

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS

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The Establishment of the University of Michigan's Department of Political Science

The origins of the University of Michigan's Department of Political Science trace all the way back to the University's first president, Henry Tappan. A former minister and professor of philosophy, Tappan strove to move the University beyond being merely a disseminator of knowledge into a community devoted to fostering research and improving culture. He was particularly interested in revitalizing "social studies," a field then including subject areas like political economy and constitutional law that would today fall under the heading "political science."

In 1860, urged by Tappan, the Regents voted to have the University's resident law professor, Thomas M. Cooley, develop a lecture series on the American Constitution. Cooley would teach the course for five years. Later, history Professor Charles Kendall Adams, who established the seminar method of instruction, continued the lectures and expanded them to include parliamentary government in Great Britain and other characteristics of European governments.

By 1866, the University (now under the leadership of its second president, Erastus Haven) had become the largest in the country and was taking its first steps toward diversity by admitting African American men. In 1867, the state legislature asked the University to include women, and three years later the first females were admitted. While no women's dormitories existed at the time, female students had no trouble finding sympathetic landladies, and local churches welcomed many of them into their congregations as Sunday school teachers.

[Picture: UM Campus 1867. The women pictured were attending classes informally. Three years later, women would be officially admitted to the University.]

In 1871, the Regents hired James B. Angell as the University's third president. Angell, whose 38-year tenure stands as the longest in school history, introduced sports to the University in order to meet the students' need for physical activity. Having a great interest in public and international affairs, Angell pressured the Regents to add more courses in the "political sciences" and later developed and taught courses in international law and the history of treaties. Angell also served in government as a minister to both the Ottoman Empire and China and as Chair of the "Deepwater Commission," which paved the way for the St. Lawrence Seaway.

[The President's House (built 1845) was extensively renovated when Angell became president. A third floor was added as well as indoor plumbing, which Angell insisted be installed before he would accept the position.]

A School of Political Science flourished briefly from 1881–1888. Initially organized to serve candidates admitted for the doctorate, the School later expanded to offer both bachelors' and masters' degrees. In the School's first year, its course catalog listed a diverse curriculum, created in part to meet practical demands not being served by other disciplines: offerings included the history of American and political institutions, political economy, international law, and human rights as well as sanitary science and forestry.

In 1888, the School of Political Science was disbanded and its courses taken over by other University units, in particular the History Department, which in subsequent years listed its courses under two divisions: "history" and "government." As it entered the twentieth century, the University attracted speakers such as Teddy Roosevelt, temperance leader Carrie Nation, popular orator William Jennings Bryan, and a young British journalist who showed lantern slides of the South African Boer War—Winston Churchill.

President Angell retired in 1910. That same year the Regents authorized the hiring of Professor Jesse Reeves, a scholar from Dartmouth famous for his work in international law, as the first chair of a separate Department of Political Science. That year, 250 students enrolled for classes in international law, diplomacy, political theory, American government, municipal administration, and state/local government.

In 1913, the Department responded to interest in public administration by offering a special Master of Arts degree in Municipal Administration, and the following year the Bureau of Reference and Research in Government was established to provide resources for the study of municipal government. Under the direction of Professor Robert Crane—a veteran of the United States Foreign Service—the Municipal Administration Program trained future city managers and administrative officers in the state of Michigan and elsewhere. The Department also started offering graduate degrees; in 1915, Joseph R. Hayden received the first doctorate in political science.

World War I halted the rapid growth of the Department. Reeves and Hayden—now a professor teaching comparative European and British government courses—departed for military duty (both would make it back Ann Arbor after the war). University enrollment decreased sharply as over 1,500 students went off to war. The Department's curriculum was affected as well, as interest grew in international relations and diplomacy. The course catalog for 1918–19 listed such classes as diplomacy in the Far East, world politics, and the diplomacy of the Great War. That same year, Margaret Hinsdale earned an M.A. in political science, the first woman to do so at Michigan.

Following the end of the war, returning veterans swelled University enrollment to 10,000 for the first time. Registration in the introductory course in American government continued to increase rapidly, and in 1930 more than six hundred students were enrolled.

In the 1920s, Angell Hall—named in honor of the University’s former president—was built, and the Department added seven new faculty members to teach areas of study that remain a focus of the discipline today: American government, political parties, comparative government, local government and administration, international relations, and political theory.

[In the 1920s, a roller skating craze briefly hit the UM campus. Here, students skate in front of a newly built Angell Hall.]

The onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s forced the University to lay off staff members and cut faculty pay. The Department nevertheless continued to grow. Twelve faculty members (four professors and eight lecturers) taught courses on the British dominions, the legislative process, American political thought, and modern political leadership. With tensions growing in Europe and the curriculum and faculty continually expanding, political science was attracting more students than ever before. By 1935, nearly 3,000 students were registered in the 49 courses offered. Two years later, Reeves retired after twenty six years of chairmanship, leaving behind a very strong department with a bright future.

WWII and the Pollock Years (1937–1960)

Hayden succeeded Reeves as Department chair. Transformations were taking place in the Master’s degree program in Municipal Administration, which reorganized and have a broader focus with the creation of the Institute for Public Administration. Under the direction of Department Professor George C.S. Benson, the Master’s in Public Administration became the Institute’s degree objective.

In 1938, Samuel Eldersveld, a young man who would later transform the Department, enrolled in the graduate program. Eldersveld described the Department as small and classic in its focus, meaning “the subjects they taught were in the fields of law—constitutional law, international law, administrative law—of philosophy and theory, and to some extent government of the United States and foreign governments. It was very much an institutional approach.”

With the growing tumult in Europe in the late 1930s, professors began to introduce world events into course content. Reverend Carl A. Viehe (’39) remembers that the day Hitler moved into the Sudentland in Czechoslovakia, Professor Preston W. Slosson “changed his intended lecture to discuss the situation. The rest of course was intersected with current events.” In 1939, Professor James K. Pollock offered a course in Propaganda and Public Opinion and later followed these up with proseminars on Germany and the Soviet Union. Reflecting the faculty’s passion for civil service, Pollock organized a citizens’ movement called the Merit System Association that pushed for the incorporation of a civil service amendment into the Michigan state constitution. The movement procured 200,000 signatures, and the proposition was placed on the ballot in 1940. Despite

resistance by both political parties, the Merit System Association amendment passed under Pollock's leadership, ensuring Michigan a civil service system.

When the United States entered World War II in late 1941, the Department's faculty and graduate student population again decreased rapidly. Hayden left for Washington D.C. immediately after the attacks on Pearl Harbor and ultimately served as one of General Douglas MacArthur's staff officers in the Pacific. Professor Lawrence Preuss joined the Department of State for the duration of the war, Professor Arthur W. Bromage served as a Lieutenant Colonel with the military government units in Europe, and Pollock was appointed to Lieutenant General Lucius Clay's staff as Special Advisor for the American zone in Germany. Among the graduate students, Eldersveld—yet to complete his dissertation—enlisted in the Navy in 1942.

The professors who remained behind were left with a heavy course burden as the Regents had created an accelerated year-round academic program which allowed students to earn bachelors' degrees in just three terms. Further taxing the limited faculty was the University's status as a Civil Affairs Training School—a program in which officers preparing for civil government leadership positions were trained in both the military and liberal arts. During the fall of 1943 alone, the campus hosted more than 4,000 men in uniform in addition to 2,500 civilian men and 4,650 women. During WWII, students took part in the war effort, organizing scrap drives, harvesting crops throughout the state, performing maintenance tasks on campus, and working part-time at area defense plants.

Professor Everett Brown, who served as acting chairman after Hayden's departure for Washington, eventually received a permanent appointment as the Department's third chair. Veterans flocked to the university at the conclusion of WWII, leaving the Department desperate for new faculty to meet student demand. After returning from Navy service, Eldersveld hastily completed his dissertation and was immediately hired as an instructor. The more than 12,000 veterans who enrolled in the fall of 1946 created an acute housing shortage. The University responded by setting up temporary mobile homes for students on Hill Street and housing married veterans and their families in barracks constructed for the WWII Willow Run Bomber Plant 12 miles away from campus.

Glenn Epps ('50) recalled that the University's "student enrollment was the largest ever, bulked by returning service men, who incidentally, set a terrific curve." One important memory from the years immediately following the war was the fire on June 6th, 1950 that destroyed the original Haven Hall, doing \$600,000 of damage, an extremely large sum for the time. Epps remembers seeing the great waves of fire and the fire engines unable to do anything to contain the blaze. The University opted to recycle the name "Haven Hall" for an addition to Angell Hall already under construction rather than to rebuild the structure in its original location. The new building opened for students in 1952 and housed the History, English, and Political Science Departments.

In 1947, Pollock was named the Department's fourth chair. During his tenure, Pollock served both as president of the American Political Science Association (1950) and president of the International Political Science Association (1955–1958). The Department

embraced regionally-focused interdisciplinary work through new area studies centers. In 1947, the Center for Japanese Studies became the first area study center of its kind in the United States. In cooperation with the interdisciplinary program created through the Center for Japanese Studies, the Department added a Japanese politics expert, Professor Robert E. Ward, to the faculty in 1948. Area programs were soon strengthened by the additions of new courses and new faculty, including Michigan Ph.D. Professor Henry L. Bretton, who introduced studies in Governments and Politics of Africa, and Professor William B. Ballis, an expert in the Soviet Union who helped the Russian Studies Program grow into a full-fledged area program. Professor Richard L. Park helped institute the South Asia Program and offered a specific course in the Government and Politics of India. By 1960, the Department offered a wide array of courses on the governments of foreign countries.

Area centers were not the only interdisciplinary programs created at the University during the time. 1946 saw the founding of the Institute for Social Research (ISR) and the establishment of one of its component parts, the Survey Research Center (SRC) under Dr. Rensis Likert. The SRC took an early interest in political behavior, and research on public understandings of national political affairs began as early as 1947. The first national election study was conducted in 1948 by Professors Angus Campbell and Robert Kahn (neither affiliated with the Department) as a pilot survey funded by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC). Three years later, Campbell and Warren Miller (then a graduate student at Syracuse) conducted a larger scale study focused on various psychological and sociological factors such as self-confidence and sense of civic obligation that mediated individuals' political behavior.

In 1952, Philip Converse moved to Ann Arbor where he had the opportunity to attend a talk by Miller about the election studies. Having never heard about survey research methodology, Converse approached Miller afterwards to ask about re-interviewing, a method considered in Miller's memos to the 1952 project team. An important intellectual relationship and friendship began. When Converse asked for advice about what path to pursue given his interest in social science, Miller suggested avoiding political science courses at Michigan. In truth, many faculty members in the Department opposed the national election studies being conducted at SRC. "We weren't political scientists," remembers Converse, "*they* were political scientists." Pollock was particularly resistant to the election studies at SRC and dismissive of new empirical approaches to the study of political behavior. In an effort to counter Campbell's search for funding for the election studies, Pollock initiated a letter writing campaign urging major foundations to not give money to Michigan. These early turf wars between SRC and the Department did not resolve quickly but ultimately resulted in a gradual methodological revolution throughout the decade in the Department's approach to political research.

Despite resistance by some faculty members in the Department, Eldersveld was intrigued by the methodological revolutions going on in other social science departments across campus. He built interdisciplinary relationships and became interested in empirical work, feeling "the need...to adapt, adjust, and get moving doing the same in political science that these other disciplines were doing at the time." Eldersveld was promoted to assistant

professor, and in 1951 he and Professor Morris Janowitz of the Economics Department received invitations from the SSRC to an Inter-university Summer Seminar on Political Behavior. The seminar in Chicago was attended by seven young faculty members from across the country, including Professor Alexander Heard of the University of North Carolina, Professor Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard, Professor Avery Leiserson of Vanderbilt, Professor Dayton D. McKean of the University of Colorado, and Professor David B. Truman of Columbia. The group later published “Research in Political Behavior” in *American Political Science Review*. Upon returning from Chicago, Eldersveld was energized and with Miller, Campbell, Converse, and Professor Donald Stokes argued strongly for new courses in the Department focusing on political behavior. According to Eldersveld, Pollock grudgingly let the group teach new courses in legislative behavior, political socialization, and methodology.

Throughout the 1950s, Eldersveld offered students the opportunity to be involved in several of his research projects in Detroit and Ann Arbor. They studied a variety of topics, including political parties and electoral participation in state versus local elections. The 1960 publication of *The American Voter* revolutionized the discipline by introducing social-psychological factors into analyses of electoral behavior. This presaged major changes that would occur in the Department over the decade following the end of Pollock’s chairmanship, including the formal incorporation of *The American Voter* scholars into the Department.

By 1952, University enrollment had fallen back to more traditional numbers. Students continued to be concerned with social and political issues. Elise Fiber Smith (’54) recalls one important cause was the movement to allow women to enter through the Michigan Union’s front door. Harold Willens (’53) remembers that student activists also fought an attempt by the State Legislature to curtail freedom of speech at the University. Faculty members too were moved to become involved with local politics. In 1957, Eldersveld ran for mayor of Ann Arbor as a Democratic candidate, a move that many—including Pollock—strongly advised against, fearing it would ruin Eldersveld’s academic career. Stokes’s wife, Sybil Stokes, managed the telephone mobilization campaign prior to the election, which called approximately six thousand registered voters in Ann Arbor. Eldersveld ultimately beat incumbent Mayor William E. Brown, Jr. with fifty three percent of the vote. Serving concurrently as mayor and professor, Eldersveld melded his roles as activist, teacher, and researcher. The University and Department demanded he maintain a full load of courses during his two-year tenure as mayor, forcing Eldersveld to rise early in the morning to arrive at city hall only to head to the University to teach classes in the mid-morning. He often took the local political issues he confronted to his students: “This is the problem today class, what are we going to do?” Eldersveld recalls telling his class, “Well, they got the biggest kick out of this.” Under Eldersveld’s leadership, a Human Relations Commission was established in Ann Arbor to ensure the equal treatment of all citizens in Ann Arbor, specifically targeting the housing and employment discrimination rampant at the time. Eldersveld’s passion for activism and research made his courses hotbeds of inspiration and learning for students.

The Sixties: Emergence and Consolidation of Behaviorism (1961–1967)

With the onset of the '60s, similar passions were taking over the entire University. At midnight, October 14th, 1960, on the front steps of the Michigan Union, Senator and presidential candidate John F. Kennedy gave what he called “the longest short speech I’ve ever made.” The 1960s, Kennedy told a crowd of UM students, promised to be an exceptional decade because of both the problems then pressing upon the United States and the growth of new opportunities with which to confront them. “The opportunity must be seized,” said Kennedy, “I...come here tonight to ask you to join in the effort.”

Students responded. Within weeks of Kennedy’s speech, a thousand had signed a petition calling for the establishment of the Peace Corps, which was officially launched on March 1, 1961. This, however, proved to be just the beginning of the student activism at the University in the early '60s. In 1960, political science undergraduate and *The Michigan Daily* editor Tom Hayden founded the Students for Democratic Society. The group rose to national prominence two years later when Hayden drafted the Port Huron Statement. Some students became “freedom riders” and worked to end segregation in the South nonviolently. Others got involved in welfare rights, environmental causes, and the women’s movement.

The 1960s also proved a decade of immense change for the University itself. Enrollment ballooned as baby boomers came of age and made their way to college, bringing with them a previously unseen diversity, fresh perspectives, and intense optimism. The University evolved as it worked to welcome this unprecedented generation of students into the classroom. In 1963, coeducational dormitories were approved, and a single director of residence halls was appointed to administer both men’s and women’s housing. Just a year later, Vice President of Student Affairs Richard Cutler established the Office of Student-Community relations and effectively eliminated the separate positions of Dean of Men and Dean of Women. In 1965, the Michigan Union and the Michigan League were opened to all students, regardless of gender. Across campus, students were gaining new freedom and using it to transform their university and their world.

The University’s evolution was also evident in the field of political science. Methodological changes had been brewing in the Department throughout the 1950s amidst the growth of the Institute for Social Research (ISR). Tensions remained high between those in the Department who desired change and those who remained skeptical about the emerging behavioral approach to the study of politics endorsed by ISR and epitomized by Professors Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. When Pollock stepped down from his chairmanship in 1960, picking a successor proved difficult, as most faculty members were reluctant to take on the daunting challenge of guiding the Department during this period of transition. In 1961, Bromage—though not a behaviorist himself—finally agreed to serve as Chair of the Department for a brief three-year term.

A clear schism remained between ISR’s Stokes, Converse, and Miller and the more traditional scholars in the Department. Bromage began the process of integrating these three scholars into the Department, by formally offering partial teaching appointments

and full voting rights. Bromage was also instrumental in hiring Professor M. Kent Jennings, who studied political socialization and would in 1997 become president of the American Political Science Association. Professor William Zimmerman recalls resistance to hiring Jennings, and that Bromage had threatened to resign if the Department did not go through with the hire. According to Zimmerman, Bromage declared to a tenured colleague, “Kent does not do political science the way you and I do...but he does political science the way it is going to be done.”

During Bromage’s time as chair, electoral studies in and outside of the Department expanded beyond the United States. Under the direction of Stokes, a major study of British general elections was launched within ISR’s political behavior program in 1962. This was the first major comparative political survey research to be conducted at ISR. Meanwhile, in 1963, Eldersveld was on sabbatical laying the groundwork for a survey research project in India. That same year, Professor David Singer started the Correlates of War (COW) Research Project with a grant from the Carnegie Foundation, fostering the growth of quantitative research in the field of international relations. Singer officially joined the Department in 1964. With the help of historian Melvin Small, the COW project began accumulating scientific knowledge about war by assembling a more accurate dataset on the incidence and extent of war in the post-Napoleonic period than had previously existed. Since the first grant in 1963, researchers associated with COW have produced over one hundred fifty journal articles and more than a dozen books.

In 1963, Department faculty members were again called upon to use their expertise to improve government as the state of Michigan developed a new constitution. Several political scientists took part in the state’s constitutional convention. Pollock, who had advised previous governors on civil service reform and helped draft a new German constitution after World War II, was elected as a delegate to the convention. Bromage and Professors Daniel McHargue and John White were also called in as consultants.

As Bromage laid the groundwork for the rapprochement between the ISR scholars and the “old guard” in the Department, University Dean William Haber sent a letter to Eldersveld, still in India, asking him to serve as the Department’s next chair. Eldersveld was initially shocked, but Haber guaranteed enough resources to transform the Department through the hiring of new, young professors as well as the support of a majority of the faculty. After the exchange of several letters, Eldersveld agreed to take the position and became chair in 1964. Not everyone accepted Eldersveld’s leadership at the start. Haber had warned the new Chair that his selection would create a sense of insecurity on the part of several tenured members of the Department, and at one point Eldersveld’s own dissertation chair stopped him in the hall to say he thought the appointment was one of the Dean’s worst.

Despite opposition by Pollock and others, Eldersveld pushed forward, and, during his tenure as chair, the Department hired over thirty people. A number of junior-level faculty members and six full professors were recruited, among them Professors Zvi Gitelman, Ronald Inglehart, John Kingdon, Daniel Levine, Lawrence Mohr, Kenneth Organski, Robert Putman, and David Singer. Expansion was so rapid that the Department’s

facilities could not keep up. Professor Kingdon recalls that, upon arriving in 1965, there were “two assistant professors to each office and one shared phone line among two offices because the infrastructure had not caught up with all the hiring.”

All the hiring was, according to Eldersveld, a move to keep up with the dramatic shift in the Department’s intellectual orientation. “Our hope,” said Eldersveld, “was that, in American, comparative, and world politics, we would find scholars who were willing to apply empirical methods to the study of the politics in their areas.” They succeeded. The Department rose in the national rankings, emerging as a leader in the empirical studies of political science.

According to many faculty and graduate students of the time, Eldersveld was instrumental in guiding the Department during this period of change, particularly in bridging the gap between the Department and ISR and cementing the place of empirical approaches to political research in the intellectual fabric of the Department. Eldersveld continued Bromage’s work to democratize the Department’s organization and procedures, leading to the election of a new executive committee—this time with graduate-student representatives. The newly elected committee met each week as a very busy decision-making body; full Department meetings were held monthly. “Sam [Eldersveld] was an energetic, very friendly, charismatic fellow, and he really had the new tune and hired accordingly,” recalls Professor Converse, “He really created the new Department.”

During the 1960s, other changes were taking place that enhanced resources for the study of politics. In 1961, the Center for Russian and East European Studies was established. The same year, a Ford Foundation grant made possible a Center for Chinese Studies. In 1968, the Institute for Public Administration (IPA) was renamed the Institute of Public Policy Studies (IPPS). IPA had long been linked with the Department, as most faculty members in IPA held appointments in political science as well. (Professor Bromage, during his long career, had educated most of the city managers in the region.) The renaming reflected a dramatic redirection for the IPPS, focusing on governmental policy-making and participation in public affairs. Professor Patrick Crecine became the first director of IPPS. With help from Professors Joel Aberbach, Thomas Anton, John Chamberlin, Michael Cohen, Paul Courant (an economist), Arnold Kanter, and Jack Walker, Professor Crecine completely changed the direction of the Institute to emphasize systematic analysis of public policy issues.

Students who matriculated Michigan in the closing years of the 1960s were part of a community that had become a hot spot of student political activity. Departmental courses on international affairs, especially on Southeast Asia, were especially popular as Americans found themselves at war. Michigan students, some of the first in the country to oppose the conflict in Vietnam and the unpopular draft which accompanied it, staged protests during Homecoming in 1965. Students became more critical as the early optimism of the 1960s faded. The summer of 1967 saw racial tensions explode in nearby Detroit and 100,000 young people drawn to San Francisco for a “summer of love.” The baby boomers had come to college in the ’60s demanding change. They found it.

The Revolt Years (1968–1977)

“With America’s sons in the fields far away, with America’s future under challenge right here at home, with our hopes and the world’s hopes for peace in the balance every day”—that’s how President Lyndon B. Johnson described the state of America on March 31, 1968. He would, in the same speech, announce his decision to neither seek nor accept the nomination to run for another term as President in the upcoming election. The United States was, as President Johnson said, “a country in the balance.” Domestically, the country was divided by an unpopular war and beset by racial tensions. The assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy had left those pressing for social change angry and discouraged.

America’s political chaos during the late 1960s was mirrored at the University, particularly within the Department. When Eldersveld stepped down from the Political Science chairmanship in 1968, finding a permanent replacement again proved difficult. From 1968–1972, four different faculty members headed the Department: Barnes (1968–69), Professor Harold Jacobson (1969–70), Stokes (1970–71), and Professor Richard Park (1971–72). Finally in 1972, Jacobson was appointed to a five-year term. Barnes recalls that the “diplomatic and thoughtful” Jacobson “was patient and perceptive about the era and its needs and demands” and had the support of almost all the faculty in the Department.

Adding to the tensions on campus and in the Department were grievances raised by the University’s underrepresented and increasingly vocal minorities, notably women and African Americans. Barnes remembers that one of his best acts of leadership was convincing Stokes to chair a departmental committee in 1968 that would develop a graduate program able to meet the needs and interests of the diverse student body. “Sympathy for civil rights, women’s and minority issues, and ‘Third World’ concerns was strong,” Barnes recalls. However, the integration of new faculty members and points of view into the Department would lead to friction.

The late ’60s brought important changes for women on campus. In 1968, Nellie Varner, who had received a doctorate from Michigan that same year (for her thesis entitled *The Flexibility of the Soviet and American Governments in Foreign Policy: A Comparative Study*), joined the faculty as its first female assistant professor. Women began to study gender in politics, and, in 1970, Michigan Political Science Ph.D. Marjorie Lansing coined the term “gender gap” to describe the role of women in electoral politics.

Despite these changes, women were still not on equal ground with men in the Department. One incident highlights the frustrations among women at the time. In 1971, the executive committee was seeking a new faculty hire and, in their report, recommended “a senior man” for the position. Women graduate students and faculty in the Department felt the report’s wording indicated the job search would be limited to men and vocalized their anger to the Department and to University Vice President Allan F. Smith. The Department chair at the time insisted there had been a misunderstanding and

that the phrase “a senior man” had been “along the lines of old usage”; he noted, however, that the Department would “have to learn to be careful not to be misunderstood and to eliminate such phrases.”

As a result of such incidents, the Department formed a task force to make recommendations about problems facing women in the Department. The task force suggested a variety of faculty reforms, such as changes in recruitment strategies, flexibility on tenure timing, and a reworking of maternity and paternity leave, as well as other reforms, such as new curriculum on gender, better mentoring for graduate students, and opportunities for part-time students. However, the task force noted their “considerable skepticism” that the Department would take the report seriously.

Arlene Saxonhouse became an assistant professor in January 1972, a time when there were few women faculty. According to Saxonhouse, women faced real problems, such as a lack of maternity leave and a climate unfriendly to those women with children. She recalls that many of the challenges had “more to do with being a mother than being a woman.” Saxonhouse and Professor Nancy Hartsock partnered with female graduate students to launch the Women’s Caucus, which created a safe environment for women in the Department and pressured the Department to be more inclusive of women. The Women’s Caucus met once a week over lunch to talk about recruiting female faculty and students and including research on women/gender politics in the curriculum. In 1973, the Caucus put a funding proposal before Rackham to recruit promising women to the program. Though the proposal was turned down for funding, the Caucus pressed on in its efforts to improve the gender climate. Their work soon began to pay off. More female faculty members were hired, including Professors Edie Goldenberg and Mary Corcoran. In 1974, graduate student Gina Sapiro created the first bibliography of writings on the role of women in the political system. Three years later, Saxonhouse was promoted to associate professor with tenure, the first woman in the Department to obtain the rank.

Women were not alone in their struggles to overcome discrimination and under-representation. Between February and April 1970, the University was embroiled in a confrontation with the Black Action Movement (BAM) who wanted the University to take several steps to create a more welcoming environment for minority students. BAM’s most important demand was for increased minority student enrollment. The group also complained that black students were officially designated as “negro,” a term which had taken on an offensive connotation by 1970.

An eight-day BAM strike was considered by many to be the most bitter of the numerous confrontations occurring on campus at the time. The faculty’s sympathies were split. Eldersveld recalls that Professor Archie W. Singham and others were deeply involved and that their slogan was “Open it up, or shut it down.” Professor John Kingdon remembers a time when BAM activists attempted to take over one of his 111 classes: “A student in the class called for a vote about whether they should take over the class that day or whether I should continue, and the class voted for me to continue. The BAM activists then left.” While they may not have had much luck in Kingdon’s class, BAM considered the strike a success. The strike came to an end when negotiations between

BAM and the administration led the University to agree to work toward ten percent black student enrollment as well as to meet several other BAM demands.

Undergraduate minority students were not the only ones frustrated; several faculty at the time felt that the racial climate in the Department was problematic. In May 1972, Professor William W. Ellis resigned from the Department, stating that it had failed to address the many concerns raised by the Black Matters Committee (BMC), organized a year earlier to create new political science programs of interest to minority students. “The Department gave blacks a mandate for change,” said Ellis, “and then systematically renegeed on that mandate when it was discovered that what we meant by change was real change.”

Singham, another professor pushing the Department to address its racial climate, resigned the same year, leaving junior faculty member Professor Cedric Robinson to deal with a new cohort of BMC recruits by himself. Dr. Darryl C. Thomas, a new graduate student in 1972, recalls the critical role Robinson played in smoothing the transition to graduate school: “Every Friday night, Elizabeth and Cedric Robinson had our group over for dinner—red beans and rice, corn bread, and Stroh’s beer.” Thomas recalls that Robinson hosted discussions that were attended by thirty to fifty students from Political Science and a variety of other departments such as Sociology, Education, and History. “For a year, we met to examine issues related to Marxism, anarchism, radical Black politics, political theory, gender and feminism, and Black Nationalism.”

In 1974, the BMC produced a report entitled “Racism and Reaction: The Effort to Reform the University of Michigan’s Department of Political Science 1972–74,” which reviewed departmental efforts in the areas of admissions, financial assistance, and minority faculty recruitment. The report contended that the Department still had many reforms to make. Emotions across campus would continue to run high into 1975, the year a second Black Action Movement, BAM II, was established to pressure University President Robin Fleming to improve the racial climate across campus by increasing support services for minority groups. By 1975, the Political Science Department had hired two new black scholars as full professors, Raymond Tanter and Ali Mazrui (who was African), and Nolan Jones as an assistant professor.

Graduate teaching assistants also began to organize during the 1970s in order to fight for change. These efforts were brought to a halt when the Michigan Employment Relations Commission (MERC) agreed with the University administration that teaching assistants were not an appropriate bargaining unit. However, a second drive started in 1973 when an Organization of Teaching Fellows (OTF) was formed to protest a 24% tuition increase, the loss of the teaching assistants’ in-state tuition status, new residency requirements, and the lack of a pay increase. In 1975, hundreds of teaching assistants joined with research and staff assistants for a month-long strike that culminated in the University’s recognition of the Graduate Employees Union and an agreement that included language about non-discrimination, affirmative action, and the right to grieve the size of appointment fractions.

The years between 1968 and 1977 were some of the most difficult the Department ever experienced. They were also some of the most productive. University resources for the study of politics expanded throughout the 1970s, leading to the creation of the Center for Political Studies, Center for Afro-American and African Studies Department (CAAS), and the Women's Studies Program. The National Election Study continued to stimulate landmark research in the area of domestic politics. Important work was being done within the Department as well, including the cross-national study on Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies by Eldersveld and Professor Robert Putnam, who joined the Department in 1968. New courses were added to the curriculum on race, gender, and area studies. Most important of all, the nine-year period led to a much more inclusive political science community. While it had not created a perfect climate of equality, the Department had made diversity an important goal.

A Time of Transition: 1977–1989

Turmoil and Transition

In 1982, the Women's Caucus held a symposium titled "Relevance of Gender to Political Research" to commemorate its tenth anniversary. By this time, women had become important participants in the Department: four women held regular faculty appointments (two with tenure), women made up 25-35% of the entering graduate classes, the Department offered three undergraduate courses on women in politics, and the Caucus met regularly to discuss departmental concerns and hold professional development seminars. In 1987, Goldenberg became the first female Director of the Institute of Public Policy Studies and in 1989 the first female Dean of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts.

Groups pushing for racial diversification in the 1970s—notably the Black Action Movement (BAM) I and BAM II—maintained their efforts during the 1980s. On March 4, 1986, BAM III held its first major rally, and members hoped to improve the overall racial climate on campus. Several groups on campus participated in BAM III, including the United Coalition Against Racism (UCAR) and the Minority Students of Rackham. In response to the outcry from BAM III, the University adopted the so-called Six-Point Plan, which introduced a formula to increase diversity and understanding between students on campus. Implemented in 1988, the plan sought to systematically increase minority enrollment at the University. Political science graduate students were, of course, involved in the movement, and then-graduate student Errol Henderson served as the Black Student Union representative to UCAR and a member of the Steering Committee. Several courses on the politics of race were added to the curriculum. At the graduate level, a new modular subfield was created in race, gender, and politics, and a bibliography of articles on race and politics was commissioned.

Barnes recalled that the Department and the University were under great pressure to hire large numbers of new faculty during the period preceding his chairmanship, especially women and minorities. "It should not be forgotten that the course of history had left the

pool quite small, and every university in the country was competing for promising young scholars,” Barnes said. Tenure decisions became difficult and divisive when several cases involving women and minorities came up during Barnes’s five-year term. Of the first six tenure decisions in 1977, only one candidate was granted tenure. “I believe that the Department’s efforts over the years were sincere, and its decisions honest,” remembered Barnes, “Most of the people who did not get tenure in the Department over the years were intelligent and able people. But scholarship is essential for schools such as Michigan.”

In subsequent years, the Department slowly diversified its tenured ranks by gender and even more slowly by race. In 2009, of the 50 tenured faculty members in Political Science, 28% were female and 6% from underrepresented minority groups. Nearly one-half of the graduate students were female.

American Presidents and Leadership Turnover

As the seventies ended and the eighties began, political science majors had the opportunity to interact personally with two American presidents. On November 3, 1976—the day after Gerald Ford had lost the presidential election—Chair Harold Jacobson invited the President to teach political science at Michigan when his term ended. In January 1977, Jacobson and Professors Jack Walker and George Grassmuck met with Ford to discuss his new assignment. Soon after, the Board of Regents approved Ford’s appointment as an adjunct political science professor. That August the former president came to Ann Arbor for a four-day visit to teach ten political science and policy-making classes. This teaching appointment was the first of many Ford held over the next decade. During a lecture at Rackham Auditorium on April 6, 1977, Ford told an audience of reporters and about 400 students that he was in favor of presidential debates because candidates’ morals were a legitimate public concern and that he felt the Electoral College should be abolished. Ford returned to lecture again later that year, and the Department kept him extremely busy with numerous scheduled speeches and meetings on international and policy issues.

Also in 1977, President Ford directed the National Archives to begin sending his memorabilia and papers to a Presidential Library soon to be built in Ann Arbor. In 1981, the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library was dedicated. The following year, Ford, former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Secretaries of State Dean Rusk, William Rogers, and Alexander Haig met at the Ford Library for a two-day conference titled “The Presidency, Congress and Foreign Policy.” It was the first of many public events to be largely organized and funded by the Library and the Gerald R. Ford Foundation.

When President Jimmy Carter was defeated in the 1980 election, he and Ford—once political foes—formed a warm friendship. Carter visited Ann Arbor with Ford throughout the 1980s to attend events at the Presidential Library. In 1983, the former presidents co-hosted the “First Presidential Library Conference on the Public and Public Policy.” Subsequently, the two returned to the University for the “Symposium on New Weapons

Technology and Soviet-American Relations” (1984) and the “All-Democracies Conference” (1988). The “Jimmy and Gerry road show,” as these meetings were dubbed by students, allowed a whole generation of students to see a rare sight—two former presidents in public together. Gerry Mason (’91) recalled skipping class to attend one of these events: “I remember standing directly in between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford—both of them facing me at the same time—and I was asking them questions. I got both of their autographs in my physics lab book. That’s what Michigan is about.”

In 1988, Grassmuck, who knew Ford quite well, proposed a series of Departmental dissertation fellowships named for the former president. At that time, American government and public policy graduate students had particular difficulty finding funding for dissertation research. Grassmuck sold Ford on the idea, and the University established the Gerald R. Ford Fellowships in American Government and Public Policy. Professor John Kingdon recalled an unscripted meeting between Ford and the first Ford Fellowship recipients, including then-graduate students Tali Mendelberg and Douglas Dion. At the meeting, each student briefly presented his or her idea, and Ford responded with an interesting comment or question about each topic. Students were all very impressed with Ford and found him smart, perceptive, and interested in each of the topics. Ford also continued to appear in political science courses, and according to Kingdon, was “thoughtful, responsive, and had important things to say” in the classroom as well.

Growth and Distinction

From 1977–1989, the Department grew to be one of the most popular in the University’s College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, attracting either the third or fourth most concentrators each year. By 1990, the Department boasted over 700 concentrators. In 1982, undergraduates also became more involved in departmental research with the establishment of the Michigan Journal of Political Science (MJPS)—the first journal of political study in the US to be managed by undergraduates. Emil Arca, one of the founders of the Journal and its second editor-in-chief, remembers, “It was much more work than any of us anticipated at the outset, as we did everything from fundraising all over the University to proofreading. However, there were so many moments of unexpected gratification: I recall seeing Gerald Ford’s personal check for a subscription, and receiving kind letters from authors such as Thomas Sowell, Henry Kissinger and Paul Gottfried whose work we had reviewed therein.” Professor Frank Grace served as the first advisor for the journal. After his death, his children endowed a prize to be given each year to the best article published in the Journal. Since its inception, the MJPS has grown significantly and given students the opportunity to distribute their research internationally.

The Alpha Upsilon Chapter of Pi Sigma Alpha was reactivated in 1977, and four years later the Political Science and the Economics Departments jointly sponsored a Michigan Branch of Sigma Iota Rho, the national International Relations society. A Michigan International Relations society organized student teams to attend Model United Nations and a high-school tournament on campus. The Undergraduate Association took a leading

role in letting student voices be heard by electing representatives to both the Department's Undergraduate Affairs Committee and Executive Committee.

Many faculty played prominent roles both in and out of academia between 1977 and 1989. Miller and Converse both served terms as President of the American Political Science Association (Miller 1980–81; Converse 1984–85). Professor Robert Axelrod received a MacArthur Fellowship and was elected to the National Academy of Sciences. Professor Michel Oksenberg served as a member of the National Security Council in the Carter Administration from 1977–79 and was actively involved with the normalization of relations between the U.S. and Chinese governments. After he had returned to the University, Oksenberg continued to advise the Executive Branch on matters of East Asian foreign policy until 1981. From 1981–82, Professor Raymond Tanter served on the National Security Council staff in the Reagan administration and traveled to Madrid, Helsinki, Stockholm, and Vienna as a personal representative of the Secretary of Defense during the 1983–1984 arms control talks.

Kingdon became Department chair in 1982. At that time, significant changes were taking place in the emerging subfield of methodology. Professor John Jackson—hired in 1980—recalled that discussion of possible subfield organization for empirical methodology emerged at an American Political Science Association (APSA) session in 1982–3. The discussion sought to identify the key methodological questions, map out a strategy, get organized, find a viable group of people, and procure designation as an organized section of APSA. Among this initial group were Professors Christopher Achen and Steven Rosenstone. During the summer of 1984, with the help of Achen, Miller, and Professor Hank Heitowit of ICPSR, the First Annual Summer Methodology Meeting was held at Michigan. “It was instrumental in beginning to define what has now become empirical methodology in the discipline,” remembered Jackson, recalling Kingdon’s supportive role—both intellectually and administratively—in the project. According to Jackson, the Chair’s support made it easier to go to various administrative units and demonstrate the project’s broad backing. As a result, the group won local support from universities, Michigan being the first. “The themes that came out of that first conference have driven the development of 20 years worth of work since then,” stated Jackson. Methodology became a key part of the curriculum, allowing graduate students to receive a range of methodology courses as a comprehensive second minor with work in statistics, modeling, qualitative research methods, and research design.

Death of a Chair

Walker was named Department chair in 1987. During his tenure, he encouraged the Department’s undergraduate association to plan an annual conference to discuss important policy issues. A highlight of the 1988 Conference was third-party candidate John Anderson’s talk on the role of the media in public affairs. That same year, conference organizers brought Jonathan Dean, President of the League of Concerned Scientists, to campus to speak on the topic of arms control from both a Soviet and an American perspective.

In 1989, Walker was tragically killed in an automobile accident. At the time, he was on leave at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, finishing work on a project on interest groups in America. A team of his former research assistants (all of whom would later obtain doctorates and establish important careers) put aside their own work and collaborated to complete Walker's book, *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions and Social Movements*. Among these scholars were Frank Baumgartner, Thomas Gais, David King, and Mark Peterson, assisted by Professors Joel Aberbach and Kim Scheppele.

New Directions: 1990–2010

Dual-Career Couples

In 1990, Saxonhouse became the Department's first female chair. At the time, the University left handling dual-careers couples to individual departments, and Saxonhouse immediately made helping spouses a top priority. Neither maternity nor paternity leave existed when Saxonhouse arrived at the University in 1972, and she and husband Gary, a Professor in Economics, encountered a great deal of stress balancing their academic and personal lives. Academic spousal hires were becoming more common throughout the '80s and '90s. Among those hired were Professor Donald Kinder and his wife, Janet Weiss (School of Business and Ford School and later Dean of Rackham Graduate School). "Things were complicated, but the University was accommodating," recalled Kinder. Departmental Professors Arthur Lupia and Vincent Hutchings and their wives Elisabeth R. Gerber and L. Monique Ward were other dual-careers couples during this time. In 1990, Professors Scott Page and Jenna Bednar became the first academic couple with both appointments in the Department. By 2007, other couples joined the faculty, including Professors Jana Von Stein and Robert Salmond, and Barbara Koremenos and George Tsebelis.

Curricular Innovations

The end of the Cold War ushered in a new era in Eastern Europe. Jackson, who had traditionally worked on American politics, began to explore the economic transitions of the early '90s. Aided by Zimmerman and Professor Jan Svejnar of the Business School, Jackson searched for collaborators in the region.

In 1993, the University brought area studies under one umbrella with the creation of the International Institute (II). Aimed at promoting research, education, and service in international and area studies, the II came to house what are now well established centers such as those for Japanese, Russian and Eastern European, Near Eastern and North African, and Chinese Studies. Political Science Professor Mark Tessler was chosen to head II. By 2007, the II contained sixteen programs, making it one of the nation's broadest assemblies of interdisciplinary centers and programs organized around area

studies. Among the many professors involved with II were Professor Kenneth Kollman, who helped establish a new European Union Center, a Center for Comparative and International Studies, and the new major in international studies. Professor Meredith Woo served as the first director of the Korean Studies Center and was instrumental in setting up the first Korean digital archive.

The University also began to diversify its traditional area of strength in quantitative methods during the '90s. In particular, the Department hired prominent rational-choice scholars Bednar, Kollman, and Page, as well as Professors Arthur Lupia and James Morrow. Michigan was relatively late in accepting the rational-choice approach to political science—according to an earlier chair because some in the Department worried rational choice did not understand the real world. But by the mid- to late-90s, the Department had, in the words of Jackson, “created the beginning of a serious formal modeling program, which had been a weakness here. This program explicitly include[d] scholars innovating in the area of complex systems, agent based modeling, and computational models.”

At the same time, other areas in political science were evolving at Michigan. Political psychology scholars began to use experiments more frequently in their studies. Kinder, one of the first of these scholars, began conducting experiments on media and politics in 1983. Experimental research at Michigan grew significantly after that, with research on a variety of topics—including race and politics and political-campaign advertising—by Hutchings and Professors Nicholas Valentino and Ted Brader.

Professor Walter Mebane was hired as joint appointment in Political Science and Statistics. In 2009, he started teaching started teaching election forensics, an exciting new statistical approach to uncovering election fraud.

Throughout the '90s, the work of Professor Robert Axelrod furthered the Department's involvement in the complex systems research movement, leading to the 1995 establishment of an interdisciplinary Program for the Study of Complex Systems. Four years later, a Center for the Study of Complex Systems (CSCS) was created and began offering research fellowships to graduate students for training in complex systems. Undergraduates too had the opportunity to explore a new series of courses on complex systems that were offered starting in 2006. In 2009, Page became director of CSCS.

Undergraduate Initiatives

In 1991, the Undergraduate Affairs Conference was renamed the Walker Conference in honor of the late chair, who had spearheaded an annual event where undergraduates discussed important policy issues of the day. In 1994, the Walker Conference on Free Speech/Hate Speech drew over 500 people to hear keynote speaker Louis Farakhan. Other important issues discussed included the Politics of Abortion (in 1993), Assisted Suicide (in 1995), and the Politics of Welfare and the Underclass (in 1996). The

Undergraduate Political Science Association joined in a coalition with other groups in 1997 to bring political activists like Jesse Jackson to the University for a presentation on issues such as social activism, affirmative action, and voter turnout.

The Department developed new courses to enable students pursuing internships to gain academic course credit. In 1993, the Department established a summer research seminar that met in Washington, D.C. That same year, the Department began offering a state- and local-internship seminar taught by Adjunct Professor Helen Graves. From 1998–2004, Graves also directed a Canadian Parliamentary spring internship seminar, the only one in the United States. The Department was also exploring the possibility of creating a Washington Center. In 2003, Goldenberg became the first faculty director of Michigan In Washington (MIW), a program built on courses taught in the nation’s capital and internship placements in government, media, research and advocacy organizations, and related units such as the United Nations’ Washington office and the Organization of American States. The centerpiece of the program became a seminar in which students developed a research project drawn from their work as interns. Then MIW program later teamed with three other universities (the University of Pennsylvania, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of California at Merced) to offer students an even more exciting range of courses to choose from.

Throughout the ’90s and 2000s, students at the Ann Arbor campus were able to study with university administrators and find additional ways to combine academic study with real-world experience. During his tenure as University President (1997- 2001), Professor Lee Bollinger taught a political science course on Freedom of Speech and Press. In 2001, then University chief consul Marvin Krislov developed a senior-level course in law and public policy. Professor Gregory Markus won numerous civic and university awards for encouraging students to take part in community action and service learning opportunities through Moses, the Detroit Project, and Focus Hope.

The Renovation of Haven Hall

In 2000, the Department moved off campus for two years to a temporary space on Church Street while the University renovated Haven Hall. The planning of the makeover took place under the chairmanship of Jackson between 1994 and 1999. “It is impossible for people not here before 2003/04 to picture how decrepit Haven was and its debilitating effects on the department,” recalled Jackson, “With substantial cooperation from the Dean, Associate Deans, and facilities planners in LS&A, we developed what I think is an outstanding facility which accommodates the whole department, including graduate students.” An addition to Haven Hall provided office space for faculty and graduate students as well as a series of classrooms and meeting rooms. In 2002, the department moved back to its new improved permanent space.

Alumni continued to play an important role in increasing departmental resources throughout the era. In 1998, the Department established an advisory board comprised of prominent alumni and friends committed to ongoing excellence. Alumni fundraising

campaigns since that time increased graduate support through the Jacobson Fund, honoring the late Political Science Chair, and the Meyer Fund, honoring the late Professor Alfred Meyer. The Department also increased resources for the MIW program and other undergraduate initiatives. In 2009, Political Science boasted more students in study abroad programs than any other concentration. A substantial gift from Alan Lowenstein in 2000 created an endowed chair in democratization, which came to be occupied by Professor Ronald Inglehart. Alumni continued to return to campus to share their perspectives, experience and advice with current students. During winter 2009, for example, undergraduates heard a presentation from Anne Marie Lipinski, former editor of the Chicago Tribune, on career options in journalism; from Washington activist and lawyer David Fuss on careers in government; and from former State Department officer Lee Nelles Leonhardy. These were followed by the Department's first "law day" in fall 2009 that included a panel of distinguished attorneys talking about career options and offering break-out sessions on different areas of law.

In 2010, the Department continues to be one of the largest in the country, with forty-four faculty members. As has been the case historically, many faculty members are actively engaged in interdisciplinary work, associated with eight different units (Communications, Complex systems, Environmental Studies Economics, Germanic Studies, Psychology, Sociology, Women's Studies), eight different research centers (Russia and East Europe, China, Korea, European Union, Latin America, Japan, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Comparative and international studies), five other Michigan Schools and Colleges (Business, Kinesiology, Natural Resources, Law and the Ford School of Public Policy), the Center for Political Studies, and other research centers at the Institute for Social Research. The Department continues to attract undergraduates. By 2009, the number of majors has swelled to 1,200, making Political Science the second largest program at the University. Over 66% of the Department's undergraduates pursue double concentrations, and their diverse second majors ran the gamut from more common choices like economics and history to studies in the sciences, languages, theatre, and music.

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