a more challenging environment today. Nevertheless, sociology at Wisconsin remains very strong. I am thankful for all the colleagues and students who have worked to make it so.

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APPENDICES

The lists of faculty appearing in Appendix A and Appendix B are based for the most part on the Staff Directories in the UW Archives before 2006, when publication of the directories was discontinued. These were supplemented by departmental records and occasionally by the memories of staff members. The lists are as accurate as I could make them, given the complexity and inconsistencies of the records, but errors certainly remain.

For dates I have usually omitted leaves just prior to or following residence on campus. Sometimes when a valued member took a position at another university, the department would grant a one- or two-year leave to encourage that person to return, but the stratagem almost never succeeded. I have omitted those from the Extension Division who rarely or never taught regular university classes or supervised graduate students. I omitted graduate students who held positions as Instructors or Lecturers unless they went on to professorial status in the two departments or were otherwise important to the departments. I have also omitted a substantial number of people who were primarily from other departments unless they did substantial teaching in the two sociology departments or were otherwise of substantial importance to the sociology programs.

Appendix A

Sociology Faculty Outside the College of Agriculture, 1874—2016

Office of the President

1874

John Bascom, 1874-1887 President Gave first courses of lectures in sociology

School of Economics, Political Science, and History—Department of Economics

1892

Richard Theodore Ely, 1892-1925 Prof. of Economics

1895

Jerome Hall Raymond, 1895-1897 University Extension Lecturer in Sociology

1898

Balthasar Henry Meyer, 1898-1910 Inst. in Sociology to Prof. of Political Economy

1902

Thomas Sewall Adams, 1902-1915 Asst. Prof. of Economics & Statistics to Prof. of Political Economy

Department of Political Economy

1904

John Rogers Commons, 1904-1933 Prof. of Political Economy to Prof. of Economics

Jerome Dowd, 1904-1905 Lecturer in Sociology

1906

Edward Alsworth Ross, 1906-1937 Prof. of Sociology

1907

Charles Henry Hawes, 1907-1909 Lecturer in Anthropology (Anthropology)

1908

Helen Laura Sumner (Woodbury), 1908-1909 Postdoctoral student in Political Economy

1912

John Lewis Gillin, 1912-1941 Assoc. Prof. of Sociology to Prof.

Department of Economics

1918

Don Divance Lescohier, 1918-1953 Assoc. Prof. of Economics to Prof.

1920

Joyce Oramel Hertzler, 1920-1923 Inst. in Economics to Inst. in Sociology

1921

Helen Isabel Clarke, 1921-1946 Inst. in Sociology to Assoc. Prof. (Social Work)

1923

Clarence Gus Ditmer, 1923-1926 Inst. in Sociology to Asst. Prof.

1925

Frances P. Brayton, 1925-1927 Inst. in Sociology (Social Work)

Elizabeth Yerxa, 1925-1939 Lecturer in Sociology (Social Work)

1926

Kimball Young, 1926-1940 Assoc. Prof. of Social Psychology to Prof. of Social Psychology

1927

Philip Hilmore Person, 1927-1928 Inst. in Sociology

1928

Ralph Linton, 1928-1937 Assoc. Prof. of Social Anthropology to Prof. of Social Anthropology

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1930

Charlotte Day Gower, 1930-1938 Asst. Prof. (Anthropology)

Samuel Andrew Stouffer, 1930-1935 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1933

John Harrison Kolb, 1920-1958 Instr. to Professor (also Rural Soc.)

1934

Leopold von Wiese, 1934(I) Carl Schurz Visiting Prof.

1935

Thomas Carson McCormick, 1935-1954 Prof.

1937

Howard Paul Becker, 1937-1960 Prof.

Alexander A. Goldenweiser, 1937-1938 Prof. (Anthropology)

Morris Swadesh, 1937-1939 Asst. Prof. (Anthropology)

George W. Hill, 1937-1950 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Rural Soc.)

1938

Wendell Clark Bennett, 1938-1940 Assoc. Prof. (Anthropology)

1939

P. R. Farnsworth, 1939-1940 Acting Prof.

William White Howells, 1939-1948 Acting Asst. Prof. to Prof. (Anthropology)

1940

H. Scudder McKeel, 1940-1947 Assoc. Prof. to Prof. (Anthropology)

Hans Heinrich Gerth, 1940-1971 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1941

Leland Collins DeVinney, 1941-1943 Assoc. Prof.

1946

William H. Sewell, 1946-1980 Assoc. Prof. to Vilas Research Prof. (also Rural Soc.)

Marshall Barron Clinard, 1946-1979 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Svend Henry Riemer, 1946 to 1952 Assoc. Prof.

1947

John H. Useem, 1947-1949 Assoc. Prof.

David A. Baerreis, 1947- 1958 Instr. to Prof. (Anthropology)

Don A. Martindale, 1947-1948 Acting Instructor

Charles William Merton Hart, 1947-1958 Lecturer to Prof (Anthropology)

1950

Otis Dudley Duncan, 1950-1951, Asst. Prof.

Milton L. Barnett, 1951-1958 Instr. to Assoc. Prof. (Anthropology)

Haridas Thakordas Muzumdar, 1950(II) Visiting Lecturer

1951

Burton R. Fisher, 1951-1982 Prof.

1952

G. Herzog, 1952-1953 Visiting Professor

Michael Hakeem, 1952-1983 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Orville G. Brim, Jr., 1952-1955 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Lyle William Shannon, 1952-1962 Instr. to Assoc. Prof.

Morton Rubin, 1952-1957 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

David Wason Ames, 1952-1958 Instr. to Asst. Prof. (Anthropology)

1953

E. E. LeMasters, 1953-1975 Lecturer to Prof. (also Social Work)

1954

Frank E. Hartung, 1954-1955 Visiting Assoc. Prof.

Gabriel Ward Lasker, 1954-1955 Visiting Asst. Prof. (Anthropology)

1955

William Sceva Laughlin, 1955-1958 Assoc. Prof. (Anthropology)

Robert B. McGinnis, 1955-1962 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Louis H. Orzack, 1955-1959 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

1956

Norman Burston Ryder, 1956-1971 Asst. Prof. to Thorstein Veblen Prof.

Department of Sociology

1958

Robert C. Davis, 1958-1962 Asst. Prof.

Thomas J. Scheff, 1958-1963 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

1959

Frank E. Hartung, 1959-1960 Visiting Assoc. Prof.

Leo Francis Schnore, 1959-1988, Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

1960

Albert J. Reiss, Jr., 1960-1961, Prof.

David Mechanic, 1960-1979 Asst. Prof. to John Bascom Prof.

Milton S. Bloombaum, 1960-1962 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Richard A. Peterson, 1960-1964 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Thales de Avezedo, 1960 Visiting Prof.

1961

Edgar Francis Borgatta, 1961-1970 Brittingham Prof.

Harry P. Sharp, 1961-1991 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Robert R. Alford, 1961-1974 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Joseph W. Elder, 1961-2014 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Languages & Cultures of Asia, and Integrated Liberal Studies)

Stanley Lieberson, 1961-1967 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Jack Ladinsky, 1961-1997 Instr. to Prof. (also Law)

Austin Theodore Turk, 1961-1962 Instr.

1962

Nicholas Jay Demerath III, 1962-1970 Instr. to Assoc. Prof.

Warren Olaf Hagstrom, 1962-1997 Instr. to Prof.

Gerald Marwell, 1962-2001 Instr. to Richard T. Ely Prof.

Allan A. Silver, 1962-1964 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Harry Vernon Ball, 1962-1964 Lecturer and Program Coordinator Russell Sage Program in Sociology and Law

Kenneth G. Lutterman, 1962-1968 Visiting Lecturer to Asst. Prof.

1963

Russell Middleton, 1963-1996 Prof. (also Southeast Asian Studies & Development Studies)

Michael T. Aiken, 1963-1984 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Theodore D. Kemper, 1963-1966 Asst. Prof.

Ronald M. Pavalko, 1963-1966 Asst. Prof.

William A. Rushing, 1963-1964 Asst. Prof.

David R. Schmitt, 1963-1968 Asst. Prof.

Robert C. Day, 1963-1965 Asst. Prof.

David Reuben Jerome Heise, 1963-1969 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Jerald T. Hage, 1963-1971 Postdoctoral Fellow to Assoc. Prof.

1964

Kenneth J. Reichstein, 1964-1966 Asst. Prof.

H. Kent Geiger, 1964-1984 Prof.

David Chaplin, 1964-1971 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Anthony F. Costonis, 1964-1968 Asst. Prof.

Karl Ernst Taeuber, 1964-1995 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Maurice Zeitlin, 1964 -1976 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1965

Bert N. Adams, 1965-2000 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Berenice M. Fisher, 1965-1970 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof. (also Educ. Policy Studies)

Philip E. Hammond, 1965-1969 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Archibald O. Haller, 1965-1994 Prof. (also Rural Soc.)

Edward Rothstein, 1965-1974 Lecturer (also Prof. Center System)

1966

Bruce C. Busching, 1966-1971 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Howard E. Freeman, 1966-1967 Visiting Prof.

Richard F. Hamilton, 1966-1970 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Charles B. Perrow, 1966-1970 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Shalom H. Schwartz, 1966-1972 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Seymour Spilerman, 1966-1981 Instr. to Prof.

Glenn V. Fuguitt, 1966-1993 Prof. (also Rural Soc.)

1967

Halliman H. Winsborough, 1967-2000 Prof. to Conway-Bascom Prof.

Elaine C. [Walster] Hatfield, 1967-1976 Assoc. Prof. to Prof. (also Psychology)

Koya Azumi, 1967-1970 Asst. Prof.

Michael A. Faia, 1967-1970 Asst. Prof.

Henry C. Finney, 1967-1973 Asst. Prof.

Donald J. Treiman, 1967-1970 Asst. Prof.

Cora E. Bagley Marrett, 1967-1968 Instr.; 1974-1997 Assoc. Prof. to Prof. (also Afro-American Studies)

David B. Elesh, 1967-1973 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Kurt Finsterbusch, 1967-1970, Instr. to Asst. Prof.

H. Andrew Michener, 1967-2000, Instr. to Prof.

Edward T. Silva, 1967-1974 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

James A. Sweet, 1967-2000 Instr. to Prof. to William H. Sewell Prof.

1968

Judah Matras, 1968-1969, 1971 Visiting Prof.

George W. Bohrnstedt, 1968-1969 Lecturer

Karen Oppenheim, 1968-1970 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

David S. Wiley, 1968-1975 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Randall Collins, 1968-1969 Instr.

1969

Larry Lee Bumpass, 1969-1999 Asst. Prof. to Norman B. Ryder Prof.

John D. DeLamater, 1969-2016 Asst. Prof. to Conway-Bascom Prof.

Robert M. Hauser, 1969-2010 Asst. Prof. to Samuel A. Stouffer Prof. to Vilas Research Prof.

Ersel E. LeMasters, 1969-1980 Prof. (also Social Work)

1970

James R. Greenley 1970-1996 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Psychiatry)

Sheila R. Klatzky, 1970-1975 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Marcel S. Teitler, 1970-1975 Asst. Prof.

Weldon T. Johnson, 1970-1977 Visiting Asst. Prof. to Asst. Prof.

1971

Barry E. Collins, 1971-1972 Prof.

Howard S. Erlanger, 1971-2013 Asst. Prof. to Voss-Bascom Prof. (Also Law School)

Kenneth E. McNeil, 1971-1978 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Richard A. Schoenherr, 1971-1996 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Aage B. Sørensen, 1971-1984 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Jean Leca, 1971-1972 Visiting Prof.

Ann Seidman, 1971 Visiting Associate Professor

1972

G. William Walster,1972-1978 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Nicholas L. Danigelis, 1972-1975 Instr. to Asst. Prof.

Maureen T. Hallinan, 1972-1984 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Wen-Lung Chang, 1972-1977 Asst. Prof.

Philip Wexler, 1972-1979 Asst. Prof.

1973

Howard Leventhal, 1973-1978 Prof. (also Psychology)

Franklin D. Wilson, 1973-2007 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Charles P. Cell, 1973-1980 Asst. Prof.

James O'Connor, 1973-1974 Visiting Prof.

Arnold Upmeyer, 1973-1974 Visiting Prof.

1974

Charles N. Halaby, 1974-2011 Asst. Prof. to Martindale Bascom Prof.

Omer R. Galle, 1974-1975 Visiting Prof.

Manuel Castels, 1974-1975, 1977-1978 Visiting Prof.

1975

M. R. Mazhary, 1975-1976, Visiting Prof.

1976

Jane A. Piliavin, 1976-2006 Prof. to Conway-Bascom Prof. (also Women's Studies)

Bonnie Svarstad, 1976-2004 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Pharmacy)

Erik Olin Wright, 1976-curent Asst. Prof. to C. Wright Mills Prof.

1977

Gunnar Myrdal, 1977 Visiting Brittingham Prof.

Diane L. Colasanto, 1977-1984 Asst. Prof.

Robert D. Mare, 1977-1999 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Michael R. Olneck, 1977-2008 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Educ. Policy Studies)

Ronald R. Aminzade, 1977-1984 Instr. To Assoc. Prof.

John Cardascia, 1977-1979 Instr.

1978

Walter Korpi, 1978 Visiting Prof.

Ian E. Craib, 1978-1979, Visiting Assoc. Prof.

1979

David L. Featherman, 1979-1989 Prof. to John Bascom Prof.

Douglas W. Maynard, 1979-1992 Asst. Prof. to Prof., 2000-present Prof. to Conway-Bascom Prof.

Charles M. Camic, 1979-2006 Asst. Prof. to Martindale-Bascom Prof.

Elizabeth J. Thompson, 1979-2008 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1980

Odin W. Anderson, 1980-1995 Prof.

John Hagan, 1980-1982 Prof.

Pamela Elaine Oliver, 1980- present Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Alberto Palloni, 1980-2014 Asst. Prof. to Samuel Preston Prof.

Neuma Aguiar, 1980, 1983 Visiting Tinker Prof.

1981

Ivan Szelényi, 1981-1986 Prof. to Karl Polanyi Prof.

Samuel R. Cohn, 1981-1989 Asst. Prof. (also Industrial Relations)

Sara S. McLanahan, 1981-1990 Asst, Prof. to Prof.

1982

Michael Burawoy, 1982-1983 Assoc. Prof.

1983

Roberto Franzosi, 1983-1992 Asst. Prof.

Richard Lachmann, 1983-1990 Asst. Prof.

Annemette Sørensen, 1983-1984 Asst. Prof. (also Women's Studies)

1984

Ross L. Matsueda, 1984-1993 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Lawrence D. Bobo, 1984-1991 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Adam Gamoran, 1984-2014 Asst. Prof. to John D. MacArthur Prof. (also Educ. Policy Studies and Wisconsin Center for Education Research)

Gary D. Sandefur, 1984-2013 Assoc. Prof. to Prof. & Dean of the College of letters and Science

Nora Cate Schaeffer, 1984-present Asst. Prof. to Sewell Bascom Prof.

Judith Seltzer, 1984-1999 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1985

Ann Shola Orloff, 1985-1999 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1986

Lauren B. Edelman, 1986-1996 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof. (also Law)

David Stark, 1986-1990 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

1987

Wolfgang Streeck, 1987-1995 Prof. (also Industrial Relations)

Joel E. Rogers, 1987- present Asst. Prof. to Sewell-Bascom Professor of Law, Political Science, Public Affairs, and Sociology

1988

Stephen G. Bunker, 1988-2005 Prof.

Denis O'Hearn, 1988-1994 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Lawrence Wu, 1988-2003 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Karen Barkey, 1988-1989 Asst. Prof.

1990

Emily W. Kane, 1990-1996 Asst. Prof.

Gay Seidman, 1990- present Asst. Prof. to Prof.

John Allen Logan, 1990-present Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1992

Paul Lichterman, 1992-2004 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

1993

Aimée R. Dechter, 1993-2009 Asst. Prof.

Mark Suchman, 1993-2008 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1994

Nina Eliasoph, 1994-2004 Asst. Prof.

Jane L. Collins, 1994-2000 Prof. (also Women's Studies)

1995

Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni, 1995-2002 Asst. Prof. (also Chicano Studies)

1996

Mitchell Duneier 1996-2003 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Philip S. Gorski, 1996-2004 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Jonathan Zeitlin, 1996-2010 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also History, Industrial Relations, La Follette Public Affairs)

1997

Lincoln Quillian, 1997-2005 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Szonja Szelényi, 1997-1999 Assoc. Prof.

1998

Marino Anton Bruce 1998-2004 Asst. Prof. (also Afrio- American Studies)

1999

Mustafa Emirbayer, 1999- present Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Ivan Ermakoff, 1999- present Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Maria-Giovanni Merli, 1999-2008 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Karen C. Swallen, 1999-2005 Asst. Prof.

2000

Jeremy Freese, 2001-2005 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Michael J. Handel, 2000-2005 Asst. Prof.

James M. Raymo, 2000-present Asst. Prof. to Prof.

James D. Montgomery, 2000-present Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Myra Marx Ferree, 2000-present Prof. to Alice H. Cook Prof. (also Gender & Women's Studies and Center for German & European Studies)

2001

Shelley Correll, 2001-2003 Asst. Prof.

Michel Guillot, 2001-2009 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Joan Fujimura, 2001-present Prof.

Chad Goldberg, 2001-present Asst. Prof. to Prof.

2002

Michael C. Thornton, 2002-present Prof. (also Afro-American Studies)

Lewis A. Friedland, 2002-present Prof. (also Journ. And Mass Communications)

2003

Mara Loveman, 2003-2013 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Ruth N. López Turley, 2003-2010 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Robert F. Freeland, 2003- present Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Theodore P. Gerber, 2003- present Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

John Levi Martin, 2003-2007 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Jamie A. Peck, 2003-2007. Prof. (also Geography)

2004

Cameron L. MacDonald, 2004-2013 Asst. Prof. (also Women's Studies)

Zhen Zeng, 2004-2011 Asst. Prof.

Sara Y. Goldrick-Rab, 2004-2016 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Educ. Policy Studies)

Karl Blaine Shoemaker 2004-present Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof. (also History)

2005

Pamela Herd, 2005- present Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also La Follette Public Affairs)

Alfonso Morales, 2005-2007, Visiting Asst. Prof.

2006

Christine Schwartz, 2006-present Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Deborah Carr, 2006-2007 Assoc. Prof.

Erik V. Nordheim, 2006-present Prof. (also Statistics)

2007

Felix Elwert, 2007-present Asst. Prof. to Vilas Assoc. Prof.

2008

Marcia J. Carlson, 2008-present Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Chaeyoon Lim, 2008-present, Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Markus Gangl, 2008-2010, Prof.

2009

Joseph A. Conti, 2009-present Asst. Prof. (also Law)

Cecilia E. Ford, 2009-present Prof. (also English)

Monica Grant, 2009-present Asst. to Assoc.Prof.

Jenna Nobles, 2009-present Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Sida Liu, 2009-2016 Asst. Prof. (also Law)

2010

Thomas A. DiPrete, 2010-2011, Prof.

Geoffrey D. Borman, 2010-present Prof. (also Educational Policy Studies)

Irene Katele, 2010-2012 Adjunct Prof. (also Law)

2012

Alice Goffman, 2012-present Asst. Prof.

Erik Grodsky, 2012-present Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Michael Massoglia, 2012-present Asst. Prof. to Prof.

2013

Michal Engelman, 2013-present Asst. Prof.

Jason M. Fletcher, 2013-present Assoc. Prof. to Prof. (also La Follette Public Affairs)

2014

Robert Vargas, 2014-2016 Asst. Prof.

2016

Anna Paretskaya, 2016-present Lecturer

SOURCE: STAFF DIRECTORIES, 1911-2005, UW ARCHIVES, AND DEPARTMENTAL RECORDS

Appendix B

Sociology Faculty in the College of Agriculture/ and Life Sciences, 1911—2016

Department of Agricultural Economics

1911

Charles Josiah Galpin, 1911-1918 Lecturer on Country Life to Assoc. Prof. of Agricultural Economics

1920

John Harrison Kolb, 1920-1958 Instr. in Agricultural Economics to Prof. of Rural Sociology (also Soc. and Anth.)

1925

Arthur Frederick Wileden, 1925-1966 Instr. in Agricultural Economics to Prof. of Rural Sociology

1928

Ellis Lore Kirkpatrick, 1928-1937 Assoc. Prof. of Agicultural Economics to Assoc. Prof. of Rural Sociology

Department of Rural Sociology

1930

Conrad Taeuber, 1930-1931 Instr.

1935

Howard W. Beers, 1935-1936 Assoc. Prof.

1936

John R. Barton, 1936-1962 Asst.Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

George W. Hill, 1936-1950 Instr. to Prof. (also Sociology and Anthropology)

1943

Douglas G. Marshall, 1943-1946, 1952-1974 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

B. L. Cartter, 1943-1945 Asst. Prof.

1944

M. W. Rodehaver, 1944-1945 Asst. Prof.

1946

William Hamilton Sewell, 1946-1980 Assoc. Prof. to Vilas Research Prof. (also Soc. and Anth.)

1951

Eugene A. Wilkening, 1951-1984 Lecturer to Prof.

Margaret Lord Jarman Hagood, 1951-1952 Visiting Prof.

1954

Robert C. Clark, 1954-1968 Prof.

1956

Glenn V. Fuguitt, 1956-1993 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Soc. and Anth.)

1957

Murray A. Straus, 1957-1959 Asst. Prof.

1959

Charles Horace Hamilton, 1959-1960 Visiting Prof.

1960

Donald E. Johnson, 1960-1992 Instr. to Prof.

W. Keith Warner, 1960-1971 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1962

Ernest M. Kuhinka, 1962-1963, Visiting Lecturer

1963

Gordon L. Bultena, 1963-1970 Asst. Prof.

A. Eugene Havens, 1963-1984 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

1965

Archibald O. Haller, 1965-1994 Prof. (also Sociology)

1966

William L. Flinn, 1966-1975 Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

1967

Jay S. Johnson, 1967-1970 Asst. Prof.

1969

J. David Stanfield, 1969-1973 Asst. Prof.

1970

Gene F. Summers, 1970-1998 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

David L. Featherman, 1970-1979 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Rae Lesser Blumberg, 1970-1974 Asst. Prof.

Ann Seidman, 1970 Visiting Assoc. Prof.

1972

Thomas A. Heberlein, 1972-2001 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Boguslaw Galeski, 1972 Visiting Prof.

1973

David O. Hansen, 1973-1974, Visiting Asst. Prof.

1974

Doris Peyser Slesinger, 1974-1998 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Dov Weintraub, 1974-1975, Visiting Prof.

1976

Marta Tienda, 1976-1987 Asst. Prof. to Prof.

Paul R. Voss, 1976-2006 Project Associate to Prof.

1980

Howard J. Newby, 1980-1984 Prof.

1984

Jess C. Gilbert, 1984-2015 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Environmental Studies)

Jack R. Kloppenburg, Jr., 1984-2014 Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Environmental Studies)

1985

Peter J. Nowak, 1985-2011 Assoc. Prof. to Prof. (also Extension and Environmental Studies)

1986

William R. Freudenburg, 1986-2002 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

1988

Donald R. Field, 1988-2011 Prof. (also Forest & Wildlife Ecology & Environmental Studies)

C. Matthew Snipp, 1988-1998 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

Cynthia J. Truelove, 1988-1993 Asst. Prof.

1992

Frederick H. Buttel, 1992-2005 Prof. to William H. Sewell Prof. (also Ag. Tech Family Farm Inst and Environmental Studies)

1993

Leann M. Tigges, 1993-present Asst. Prof. to Prof. (also Gender & Women's Studies)

Gary Paul Green, 1993-present Prof. (also Urban & Regional Planning)

1998

Marlene A. Lee, 1998-2006 Asst. Prof.

1999

Douglas Jackson-Smith, 1999-2001 Asst. Prof. (also Urban & Regional Planning)

2000

Jane L. Collins, 2000-present Prof. to Evjue Bascom Prof. (also Gender & Women's Studies and Environmental Studies)

Daniel Lee Kleinman, 2000-2016 Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

2001

Roger B. Hammer, 2001-2007 Asst. Prof. (also Forest Ecology)

2002

Michael Mayerfeld Bell, 2002-present Assoc. Prof. to Prof. (also Environmental Studies)

Stephen G. Bunker, 2002-2005 Prof. (also Sociology and Environmental Studies)

2003

Samer Alatout, 2003-present Asst. Prof. to Vilas Assoc. Prof. (also Forest & Wildlife Ecology and Environmental Studies)

2005

Randy R. Stoecker, 2005-present Assoc. Prof. to Prof.

2006

Jill Harrison Pritikin, 2006-2012 Asst. Prof.

2007

Katherine J. Curtis, 2007-present Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Prof.

Department of Community and Environmental Sociology

2009

Laura Senier, 2009-2013 Asst. Prof. (also Family Medicine)

Brian D. Christens, 2009-present Asst. Prof. (also Human Ecology and Interdisciplinary Studies)

2010

Noah Weeth Feinstein, 2010-present Asst. Prof.to Assoc. Prof. (also Curriculum & Inst.)

2012

Monica M. White, 2012-present Asst. Prof. (also Environmental Studies)

2013

Joshua P. Garoon, 2013-present Asst. Prof.

SOURCE: STAFF DIRECTORIES, 1930-2005, UW ARCHIVES, AND DEPARTMENTAL RECORDS

Appendix C

Wisconsin PhDs Granted in Sociology, 1909-2016*

1909	Theresa Schmid McMahon
1910	Thomas Woodside Bentley Crafer
1911	Axel Johnson
1912	Thomas Luther Harris
1915	Jessie H. Bond, Clarence Marsh Case
1919	Jane Isabel Newell
1920	William Edward Garnett, Augustus Washington Hayes, Joyce Oramel Hertzler
1921	John Harrison Kolb
1922	William Lloyd Davis, Horace Boies Hawthorne, Ellery Francis Reed
1923	Ray Erwin Baber, William Russell Tylor, Fred Roy Yoder
1924	Clarence Gus Dittmer
1925	Charles Amos Dice, Helen Leland Witmer
1927	Lester Martin Jones, Hope Henry Lumpkin, Elon Howard Moore, Margaret Pryor
1928	Katharine DuPre Lumpkin, Serafin Egmidio Macaraig, Theodore Bergen Manny, Ryozo Matsumoto, Harry Holbert Turney-High
1929	Alfred Glen Barry, Morris Gilmore Caldwell, Samuel Huntington Hobbs, Haridas Thakordas Muzumdar, Lowry Nelson, Philip Hilmar Person
1930	Asael Tanner Hansen, Elzer Des Jardines Tetreau
1931	Thomas Wilson Cape, Roy Jefferson Colbert, Arthur Olaus Dahlberg, Verne Colson Wright
1932	Earl Hoyt Bell, Wayne Twinem Gray, John Peter Johansen, Sol David Ozer, Robert Arnold Polson, Henry Davidson Sheldon
1933	Calvert Lampert Dedrick, Harold Fred Dorn, Curtis Daniel MacDougall, Luman West Sampson, Ide Peebles Trotter
1934	Albert Ernest Croft, David Edgar Lindstrom, Arthur Raymond Mangus
1935	H. J. Walter Coutu, Carl Frederick Kraenzel
1936	George Lloyd Bird, Aneta Evans Bowden, Mary Eva Duthie, Robert Samuel Wilson
1937	Henry S. Shryock, Jr.
1938	Paul Charles Glick, Reuben Lorenzo Hill Jr., Arthur Katona, Richard Welling Roskelley

1939	James Edward Hulett Jr., Paul Wilbur Tappan, John H. Useem, Herbert Ashley Weeks
1940	Howard Rex Cottam, Maurice Brown Davies, George William Hill, Sigurd Arthur Johansen, Morton Brandon King Jr., William Oldigs, Walter Lucius Slocum, Russell Edson Waitt
1941	Melvin Schubert Brooks, Harold Taylor Christensen, William Meeker Fuson, Manford Hinshaw Kuhn, Wendell Frichof Kumlien, Olaf Frederick Larson, William Douglas Wallace Oberdorfer, Robert Carl Schmid, Arthur Lewis Wood
1942	Charles Wright Mills, Rockwell Carter Smith, Lloyd Wilcox, John Milton Yinger
1943	Wilbur Bone Brookover, William Lester Kolb, Douglas Gordon Marshall
1944	Virgil Elbert Long
1945	Louis Bultena, Allan W. Eister, Walter Morris Perkins
1946	Hsi K. Chang, Richard Sanford Dewey, John Garrick Hardy, Patricke Anne Johns, William McKinley Moore, Margaret G. Smith Stahl
1947	Myles W. Rodehaver, Ruth Marie Hill Useem, Preston Valien
1948	Don Albert Martindale, Robert Appeldorn Rohwer, Arnold Philip Sundal, Glen L. Taggart, John Winfred Teter
1949	Richard Allen Hornseth, Harald Ansgar Pedersen, Alfred Charles Schnur, Harold Lloyd Sheppard
1950	John Cheslow Belcher, Margaret L. Bright, Helmut Otto Dahlke, William Arthur DeHart, Roy Gustav Francis, Elmer Hubert Johnson, Boyd Ellsworth Macrory, Pablo Bernardino Vazquez-Calcerrada
1951	Therel Refell Black, LeRoy Judson Day, Simon Dinitz, Malak Guirguis, Gisela Johanna Hinkle (Mann), James Donald Tarver
1952	William Bruce Cameron, Philip Earl Frohlich, Roscoe Conkling Hinkle, Lowell Edwin Maechtle, Charles Eugene Ramsey
1953	Franz Adler, Theodore Robert Anderson, Hugo Otto Engelmann, Gilbert Lawrence Geis, Francis Ernest Lowe, Elmer Gustav Luchterhand, James Benjamin McKee
1954	Martin Ludwig Cohnstaedt, James Harris Copp, Archie Orben Haller, Jr., Alan Chester Kerckhoff, William Paul Lentz, Joe Dan Mills, Miriam Friedman Morris, Donald Joseph Newman, Robert Bruce Notestein, Jr., Franklin Eugene Rector, John Richard Wahl
1955	Jay William Artis, John Rees Christiansen, Everett Dixon Dyer, William Gibb Dyer, Frederick Christian Fliegel, Chester Wendell Hartwig, Thompson Peter Omari, Harrison Miller Trice

1956 Samuel William Bloom, Robert Blair Campbell, John Thomas Doby, Glenn Victor Fuguitt, John Ansley Griffin, Vatro Murvar, Michael Frederick Peter Nightingale, Murray Arnold Straus

1957 John Torgny Flint, Robert Winslow Friedrichs, Howard William Polsky

1958 Leta McKinney Adler, Andrew Raymond Breines, Walter Frederick Buckley, Jr., Charles Leslie Cleland, Allan Donald Orman, Harvey John Schweitzer

1959 Bertram Leighton Ellenbogen, Robert Dunton Herman, Herbert Menzel, Sidney Morris Peck, Walter Bingham Watson

1960 Robert Kendric Leik, Richard Thomas Smith, John Kenneth Rhoads, David Walter McKinney

1961 Frederick Walter Koenig, Charles Samuel Prigmore, Emmit Frederick Sharp, Juris Veidemanis, Harwin LeRoy Voss

1962 Jon Arno Doerflinger, Leon Francis Fannin, Kenneth Gordon Lutterman, Leonard Paul Metzger, Denton Edward Morrison, Earl Richard Quinney, Lalit Kumar Sen, Austin Theodore Turk

1963 Jeffrey Keith Hadden

1964 John Michael Armer, Lloyd Benjamin Lueptow

1965 Betty Isabel Crowther, Kenneth Walter Eckhardt, Wilmer Everett MacNair, James Ronald Pinkerton, Lawrence Harold Streicher, Robert Michael Terry

1966 Harold Joshua Bershady, Michael Edgar Bohleber, George William Bohrnstedt, Robert Ronald Evans, Donald Francis Heisel, Gustavo Jimenez-Cadena, Donald Elon Johnson, Ronald Leslie Johnson, Charles Henry McCaghy, Rajpal Singh Rathee, Jerry Don Rose, Vimalbhai Premchand Shah, Paul Lane Wuebben

1967 Majid Ghaidan Al-Khazraji, Walter Roy Cook, Robert Mills French, Daniel Nathan Gordon, Ramon Earl Henkel, Gladstone Albert Kristjanson, Franklin Oscar Leuthold, Eugen Lupri, Joseph John Palen, João Bosco Guedes Pinto, Mohamed Gamal Eldin Rashad, Herbert Lavon Smith, Eldon Lowell Wegner, Dean Richard Yoesting

1968 Cora Elmira Bagley [Marrett], Marvin Dicker, Ozzie Lee Edwards, Bernard Morton Finifter, William Davey Heffernan, Lawrence Sheldon Linn, José Pastore, Fernando Antonio da Silveira Rocha, David Lynn Rogers, Martin Hill Ross, Victor Thiessen, Joseph Donald Woelfel

1969 Keith Arden Baker, Lakshmi Kant Bharadwaj, James Walter Converse, Joseph Ernest DiSanto, Ronald Gene Faich, James Swen Hilander, Chanoch Jacobsen, Virginia May Lambert, William Joseph Monahan, Jr., Howard Dean Sheils, Robert William Shotola, Helcio Ulhoa-Saraiva, Johannes Cornelis Van Es, Donald Ellsworth Weast

1970 Marion Blanche Bowe, Salah El Din Mahmoud El-Zoghby, Lynda Ann Ewen, Alfred Paul Fengler, Paul Carl Friday, Avery Mason "Pete" Guest, Jay Wolfe Kenvin, Milton Lawrence Mankoff, Arthur Edmund Nudelman, Alan Marvin Orenstein, William Robert Phillips, Alejandro Portes, Vijai Pratap Singh, Donald Wesley Thomas, Patricia Charlene Guthrie Thompson

1971 Daniel Joseph Abbott, James Arnold Anderson, George Fred Drake, John Montfort Finney III, Lowell Lavern Hargens, Thomas Addison Heberlein, Bradley Ross Hertel, David Jerome Jackson, Helene Levens, Morgan Lyons, Eugenio Maffei, Subhash Ramanna Sonnad, Richard Charles Stephens

1972 Brian Charles Aldrich, Duane Francis Alwin, James Suhil Bang, Kenneth Roy Bryson, Martha Raines Burt, William Inya Abam Eteng, Lee Jameson Haggerty, Wava Gillespie Haney, David Oliver Hansen, Charles Hirschman, Patrick Michael Horan, Alfred Alexander Hunter, Mary Ruth Jackman, Victor Jesudason, Mary Monica Kritz, Edward John Lawler, Erasmus Dziewonu Monu, Rodrigo Parra-Sandoval, Carolyn Farnham Shettle, Robert William Suchner, Richard Charles Tessler, Richard Allen Zeller

1973 Sammy Kelly Blay, Richard Thomas Campbell, Norma Jean Chinchilla, Barry Michael Dank, Viviane Brachet De Marquez, Thomas James Durant II, William W. Eaton, Jr., John Wood Gartrell, Douglas Thomas Gurak, Richard Child Hill, Charles David Kleymeyer, Joel Philip Lazinger, Roland James Liebert, William Maynard Minter, Dan Emery Moore, Charles William Mueller, Robert Malcolm O'Brien, Luther Benedict Otto, Kurt Hojen Parkum, Michael Quinn Patton, David Raden, Richard Earl Ratcliff, Ann Richardson, Paul Thomas Schollaert, Maynard Sinclair Seider, Doris Peyser Slesinger, Joseph Charles Ventimiglia, Mary Elizabeth Wilkie, James David Wright, James Joseph Zuiches

1974 William George Austin, Samuel Bachrach, David Louis Brown, Ebenezer Ikechukwu Enwemnwa, Hernando Gomez-Buendia, Sharon Marcia Guten, Janet Ruth Hankin, Peter Daniel Hruschka, Susan Eleanor Johnson, Vivian Zelig Klaff, Richard Stephen Kronish, Francisco Leal-Buitrago, James Russell Lincoln, Robert Frank Meier, Nina Ruth Nahemow, Linda Burzotta Nilson, Michael Anthony Overington, Richard Donald Rodefeld, Humberto Rojas-Ruiz, Suzanne Smith Saulniers, Bam Dev Sharda, Batia Sharon, Bonnie Louise Svarstad, Sol Tannenbaum, Richard Anthony Wanner, Russell Avery Ward, Robert Lee Whittenbarger

1975 Nelson Raymundo Amaro, Frederick Howard Buttel, Alvaro Camacho, Bohdan Dan Czarnocki, John DeVries, Ekong E. Ekong, Dorothy Marie Ellegaard, Juan Mario Fandiño M., Edward Laurence Fink, Philip Gerald Groth, Mohamed Abdullahi Jama, Arne Kalleberg, Douglas Alan Klegon, James Robert Kluegel, Jean Karen Langlie, Richard Murray Levinson, Allen Erwin Liska, Dario Enrico Longhi, Joanne Miller, Tarcizio Rego Quirino, Dean Gerard Rojek, James Wilmerding Russell, Michael David Schulman, Donald Paul Simet, Thomas James Weirath, Loyd Edward Wells

1976 Paul David Allison, William Thomas Bielby, William James Bogdanow, John Gerald Condran, Robert Duncan Dewar, Leslie LaHugh Gardner, Howard H. Garrison, David Friedman Haas, Sidney Lee Harring, Dennis Patrick Hogan, Harold Lawrence Hotchkiss, Philip Howard Kuhn, Silvio Marcelo Maranhao, Miles Thomas Meidam, Robert William Peterson, Marc Renaud, Rachel Ann Rosenfeld, Richard George Trahan, Blair Wheaton, Charlotte Shiang-Yun Wang Yang, Abraham Yogev, Gerald Joseph Zeitz

1977 Thomas Michael Carter, Joseph Clement Conaty, Steven Lawrence Cortmaker, Nancy Kay DiTomaso, Gregory Clark Elliott, Roger Owen Friedland, David Paul Gillespie, Ain Eduard Haas, Linda Lee Haas, Denis Albert Ladbrook, Joan Patricia McAuliffe, John Francis Myles, Emile George Nadeau III, Robert Earl Petersen, Kathryn Strother Ratcliff, Juliette LeBlanc Redding, Mario Riedl, Ian Roxborough, Kenneth Ignatius Spenner, Robert Frank Szafran, Earl M. Wajdyk, Julia Catherine Wrigley

1978 Gøsta Esping-Andersen, Carolyn Louise Baylies, Miriam Roza Bensman, J. Stanley Black, Nancy Jean Davis, Thomas Daymont, Margaret Dimond, John Alan Fleishman, Neil Fligstein, Carl Fredrickson, Patricia Garrett, Nora Louise Hamilton, Philip J. Leaf, Armona Livneh, Eduardo Lopez-Aranguren, Patricia MacCorquodale, Oscar Billey Martinson, Edward Kareria Mburugu, Kevin McCarthy, Norma June Nager, João Elmo Schneider, Jane Marie Traupmann, Mary Kristine Utne

1979 Donald Cecil Bross, Jac Doxsee Bulk, Kuanzheng Chen, Nancy Elizabeth Dunton, Donna Jean Eder, Albert Joseph Gedicks, Charles Cowan Geisler, Avraham Gottlieb, Robert Alan Hanneman, Timothy Braley Heaton, Alexander Michael Hicks, Abraham Leslau, Fattaneh Mehrain, Michael Jay Soref, John Arden Stewart, Jaime Bermas Valera, Joab Meshak Njekho Wasikhongo

1980 Peter O. Agbonifo, Esmail Baku, Cynthia Faye Barnett, Jay Yair Brodbar, Paul David Cleary, Ira Joel Cohen, Elaine Traugot Eckels, Diane Felmlee, Pedrinho Guareschi, Randy Dale Hodson, Vivien Hoh Lowe, A. Mani, David Andrew McGranahan, Uri Mendelberg, Franklin Walther Monfort, Mae Etsuko Ouchida, Paul George Schervish, Patricia Allen Shifferd, Mary Evans Sias, Arnold Richard Silverman, Albert Andrew Simkus, Michael Edward Sobel, Annemette Sørensen, Glenn Zui Yago, Michael Lee Yoder

1981 Osei-Mensah Aborampah, Ronald Angel, David Bruce Bills, William Leigh Canak, Seen-Kong Chiew, David Cray, Dorcas Ellen Evans, David Ray James, Robert Lawrence Kaufman, Koli Luc Kouame, Daniel T. Lichter, Daniel Louis Meyer, Harriett Joyce Moyer, Yoshitaka Okada, George William Pasdirtz, Cecil Patrick Pereira, Nancy Horak Randall, Charles Matthew Snipp, Charles Edward Susmilch, Peter Cleary Yeager

1982 Kathleen Marie Blee, Betty Ann Dobratz, Judith Ann Howard, David Leonard Iaquinta, Wilmot Godfrey James, Susan Graefe Janssen, Eduardo Lindarte, Kathleen McKinney, Edward Berger Nelson, William Lawrence Neuman, Joy Perkins Newmann, Chaiwat Roongruangsee, Gillian Anne Stevens, Andrew Szasz, Maxine Seaborn Thompson, Manoel Malheiros Tourinho

1983 Maria Cynthia Rose Banzon Bautista, Peter Louis Callero, Brian Reed Clarridge, Richard Anthony Colignon, Jennifer L. Glass, David Solomon Hachen, Robert Kominski, James Gary Linn, Peter A. Mossel, Tri Van Nguyen, Jason Cliques Nwankwo, Ruth Delois Peterson, Nader Saiedi, Yossi Jonathan Shavit-Streifler, Shu-Ling Tsai, Rick Seth Zimmerman

1984 Celesta Ann Albonetti, Vern Kenneth Baxter, John L. Campbell, Jr., Cynthia Butler Costello, Thabo T. Fako, Kathleen Glynn, Linda Alane Jacobsen, Francis F. Lyimo, Maria de Salete Marinho, Michael P. Massagli, Keith M. Moore, Peter A. Mossel, Mary B. Olson, Mark Robert Rank, Ruy Antonio Teixeira, Mary G. Visher, Joseph William Weiss

1985 Bishnu Bhandari, Suleiman Okhafoede Braimoh, Tomás Dupla, Rosemary Irene Gartner, Gregory Michael Hooks, Edwin Evert Hutchins, Robert Dawson Kennedy, Luis Lamas Alonso, Mark Henry Lazerson, Eleanor Scott Meyers, David Paul Moberg, Patrick H. Mooney, Roberta Riportella-Muller, Susan Kay Sprecher

1986 Analee Elizabeth Burns Beisecker, Ezekiel Gaya Best, Leonard Eugene Bloomquist, Bruce A. Christenson, Ivan Thomas Evans, David B. Grusky, Thomas Andrew Hirschl, Kisdarjono, Daniel H. Krymkowski, Kojiro Miyahara, Mansoor Moaddel, Gerardo Otero, Max John Pfeffer, Amichai Silberman, Shelley Amanda Smith, Joey Sprague, Robin Sue Stryker, Nagender Swamy Tadepally, Richard A. Williams

1987 Patricia Louise Howard Ballard, Robert Mathew Baumgartner, Daniel Campos R. D., Jongchun Cha, Roberta Braun Curtin, Solomon Gashaw, Heidi H. Gottfried, Franklin William Goza, Carolyn Howe, Robert Monroe Jenkins, Leif Ingram Jensen, Santosh Kapani, Michiko Kawasaki Kawakubo, Ding Tzann Lii, Mohammad H. Panahi, Trond Petersen, Kerry Anne Richter, George Philip Steinmetz, David Lynn Weakliem, Scott Allen Werker

1988 Josephine Beoku-Betts, Byong-Hee Cho, Christopher S. Girard, Antonio Sergio Alfredo Guimaraes, Jeong-Koo Kang, John Edwin Marcotte, Courtney Lade Marlaire, William Craig Martin, Sunghee Nam, Terri L. Orbuch, Gilsung Park, Arthur Sakamoto, Kwang- Yŏng Shin, David Norman Smith, Szonja Szelényi, Andrianna Thalasinos, Roger Allen Wojtkiewicz

1989 Mohammed Abo-El-Enein, Bonani Bukaka, Suzanne Dvorak, Victor M. Gomez, Ronald John Hustedde, Karen Valinda Heimer, Gyu-Won Kim, Wamucii E. Njogu, Pilar Alicia Parra, Joseph Gerard Plazewski, José Bolivar Viera da Rocha, Salvador dal Pozzo Trevizan, Peter Ubomba-Jaswa, Raymond Sin-Kwok Wong, Yu Xie, Lawrence A. Young

1990 Julia P. Adams, Mohammed Abbas Bamyeh, Josephine Antoinette Beoku-Betts, Brett V. Brown, Teresa Castro Martin, Mariolina Graziosi, James Thaddeus Hannon, George C. Kephart, Robert Alan Kleidman, Ok-Jie Lee, Yean-Ju Lee, Nadine Frances Marks, Mee-Hae Park, Michael Paul Polakowski, Karen Ann Shire, Armando Solorzano Ramos, Belita Amihan Vega, Dorothy Watson, Maria Zadoroznyj

1991 Magdalene Soniia David, Ran Greenstein, Paula M. Lantz, Seyed Farrokh Mostafavi, Daniel Andrew Powers, Melissa Lynn Ray, Havidan Rodriguez, Wattana Sugunnasil, Ramon de Souza Torrecilha

1992 Mark Alan Berends, Robert Biggert Jr., Elizabeth Chambliss, Hong-Wen Charng, Tsan-Yuang Cheng, Donna Louise Hoyert, Cherng-Tay (James) Hsueh, Daniel Lee Kleinman, Suzana Maria Valle Lima, Wendy Diane Manning, Laura Ann Sanchez, Pamela Jane Smock

1993 Kristin Kay Barker, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Lisa Diane Brush, Donmoon Cho, J. Maureen Dolan, Nancy Cross Dunham, Elaine Louise Fielding, Thomas L. Hanson, Sinhun Jun, Lane Allen Kenworthy, Barthélémy Kuate Defo, Seong-Sik Lee (Sŏng-sik Yi), Donald L. Libby, John Francis Manzo, Melissa R. Partin, Raka Ray, Franklin Daniel Rothman, Rachel A. Schurman, Betsy Lynn Sleath, Saraswati Sunindyo, Peter Eric Tiemeyer, Meei-Shenn Tzeng, Runar Vilhjalmsson

1994 Douglas K. Anderson, Thomas M. Beckley, Paul Sidney Ciccantell, Victor Gaigbe Togbe, Walter Frederick Kuentzel, Samuel Roundfield Lucas, Brian C. Martinson, Kay Mohlman, James Sylvester O'Leary, Eric Parker, Stephen Mark Petterson, Guido Pinto Aguirre, Ruthine Kelly Raley, Carol Lynn Roan, Marc Schneiberg, Nalinee Tantuvanit

1995 Roy Charles Barnes, Kurt Bauman, Karen M. Booth, Roberta L. Coles, Virginia Teas Gill, Su-Jen Huang, Douglas B. Jackson-Smith, Corey Lee Michael Keyes, Hsiang-Hui Daphne Kuo, John M. Lande, Sung Yong Lee, Young-Hyun Lee, Lynn Magdol, Leslie J. McCall, Yuko Mizuno, Anup K. Pahari, Hanam Samuel Phang, Yasuhiro Tanaka, Jiyuan Wu, Hsiu-Jen Yeh

1996 Vernon Lee Andrews, Tirso Antonio Gonzales Vega, Angela Jean Hattery Freetly, Jinkuk Hong, Min-Hsiung Huang, Joohee Lee (Chu-hŭi Yi), G. Steven Lybrand, Ka-Fai Ma, Richard W. J. Randell, Bradley R. Entner Wright

1997 Richard J. Anderson-Connolly, Vilna Bashi Treitler, Deborah Suzanne Carr, Wendy Y. Carter, Jiyeun Chang, Kwonjoong Cho, James R. Elliot Jr., Jang Heo, Mire Koikari, In-Sook Kum, Lichang Lee, Sungkyun Lee, Paul C. LePore, I-Fen Lin, Jane Mosley, Daniel Jonathan Myers, Jorge Alexandre Barbosa Neves, Melinda Karen Pitts, Mary Angela Schippers, Mario Sims, Akira Suzuki, Jen-Chieh Ting, Min-Chieh Tseng, Sigurt Vitols

1998 M. Elizabeth Arias, Esmail Bagheri Najmi, Woshun Alex Chan, Debra J. Davidson, Martha Ross DeWitt, M. Elizabeth Fussell, Paul K. Gellert, Naima Abdu Hassan, Dawn Renae Jeglum Bartusch, Kyounghee Kim, Jyh-Jer Ko, Jonathan A. Leitner, Hsien Hen Lu, Cynthia M. Ofstead, José Antonio Padín, Byoung-Jin Park, Hantamalala Rafalimanana, Megan M. Sweeney, John Robert Warren, David Yamane

1999 Sara Abraham, Ann Dalton Bagchi, David Vance Stoll Bartram, Mia Lenaye Cahill, Vivek Aslam Chibber, John P. Esser, Danielle Cireno Fernandes, Greg Greenberg, Heather L. Hartley, Juliet King, Stephanie Ann Luce, Kirsten E. Paap, Clare Leah Tanner, Ann L. Ziege

2000 William J. Carbonaro, Meichu Chen, Seung Chol Choi, Enilda Arbona Delgado, Stuart Paul Eimer, Scott Frickel, Orly Levy, Steven P. Martin, Michael J. McQuestion, Ronald L. Mize, Kelly A. Musick, Brian K. Obach, Joshua Rossol, Andrew Schrank, Audrey Sprenger, Richard C. Stedman, Daniel Monroe Sullivan, Thomas Eric Wells, Matthew Anthony Wilson, Kathrin Susanne Zippel

2001 Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Hee-Je Bak, Jorge Cadena Roa, Dana R. Fisher, Paula Wendling Fomby, Stephen E. Halebsky, Roger Bruce Hammer, Elizabeth A. Hoffmann, Carolyn April Liebler, Ogum Jacob Loroto Lomoro, Gregory M. Maney, Steven Charles McKay, Renee A. Monson, Monica Josefina Nevius, Sharmila Rudrappa, Jennifer T. Sheridan, Diane S. Shinberg, David Edgemon Tabachnick, Lisa J. Wilson

2002 Kelly Besecke, Kathryn J. Braiser, Akosua K. Darkwah, Amy L. Godecker, Eric Grodsky, Neil L. Gross, Cameron Hale, Jeffrey Alan Hayes, Chung-Hsien Huang (Zhongxuan Huang), Thomas Macias, Devah Pager, Kevin Wehr, Stanley Zhao-Xiong Yang

2003 Liba Brent, Miguel Ceballos, Rachel E. Dwyer, Lina Patricia Guzman, Steven Scott Hitlin, Rebecca S. Krantz, Greta R. Krippner, William A. Lugo, Susan E. Mannon, Molly A. Martin, Ann Marie Meier, Susan A. Munkres, Angel Adams Parham, Julie A. Whitaker, Joshua David Whitford

2004 Lynne M. Bethke, Jennie Elizabeth Brand, Mary Elizabeth Campbell, Jennifer L. Dykema, Jennifer L. Eggerling-Boeck, Abd-el-Hani Guend, Steven Andrew Haas, Black Hawk Hancock, Mary G. Hovsepian, Jonathan Daniel London, Alair MacLean, Nancy Belinda Plankey Videla, Meera Sehgal, Buffy Smith, Michael Ludwig Spittel, Matthew Zeidenberg

2005 Cheng-Hui Lucy Chen, Jessica Rule Goldberger, Mark Harry Harvey, Sean Patrick Kelly, Dimitri Kessler, Lyn Christine Macgregor, Robert Sean Mackin, David M. Nowacek, Christine Overdevest, Hyunjoon Park, Aaron Z. Pitluck, Eric N. Reither, Jeffrey S. Rothstein, Arthur Scarritt, Jenifer D. Sharp, Diane Renee Soles, Kelley Dan Strawn, Theresa L. Thompson-Colón, Clara Wai-Chun To

2006 Shireen Adam Ally, Flávia Cristina Drumond Andrade, Huey-Chi Chang, Dwight Neil Haase, Aya Hirata Kimura, Sandra Rose Levitsky, Elizabeth Marie Harmatys Park, Spencer Doyle Wood, Li-Fang Yang

2007 Damayanti Banerjee, Shelley J. Boulianne, John Andrew Fulton, Bennett Emerson Kadel, Paul E. Lachelier, Daniel Alexander Long, Amy Lang, Victoria Lynn Mayer, Solon Jason Simmons, Kristin Wray Springer, Matthew Graham Vidal, Lisa Dawn Wade, Tona Lee Williams

2008 Tara Leigh Becker, Gilbert Brenes, Carolina Milesi Carmona, Caroline Lynn Faulkner, Erin Elizabeth Hatton, Insoo Kim, Abby Johanna Kinchy, Jesse Jerome Norris, Landy Lizbeth Sánchez-Peña, César A. Rodríguez-Garavito, Sarah Christine Swider, Paul Michael Van Auken, Mark Douglas Whitaker, James Eugene Yocom, Yan Yu

2009 Robyn Kimberley Autry, Sarah Katherine Bowen, Erin Elizabeth Hatton, Sara Elizabeth Hertog, Pil Ho Kim, Chi Yeung Ricky Leung, Pablo Andrés Mitnik, Jerônimo Oliveira Muniz, Julieta Perez-Amador, Shamus Rahman Khan, Shauna A. Morimoto, Tetyana Pudrovska, Luisa Farah Schwartzman, Kristen A. Velyvis, Cynthia Ellen White, Robert Gannon White

2010 Keera Emily Eris Allendorf, Brian Pyong An, Megan Andrew, Philip Scott Brenner, Nicole Danielle Breazeale, Wendy M. Christensen, Ana Cristina Murta Collares, Erika K. Barth Cottrell, Brent Zachary Kaup, Matthew David Dimick, Peter Hart-Brinson, Hui Jung Kim, Keedon Kwon, Jing Li, Katherine Ellen McCoy, Sara Marian Moorman, Beatriz S. Novak, Amy Adams Quark, Martin Christian Santos, Erik Paul Schneiderhan, Andrea Marie Voyer, Sarah D. Warren, Teddy Elizabeth Weathersbee, Richelle Lynn Winkler, Anat Yom-Tov

2011 Angela Marie Barian, Brett C. Burkhardt, James G. Benson, Jessica Autumn Brown, Wendy Marie Christensen, Erika Kathryn Barth Cottrell, Cecile Therese David, Matthew Stephen Desmond, Peter Kerr Hart-Benson, Jeong Hwa Ho, Elizabeth Holzer, Chaitanya Lakkimsetti, Katherine Ellen McCoy, Maria Teresa Ramos Melgar, Fabian Tobias Pfeffer, Rebecca Lynn Schewe,

2012	Steven Elias Alvarado, Hae Yeon Choo, Calvina Zaneta Ellerbe, Carl Bernard Frederick, Hongyun Han, Laura Jean Heideman, Jennifer Ann Holland, Hyun Sik Kim, Gregory Trainor Kordsmeier, Padma Priyadarshini, Kyle David Rearick, Carly Elizabeth Schall, Joseph Shane Sharp, Adam Francis Slez, Kaelyn Elizabeth Stiles, Tod Stewart Van Gunten, Jennifer Rebecca Wiegel
2013	Celeste Elizabeth Benson, Danielle Aliza Berman, Matthew Elijah Boxer, Sarah Kathleen Bruch, Rodolfo Gastón Elbert, Dana Garbarski, Joseph Ambrose Harris, Jessica Anne Jakubowski, Amelia Wilkes Karraker, Katharine Anne Legun, Sarah E. Lloyd, Oriol Mirosa, Carolina Santamaría-Ulloa, Matias Scaglione, Karen Sue Schaepe, Sandra Hannah Sulzer, Kimberly Joyce Turner
2014	Jill Emily Bowdon, Tanya Nicole Cook, Jack Richard Dewaard, Mei-Chia Fong, Pilar Gonalons-Pons, Nikki Lynne Graf, Hanna Grol-Prokopczyk, Seong Won Han, Anna Rose Haskins, Julie Catherine Keller, Keun-Tae Kim, So Jung Lim, Edo Navot, Mytoan Nguyen-Akbar, Matthew Floyd Nichter, Andrea Lili Robles, Chelsea Lynn Schelly, Lauren Theresa Schudde, John Aloysius Zinda
2015	Oziem Altiok, Loka L. Ashwood, Paul Geoffrey Bakken, Laura Blakeslee, Christina Diaz, Madeleine Patricia Fairbairn, Cabell Hankinson Gathman, Marko Grdesic, Jeffrey Alexander Grigg, Paul Magnus Hanselman, Min Ye Paing Hein, Adam David Jacobs, Nicole S. Kaufman, Sarah Lessem, John Chung-En Liu, Erin Fanning Madden, Alyn Turner McCarty, Julia Ana McReynolds-Perez, Hanif Lateef Nu'Man, Heather Avery O'Connell, Jason Orne, Megan Shoji, Jennifer Patrice Sims, Kia Sorensen, Daniel John Steward, Robert Thomas, Elizabeth Wrigley-Field
2016	Taylan Akar, Richard Aviles, Zachary Baumgart, David Calnitsky, Robert Magneson Chiles, Joseph Ewoodzie, Jeremy Fiel, Julia Sarah Goldberg, Alex Hanna, Annabel Ipsen, Heide Jackson, Nicole Kraus, Jonathan Latner, Yifei Li, Aliza Luft, Torsheika Maddox, Wes Markofski, Hannah Miller, Matthew Moehr, David Rangel, David Schelly, Gina Ann Spitz, Jason Turowetz, Jessa Lewis Valentine, Alicia Vanorman, Eric Michael Vogelsang, Yu Wang, James Yonker, Trevor Young-Hyman

SOURCES: GILLIN, N.D., "HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY," (UW ARCHIVES 7/33/4, BOX 18); UW SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT FILES; DISSERTATION LISTINGS IN UW LIBRARY CATALOG; LUNDAY, 1969.

*DATE OF COMPLETION BEFORE 2005 MAY BE OFF BY ONE YEAR, DUE TO INCONSISTENT DEFINITION OF COMPLETION AS SIGNING OF WARRANT, FILING WITH THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, FILING WITH THE UW LIBRARY, OR REGISTRAR'S OFFICIAL RECORD. DATES FOR 2005 AND LATER ARE BASED ON REGISTRAR'S RECORDS.

Back Cover

2016 Entering Cohort of Sociology Graduate Students

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Front row, l to r: Kelsey Wright, Jungmyung Kim, Fan (Mikki) Liu, Youbin Kang, Sadie Dempsey, Zikie (Leafia) Ye, Morgan C. Matthews, Yiyue Huangfu, Yuen Yung Sherry Chan, Samina Hossain

Middle row, l to r: Sarah (Frankie) Frank, Elisa Avila, Josefina Flores Morales, Julia (Julie) Goodwin, Chiara Clio Packard, June Jeon, Rachel Rosenfeld, Courtney Deisch, Angela Serrano Zapata, Yuliya Nemykina, Elena Hight, Jia (Winnie) Wang, Wontak Joo

Back row, l to r: Griffin J. M. Bur, Cullen Cohane, Lucas Wiscons, David Skalinder, Jason Budge, Noah Hirschl, Christian Michael Smith, Benjamin (Benny) Witkovsky

Not pictured: Kristina Marie Fullerton Rico, Adam Hayes, Isaac Leslie

(Back Cover—photo by Russell Middleton)

Russell Middleton & Granddaughter Jibiana Jakpor

(Back Cover—photo by Karen Jakpor)



2016 Cohort of Entering Sociology Graduate Students

This history of sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison profiles the eminent scholars who made Wisconsin one of the foremost centers of sociology in the early 20th century, plus two who played major roles in restoring it to eminence after 1958:

- John Bascom
- Richard T. Ely
- John R. Commons
- E. A. Ross
- John L. Gillin
- C. J. Galpin
- John H. Kolb
- Kimball Young
- Ralph Linton
- Charlotte Gower
- Samuel Stouffer
- Howard P. Becker
- Hans H. Gerth
- William H. Sewell
- Edgar F. Borgatta

It also explores the reasons for the program's decline in the 1930s to the late 1950s, and discusses the way in which a turnaround was accomplished in the 1960s to 1980s, with Wisconsin sociology once again becoming one of the leading programs in the country. For the more recent period changes in organization and culture are examined, including the struggle for academic freedom and gender equality and the demonstrations and political conflicts in the 1960s, 1970s, and 2010s. The book also details the development of many strong specialties over the last fifty years, including medical sociology, law and society, demography, social stratification, the sociology of economic change and development, methodology, class analysis and historical change, gender studies, and others.



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