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Michigan Today

Institute for Social Research has polled along for 50 years

ISR Director David A. Featherman

Photo by D.C. Goings Sculpture: Convergence, stainless steel, 1990, by Jon Rush

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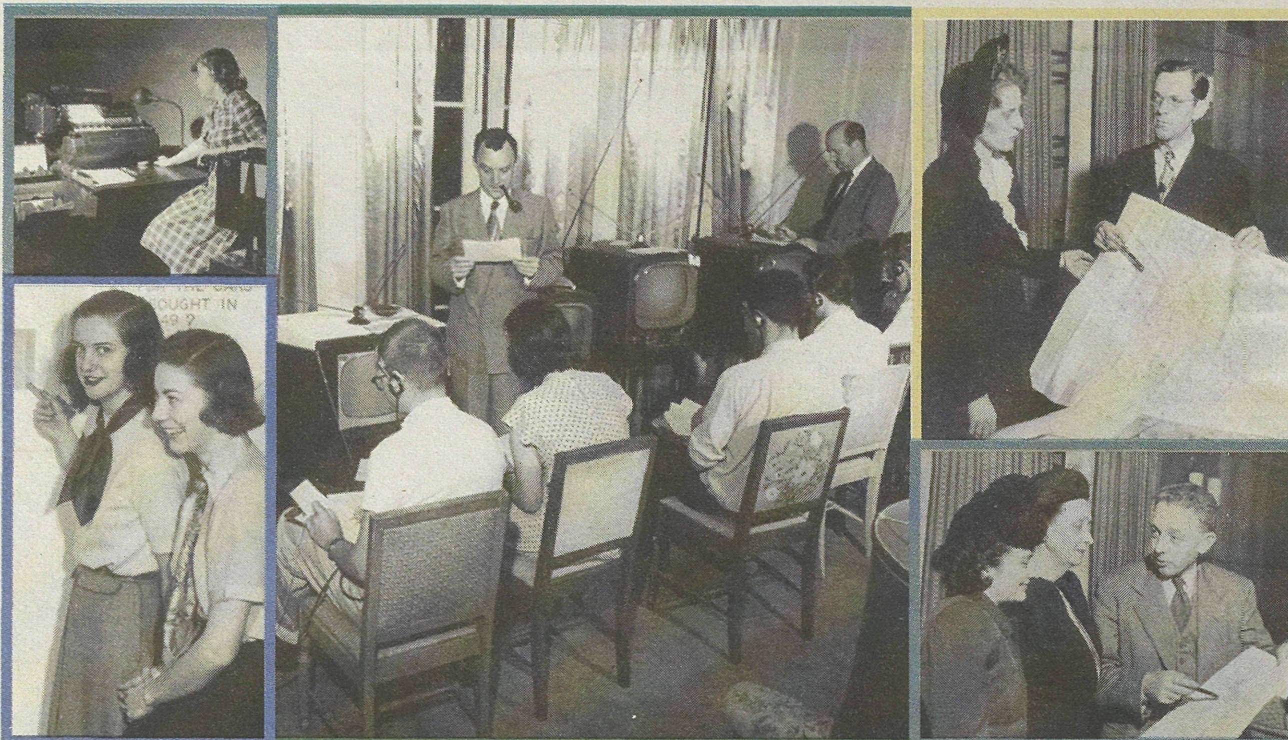
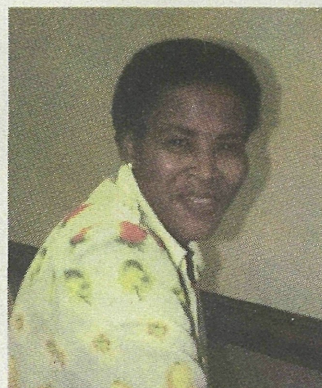


Scenes of ISR from 50 years ago.

ISR Celebrating 50 Years of Social Science in the Public Interest

By Diane Swanbrow
U-M News and Information Services

"Okay, who's next?" said Mick Couper. "We've done all the men. Do I pick straws, or do you volunteer?"



Nolunkcwe Bomela

The women giggled. "I want to get it over with," one of them said. As she walked to the front of the room, everyone applauded.

She filled the board with newly available numbers describing the link between education and employment in South Africa. With fifteen other women and men from South Africa, she had come to the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research (ISR) to learn how to use surveys "for the scientific measurement of human activities."

For a few minutes, everyone stared at the tables of percentages on the blackboard, including Couper, an ISR sociologist born in South Africa who was teaching the session. "So you found a positive relationship between education and employment status," he said. "Why? Is it really education that affects employment, or is it something else, like having rich parents? Even after you control for education, there are gender differences. Why? Are there any clues in the data set?"

A student named Nolunkcwe Bomela said, "In some Asian and African countries, men get more food than women. Boys get more food than girls." Several male students groaned.

"In the old times," Bomela continued, speaking louder and more precisely, "there were strong preferences for boys over girls. My perception is that this is not so any more. People have moved away from that attitude. A woman today won't feed her baby girl any less than her baby boy."

Using data on feeding practices from a section of the South African Living Standards Measurement Survey, Bomela had calculated that mothers of children age 6 and under fed 50.1% of baby boys and 49.9% of baby girls three times a day, and that they fed 21.5% of baby boys and 23.3% of baby girls four times a day. "That's my story," said Bomela, who works as a demographic researcher at the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria. She was taking courses at ISR's Summer Institute on questionnaire design and quantitative analysis as part of a three-year training program funded by the Mellon Foundation..

"You expected no difference, you found no difference. Is it over?" Couper said. "Or do you look at these results by race, by age, by socioeconomic group, by whether the person comes from an urban versus a rural area, since rural areas tend to be more traditional, and traditional societies tend to value boys more than girls?

"You don't give up when you find what you've found," Couper said, encouraging the class to consider the possibilities.

The sample included mothers who weren't breastfeeding, so could they calculate whether mothers were more likely to breastfeed boys than girls? Or whether mothers tended to breastfeed boys longer than girls? If so, was this necessarily an indicator of preferential treatment of boys over girls?

"Boys are often weaker than girls," one woman suggested, "so maybe mothers feel they have to feed them more." Loud groans erupted again from the men. "Also," Bomela said, "boys demand more food than girls. Every time the child cries, the mother gives it food. It is widely perceived that boys are more demanding."

"This is why I enjoy being a social scientist," said Couper, smiling.

ISR Director David Featherman and U-M colleagues Oscar Barbarin and David Lam developed the training program, along with South African professor Mala Singh. "The apartheid era in South Africa introduced many distortions into surveys conducted by government agencies," Featherman says. "At a moment when rapid and profound changes demand careful scientific analysis of population trends and socioeconomic inequalities, this legacy of distortion handicaps the democratic process."

Helping to develop a new generation of South African researchers who know what they're doing and can be trusted by a suspicious public is the challenge here, as Featherman sees it.

As ISR celebrates its 50th birthday with a year-long series of lectures, symposia, publications and exhibitions (see sidebar story), the South Africa program points to a new trend toward international collaboration.

At the start of this decade, notes Director David L. Featherman, ISR helped establish its first sister institute, in Eastern Europe at the University of Warsaw. Research links with social scientists in Germany, Japan and China and elsewhere allow US social scientists to take advantage of "pockets of expertise" that have developed around the world.

International studies also allow researchers to sort out which features of society and individual behavior are local or cultural, and which are universal. "We can see ourselves better from the point of view of colleagues from abroad," Featherman notes.

The academic traffic certainly isn't one-way. More Michigan researchers travel overseas, but more foreign research-

ers also arrive in Ann Arbor to learn the secrets of the survey trade. The 1997 ISR Summer Institute in Survey Research Techniques attracted students from 29 countries, including Turkey, South Korea, Trinidad and Tobago, Zambia and Nepal.

Featherman is not for resting on ISR's laurels. "If we are to continue to play a leading role in social science research, we have to import as well as export," he says. Meanwhile, developing nations all over the globe are eager to obtain the kind of basic information provided by ISR surveys, and the findings actually lead to action in the form of heated political debates and real-world policy decisions.

"It's ironic," Featherman says, "but survey results are used far less here than elsewhere. The political process in this country uses social science to strengthen political decisions that have already been made, as if the findings are weapons or ammunition. We've moved away from the belief that there can be a scientific view of human activity. In other countries, like South Africa, there's an almost desperate need for information to make fundamental decisions about housing, jobs and the educational system. But until now, there hasn't even been a census that had any value."

As the Information Age enters a new millennium, anyone in America with a telephone and address can tell that surveys and polls are a growth business. Every year, the US government spends about $2 billion on surveys, not counting the decennial Census and the annual Current Population Surveys. States and local government agencies spend millions more. But public spending is a drop in the bucket compared with the private sector. According to *Marketing News*, in 1996 the top 50 market research firms in the nation, big guys like Gallup and Nielsen and Roper, reported revenues of $5.05 billion. Just over 40 percent of that revenue came from overseas business, which is by far the fastest-growing segment of the field.

Political candidates all over the globe want to gauge public opinion. And a whole range of corporations, selling everything from transportation and technology to health care and financial services, need survey information to meet the needs of existing clients and develop new markets at home and in developing nations. As a result, people who know how to do state-of-the-art survey research can pretty much write their own tickets.

In a field crowded with research firms, a few things make ISR distinctive. Along with the US Census Bureau and the National Opinion Research Council (NORC) at the University of Chicago, ISR boasts a national team of full-time field staff and part-time interviewers who are ready to roll. ISR surveys have a reputation for innovative design, up-to-date sampling and survey methods and top-notch systems to safeguard the quality and confidentiality of the data. So it's hard to argue with the findings.

In addition, 90 percent of ISR's survey work is generated by U-M research scientists using public money. Less than 10 percent is commissioned by private firms or foundations. So the results can't be dismissed as having been bought and paid for.

The breadth and depth of its expertise also makes ISR distinctive. Affiliated researchers come from a wide range of disciplines–from anthropology to epidemiology, engineering and evolutionary medicine. Among them are experts in some of the most esoteric details of survey work, from questionnaire and sample design to field data collection. Some statisticians even specialize in analyzing data that isn't there, using a technique called imputation.

As a result, despite the growing competition for shrinking government funding, ISR stays pretty busy. **By the end of this year, telephone interviewers working from the ISR Survey Research Center's central phone facility should have logged more than 38,000 hours of interviews.** In 1998, ISR field interviewers across the country are projected to spend more than 180,000 hours contacting and interviewing subjects by phone and in person. You may well be one of them.

In addition to the large-scale surveys, suggests Fred Bookstein, distinguished research scientist in the U-M Institute of Gerontology, "ISR needs to cultivate an intellectual milieu that encourages an attitude of social criticism and the pursuit of European-style investigations into the meanings of life, studies of class origins and ideology, delicate biographical studies of decisions and regrets, and many other types of inquiries. How about some surveys of the manipulation of public opinion, for instance, or of the effects of publishing survey findings?"

Elsie Bremen, 84, worked as an ISR field interviewer for 40 years. She retired last year, but still comes down to Ann Arbor from her home in nearby Southfield to talk to new researchers about what the survey trade is like from the front lines.

A legend for her skill in tracking missing people, Bremen once found someone said to be in Dogpatch, Kentucky, by a helpful neighbor in another place altogether–Turtletown, Tennessee. Fifteen years after a group of mothers and children were first interviewed, she helped locate 98 percent of them.

Called the queen of refusal conversion, Bremen has a mix of tenacity and charm that could coax conversation from a stone. Over the years she has tackled her fair share of challenges, interviewing bereaved spouses, couples who have tried and failed to have children, parents of children with cystic fibrosis and city kids in a Chicago neighborhood so dangerous she was given an armed escort. "It was silly," said Bremen. "I didn't need one. Those boys were really nice."

No matter how uncooperative the person or how difficult the situation, Bremen usually managed to complete the questionnaire, which sometimes took up to two hours. Her secret? "I like people, so they like to talk to me." Some of the people she has interviewed still send her cards and photos.

Conducting surveys in the US is harder than it used to be. For the last 20 years or so, response rates have been dropping. Today ISR aims for a response rate of 70 percent or better in random telephone surveys, 80 percent in face-to-face surveys, and higher on panel studies that track the same people over time.

Finding people at home is the easy part of the problem to fix. All you really have to do is spend more time and more money, making repeat calls and visits.

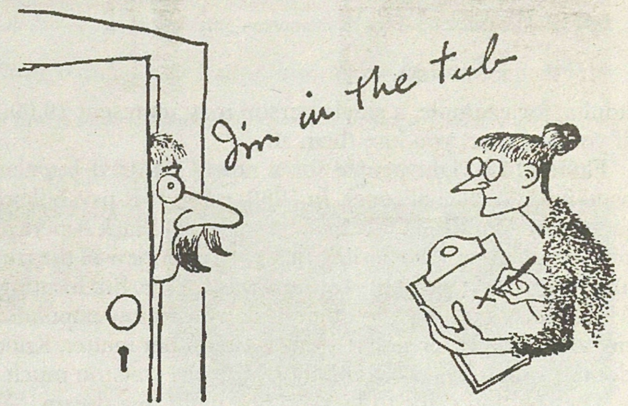


Illustration by Irving Geis from How to Lie With Statistics *by Darrell Huff, W. W. Norton & Co.*

Getting people to cooperate is tougher. They say they're too busy, or they don't believe in surveys. People who live in central cities, gated communities or places with bars on the windows are the most likely to use delaying tactics and make negative comments, according to ISR research. **Men are only slightly more negative than women, and people in their 30s are the most likely to say they're too busy.** Lately, ISR and other survey groups have started to offer people $20 or so as an incentive to cooperate, devoting larger chunks of a project's budget to "refusal conversion."

Besides the obvious increase in the number of surveys and polls being conducted by everyone from political candidates to manufacturers of prophylactics, the American reluctance to be surveyed may be fueled by an increase in public concern about privacy and confidentiality, an increase in cynicism about social science, a decline in the public sense of civic responsibility, a growing suspicion of strangers, a widespread feeling of personal alienation, the conviction that one's attitudes and beliefs just don't matter–or all of the above.

What goes on in the first few minutes after potential respondent meets interviewer is crucial. Since experienced, confident interviewers elicit the fewest negative comments, delaying tactics or questions, selecting the right people and training them well is important. New ISR interviewers are flown to Michigan from all over the country for a week of training. They are taught to speak slowly, at the rate of about two words a second, and to give value-neutral feedback for acceptable responses between 30 and 50 percent of the time, by saying "Thank you" or "I see " instead of "good" or "okay." They go over the survey question by question, learning when and how to clarify meaning, how to probe for information without pushing too far, how to handle unwanted digressions when interviewing people who are lonely or disturbed or just have too much time on their hands.

So much effort goes into getting good response rates because what ISR and most other survey groups do these days are sample surveys, not head counts. According to James Lepkowski, a biostatistician who directs the ISR Summer Institute, a good sample needs to be both random and representative of the entire population being studied. "Once a person or household has been selected through the mechanisms of representation and chance," he says, "we don't want to lose them." In a sample of US

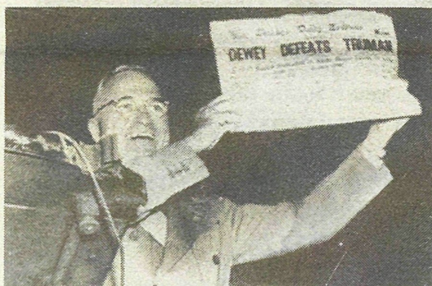
adults, for example, a single person may represent 19,000 people. If you lose one, you lose them all.

Finding the right people for a newly sampled population presents additional challenges. In 1980, when ISR psychologist James Jackson set out to conduct the first survey of Black Americans based on a national sample, finding Blacks to interview in the rural South and any urban area in the country was simple. But locating them in Montana, Wyoming and other regions with low population densities and small Black populations was another matter. Knocking on doors would have taken too long and cost way too much money.

The solution came to Jackson one night in a dream. "You want to know where to find Black people to interview, and you want to do it fast and efficiently, for as little money as you can? It's simple. You ask white people. They know just where the Blacks are." Jackson named the technique the Wide Area Screening Procedure–WASP.

Sampling began 100 years ago, but it really took off after World War II. In 1948 the men who started the Survey Research Center, ISR's forerunner, drew attention to the field when they were the only pollsters to predict a Truman victory.

"It was mostly luck. We had a very small sample," says Leslie Kish, an 87-year-old statistician and sociologist who was one of these pioneers. Kish still comes to his ISR office every day and received the top award of the American Statistical Association this past August for his contributions to the discipline, including his classic text on survey sampling, and for "using his knowledge and insight for the benefit of society." Certainly his background isn't that of the stereotypical statistician.



Only U-M pollsters picked the victor in 1948.

Leslie Kish

Kish was born in Hungary, but that was only one of the reasons he signed on to fight with a Hungarian brigade in the Spanish Civil War in 1937, when the FBI pegged him and his fellow volunteers as "premature antifascists."

"I met some Hungarians in a bar," Kish recalls, "who told me, 'You don't have to go through basic training. Go right to the front, they train you with the rifles and you start shooting. And also we have the best cooks.'"

After World War II, Kish went to work for the US Census Bureau then left Washington in 1947 with Charlie Cannell to join the newly started U-M Survey Research Center. That summer, he took the world's first course in sample design and worked on the poll correctly predicting the outcome of the 1948 US presidential election. The next summer, he began teaching the course to foreign statisticians, who now come from all over the world.

Used routinely in most countries, sample surveys are still being attacked by US politicians as "statistical guessing." Some senators are opposing the use of sampling to correct the systematic undercount of poor Americans. Kish worries that this kind of political skirmish deflects attention from the real issue–data obsolescence. "The Decennial Census was a great thing when it was invented by Jefferson and Madison," he says. "But unlike the US Constitution, it's not good enough anymore. We need, and can get, annual data, through a continuous census using a rolling sample."

Kish is convinced the rolling sample will become a reality in his lifetime, making up-to-date, detailed socioeconomic information on various segments of the current population easily available. Given the rate of social change, access to these kinds of numbers could have profound effects on politics, in America and elsewhere. MT

What Happens to the Data?

Housed at ISR is the country's largest archive of social science survey data, containing information on everything from penal code citations in American felony courts to the US Bureau of the Census current population surveys. Over 350 nonprofit institutions from 16 countries are dues-paying members of the ISR unit that cleans, archives and disseminates data. The Inter-University Consortium for Political and Science Research also sells data to corporations, political candidates, policy makers and interested members of the public who have the equipment and know-how to access its holdings.

But by the time anyone sees it, the stuff you told that nice interviewer about your sex life, your drug habits, your health and your income can never be connected to you. All direct identifiers are removed. This includes any mention of names, phone numbers, Social Security numbers or addresses.

ISR *Studies*

Among the major studies and surveys that form the backbone of ISR's operation, the largest, longest-running and best known are:

- Monitoring the Future, an annual survey of lifestyles, attitudes and substance abuse among teens and young adults, conducted since 1975.
- Panel Study of Income Dynamics, an annual study of the wealth, health and behavior of American families, launched in 1968.
- Health and Retirement study and the study of Assets and Health Dynamics, biannual surveys started in 1992 that track the health, wealth, work and family relationships of Americans over the age of 50.
- National Survey of Black Americans, conducted since 1979.
- Survey of Consumer Attitudes, a monthly survey of attitudes about the economy, conducted since 1946,
- National Election Studies, a biennial survey and analysis of voter behavior, started in 1948.
- World Values Survey, conducted every five years since 1989.

ISR *Calendar Events*

ISR celebrates its 50th anniversary starting this fall. ISR alums interested in receiving information regarding the 50th celebration should call, (313) 764-9262 or send e-mail to isr50@mail.isr.umich.edu.

The following is an incomplete listing of some of the highlights of the 1997-98 celebrating. Among special events are the Katz-Newcomb Lecture Series, Nov. 6, 7 pm, Rackham Auditorium. U-M President Lee C. Bollinger, opening comments; Michael Berenbaum, public address. Other lectures and a symposium will occur on Nov. 7 ("Contending With the Nazi Past"), 11 ("Constructing Majorities in Turkey"), 14 (Tanner Lecture: "Knowledge, Feeling and Self") and 15 (Symposium on Tanner Lecture).

A Lecture Series in the Social and Behavioral Sciences, all at 4 pm, will feature Charles Tilly, "The Story of Social Construction," Dec. 4, Rackham Amphitheater; James Heckman, "New Paradigms for Social Program Evaluation and Cost Benefit Analysis," Jan. 22, 1998, Alumni Association; Marta Tienda, "Color and Opportunity," Feb. 26, 1998, Clements Library; Robert Bates, "Frontiers of Comparative Politics," April 16, 1998, Rackham Amphitheater.

A National Symposium on Social Science and Policy Making will be held March 13-14, 1998, , with more than a dozen U-M scholars conducting panel discussions on social reform, early childhood education, welfare reform, social security, and public policy formation.

On May 7-10, 1998, Polish and American social scientists will focus on gender and social change in those two countries. The conference will be held in the ISR building.

Photos by Bob Kalmbach

In his inaugural address, President Bollinger acknowledged that his new job imposes burdens on his wife, the artist Jean Magnano Bollinger: "For resisting a world that is too slow to catch up with our ideals of social fairness, I am deeply admiring. For patiently and graciously enduring some of what we cannot change, I am empathetic. And for voluntarily embracing with enthusiasm and elegance so many parts of my life, I am forever grateful."

"When I think about the great library of Michigan's Law School and the light that streams through those marvelous stained glass windows, which depict the symbols of so many distinguished institutions of higher education—both in this country and abroad—I see an enduring monument to the inextricable link between law and learning. And it is a most fitting emblem for the kind of leadership our Regents were seeking for Michigan's future. In this context, it is easy to understand why they chose Lee Bollinger to lead Michigan into the next millennium, and how right they were."—Harold T. Shapiro, 10th U-M president and now president of Princeton University, in introducing President Bollinger.

Bollinger with predecessors James J. Duderstadt, Harold T. Shapiro and Robben W. Fleming.

INAUGURATION DAY 1997

In a humorous, emotional and reflective inaugural address following his official installation as U-M's 12th president, Lee C. Bollinger, cited five principles that "ought to guide us and inform our choices in the years ahead."

Addressing an overflowing crowd of more than 4,000 in Hill Auditorium on Sept. 19, Bollinger said that he hoped the principles would deepen "our understanding of core beliefs and values" touching on the intellectual character of a university. Excerpts of his discussion on the five principles follow:

The Principle of Suspension of Belief. "[A university's] essential greatness, I believe, its most remarkable quality, lies in its distinctive intellectual character–a living culture that values and expresses the joy in intellectually and artistically scratching the surface of the world and in reveling in the exploration of its complexity. This involves a hard-won capacity of suspending one's own beliefs and of risking the unnerving feeling of losing one's own identity in the process; a capacity of crossing into other sensibilities and, accordingly, of residing in foreign worlds. ... [T]he special mentality of suspension of belief and constant exploration of complexity has itself a higher political and social significance, not least of which is to issue a continuous warning even for those who would grasp the standard of idealism and improve the society. For the ends we pursue do not inoculate us against the disease of intolerance."

The Principle of Publicness. "To be a public university is to be bound by the US Constitution. It is to be more rooted, emotionally, in a locale. It is to be committed, not as a matter of choice but rather of permanent commitment, to offering and to developing opportunities for access to education without regard to divisions of class, parentage or social status. And it is also concerned with providing students with access to an education arising from interaction with as many segments of American life as is possible. And it is, at least at Michigan, determined to show that de Toqueville was wrong in believing that a democracy would not aspire to or achieve the highest levels of culture (in the best sense of the word) because ordinary citizens would not understand or appreciate it nor support that quest.

"Publicness, I would add today, also is in need of special protections, even Constitutional protections, and here Michigan offers a very helpful example. There has been a working principle in this country that academic institutions, even though they are supported by the state, should not be subjected to political interference, at least with respect to basic decisions about what to teach and what to research and on general matters of educational policy."

The Principle of Faculty Autonomy. "[T]o my mind, the most astonishing fact about our universities is the degree of personal responsibility, of personal engagement with one's work, that characterizes the overwhelming majority of our faculty. It is this kind of sense of personal empowerment within a large organization that is so hard to create and that is, I believe, more likely to make an institution succeed over the long term, as other more hierarchical organizations come and go. In this particular characteristic, universities share some of the genius that inspires our commitment to a democratic form of government."

The Principle of the Transparent Administration. "It is critical, I believe, that we understand the function of an administration within the University is to take the attitude that we will do everything we can to make ourselves and the system, whatever it happens to be, transparent or invisible to our faculty and students, as they set about suspending belief and pursuing complexity.

Photo by D.C. Goings

Inauguration Day festivities included a three-mile run for which 200 runners and walkers showed up at 7:30 a.m. to join the president.

"When someone comes to us with an idea that seems good, our response should not be first and foremost what will it mean for our school, our department or our group. Instead, there ought to be a generosity of spirit, a predisposition to assist, a University perspective at heart, and a sense of pride in helping make things happen without anyone having to know how it happened.

The Principle of Making Our History Visible. "I have spoken repeatedly, and I will continue to do so in the future, of the importance of recapturing, of embracing, the illustrious history of the University of Michigan. I have noted how this University in particular has let too much of its heritage slip by the wayside. This is, in many ways, an American problem. One would never know in Florida that one of the greatest poets of the century, Wallace Stevens, wrote a good deal of his poetry there, drawing on images from that special environment. While one might find cloying and too domesticating the references in England's Lake District to Wordsworth or Coleridge, we have a long way to go before we will encounter that problem. At Michigan we are a bit like Florida. Fortunately, this is something we can correct, with time. It is vital that we come to understand, to truly appreciate, that to make one's history visible is part of taking oneself seriously."

President Bollinger was selected by the U-M Regents on Nov. 5, 1996, and assumed the responsibilities of the office on Feb. 1.

The full text of President Bollinger's address is available on the Web at http://www.umich.edu/~newsinfo/U_Record/Issues97/Sep24_97/address.htm.

Readers who would like a printed version of President Bollinger's entire address may obtain a copy by sending a self-addressed stamped envelope to *Michigan Today.* MT

Largest ever for a public U.

Campaign is over the top

By Jane R. Elgass
(U-M News & Information Services)

Over the top at $1,371,837,199–the total gift from 250,000 donors! That was the "special moment in Michigan history" that was celebrated Sept. 26 during three days of activities heralding the conclusion of the Campaign for Michigan.

Launched in October 1992 with a $1 billion goal, it is the most successful fund-raising effort in the University's history and the largest ever completed by an American public university.

The to-date tally was announced in a dramatic presentation at the Power Center for the Performing Arts–"Team Michigan. The Victory Celebration"– a tug-at-the-heartstrings multimedia presentation that carried with it a great sense of teamwork and community.

Streaming from shuttle buses that ferried them from area hotels, major donors, faculty and staff invited to the event approached the Power Center in a checkerboard of maize and blue apparel. They were greeted by a steel drum band outside, and enjoyed renditions by the U-M Jazz Ensemble inside while waiting for the show to begin.

Photo by D.C. Goings

Ira Harris and Mike Wallace (far right) lead the 'Team Michigan Victory Celebration' at the Power Center for the Performing Arts.

Emceed by campaign co-chair U-M alumnus Mike Wallace, the show interspersed excerpts from "This Is the Moment" with heartfelt statements by a group of students on what the support made possible by the campaign has meant to them.

The campaign was designed during three days of intensive meetings in fall 1990, sessions that included a lot of number-crunching and priority-setting to ensure that the long list of needs identified by campus units could be met by the campaign.

As the tally kept increasing, co-chair Ira Harris said, "Why not go for a billion?" His "co-conspirators," Wallace said, met that statement with a moment of quiet disbelief, followed by some low-key chuckling. What the heck, the group decided. "Think big, think blue, think billion–and we embarked on our greatest adventure."

Volunteer co-chairs for the campaign were alumnus Allan D. Gilmour, retired vice chairman of Ford Motor Co. and director of Ford; alumnus J. Ira Harris, senior partner in the international investment banking firm of Lazard Freres and Co. in Chicago; Margaret A. (Ranny) Riecker of Midland, president of the Harry A. and Margaret D. Towsley Foundation and trustee of the Herbert H. and Grace A. Dow Foundation; former head football coach and athletic director Bo Schembechler; and alumnus Mike Wallace of New York, correspondent with CBS News/60 Minutes. Thomas C. Kinnear serves as U-M vice president for development.

The Campaign for Michigan is the third fund-raising drive undertaken by the University. The first, launched in 1964, raised $72 million in three years, surpassing a target of $55 million. The total was a record among public universities that stood for a decade. In 1983, the first Campaign for Michigan was launched, raising $187 million against a goal of $160 million.

The $1.37 billion tally-to-date includes $1,069,553,962 in new gifts and pledges and $302,283,237 in new bequest intentions.

Bollinger assembles key members of team

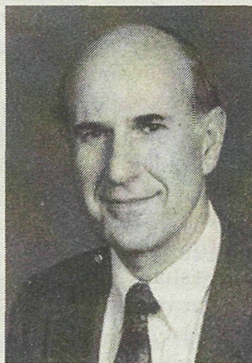
University of Michigan President Lee C. Bollinger and the Board of Regents have selected and approved key members of the new president's administration.

Nancy Cantor

Nancy Cantor became provost and executive vice president for academic affairs on Sept. 1. Cantor, who was serving as vice provost for academic affairs-graduate studies and dean of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, is also a professor of psychology.

Cantor, who received her BA from Sarah Lawrence College in 1974 and PhD from Stanford University in 1978, became assistant professor of psychology at Princeton and was promoted to associate professor in 1981. In 1983, she came to the U-M as associate professor of psychology. She was area chairperson of personality psychology in 1984-88, and was named professor in 1987. She left the U-M in 1991 to teach at Princeton, where she was chair of the Department of Psychology. Cantor assumed her duties as dean of Rackham at U-M in July 1996.

Bollinger named **Earl Lewis**, senior associate dean at Rackham and professor of history and Afroamerican and African studies, to serve as interim dean. "I am delighted that someone of Earl Lewis's caliber can step in to fill the important role of dean of Rackham," Bollinger said.

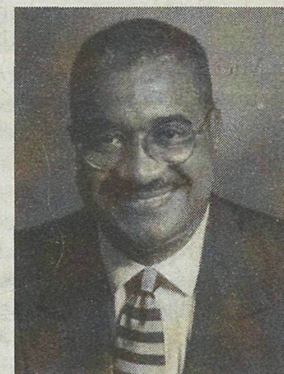


Gilbert S. Omenn

Gilbert S. Omenn, MD, PhD, became executive vice president for medical affairs retroactive to Sept. 4. Omenn was dean of the School of Public Health and Community Medicine and professor of medicine (medical genetics) and environmental health at the University of Washington in Seattle.

Omenn will have responsibility for the leadership and management of the University's Medical Center, which consists of the Medical School and the Health System (the Hospitals, Michigan Health Corp. and M-CARE). He will serve as the Medical Center's chief executive officer, reporting directly to the president.

Omenn received his MD from Harvard Medical School and earned a PhD in genetics from the University of Washington. He completed his internship and residency at the Massachusetts General Hospital. He holds an AB from Princeton University.



Tom A. Goss

Tom A. Goss '68, a California business executive and former all-Big 10 football player for the Wolverines, was named the Donald R. Shepherd Director of Intercollegiate Athletics retroactive to Sept. 8.

Goss, who earned a bachelor of science degree in communication from the University, was managing partner of the Goss Group, Inc. A resident of Oakland, California, he previously was president and chief operating officer of PIA Merchandising Co., the nation's largest supplier of regular scheduled merchandised services.

Goss will oversee 23 varsity coaches and teams, the University's athletic fields and facilities, and a $38 million department budget. Prior to joining PIA in 1993, he was a vice president of National Beverage Corp. and Faygo Beverages, and held several management positions with RJ Reynolds/DelMonte Corp. and Procter and Gamble Co.

Robert Kasdin (photo was not yet available) will become the U-M's executive vice president and chief financial officer effective mid-November if approved Oct. 16 by the Regents. Kasdin currently serves as treasurer and chief investment officer for the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Kasdin, who received his JD degree from Harvard Law School in 1983 and his AB from Princeton University in 1980, was corporate attorney at the law firm Davis Polk & Wardwell in 1983-88, where he specialized in mergers, acquisitions, credit facilities and securities offerings.

In 1988, he was named vice president and general counsel for the Princeton University Investment Company. He was responsible for identifying investment opportunities for the university's $2.5 billion endowment and supervised relationships with investment managers. He joined the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1993.

Bollinger named **Chacona W. Johnson** as his chief of staff, effective July 21. Johnson also will be associate vice president for development, where she was director of principal gifts for the Campaign for Michigan.

Johnson's duties include advising the president on a wide range of issues, both internal and external to the U-M. She coordinates issues among senior officials and the president, and is involved in communication and policy development. She has administrative oversight for the president's office, the President's House and Inglis House.

Chacona W. Johnson

As associate vice president for development, she will work closely with the president on solicitation of principal gifts.

Johnson, who received her master's degree in public administration from the Ohio State University and her bachelor's degree in business administration from Saint Augustine's College, held several positions at New Detroit Inc. from 1979-84.

In 1984, she was named area director for the Campaign for Michigan. She left the U-M to direct fund-raising for Wayne State University's libraries in 1986 and returned to U-M in 1987.

Lawsuit targets U. admissions policy

A lawsuit challenging the University's undergraduate admissions policy was filed in US District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan on Oct. 14.

The plaintiffs assert that the University is violating the 14th Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on the ground that some white applicants are treated "less favorably in considering their applications for admission to the LSA college" on the ground of their race. (See related story on p.10.)

The two plaintiffs, who are enrolled at U-M-Dearborn and Michigan State University, are supported by the Center for Individual Rights, a Washington DC-based law firm that won a class-action case against the University of Texas law school's admissions policies.

In response to the suit filed against the University, U-M President Lee C. Bollinger issued the following statement:

"Since its founding, the University of Michigan has been committed to providing an education to the widest range of students. Throughout our history we have included students from diverse geographical, racial, ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds.

"For almost 200 years, public universities have unlocked the doors to social and economic opportunity to students from many different backgrounds, and we believe it is absolutely essential that they continue to do so. Our mission and core expertise is to create the best educational environment we can. We do this in part through a diverse faculty and student body.

"Our admissions policies are linked to these core values, especially our chief value: academic excellence. We are supported in this judgment by virtually all of America's leading universities, and we believe that our admissions policies are fully consistent with existing legal principles.

"We use a variety of factors to determine a student's admissibility to the University. These include, among others: high school grade point average; the rigor of the curriculum during high school years, especially the number of advanced placement and international baccalaureate courses offered; standardized test scores such as SAT/ACT scores; geography (Michigan residency, underrepresented counties in Michigan; underrepresented regions in the United States); alumni relationships (parent; sibling or grandparent); essay quality; personal achievement (state, regional and national level); leadership and service (state, regional and national level); socioeconomically disadvantaged student or education; underrepresented racial or ethnic minority identity or education; athletic ability.

"Each of these factors can influence a student's admissibility because they are considered to be characteristics that contribute to the quality of the University and the diversity of the student body. No one factor is determinative; our approach utilizes both objective and subjective factors, treating the admission of students as both an art and a science.

"The University has retained Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, a highly regarded international law firm, to represent it in this lawsuit."

U-M's GuideCane steers the blind

It doesn't have fur and won't fetch a ball. It runs on batteries, instead of dog food. But to the visually impaired, the GuideCane could give new meaning to the phrase "man's best friend."

Developed by Johann Borenstein (who demonstrates it in the photo at right) and fellow research scientists in the University of Michigan College of Engineering's Mobile Robotics Laboratory, the GuideCane is a computerized, sonar-equipped navigation aid for the blind which detects obstacles in the user's path and automatically steers around them.

The 8-pound GuideCane consists of a long handle with a thumb-operated joystick for direction control, an array of ultrasonic sensors and a small on-board computer mounted on a two-wheeled steering axle. The user pushes the GuideCane ahead of himself or herself with one hand. When the device's ultrasonic sensors detect an obstacle in its path, the computer automatically turns the wheels to steer around the obstacle and resume the original direction of travel.

Borenstein says the GuideCane is easier to use than the traditional white cane, less expensive than a leader dog and is more convenient than other electronic navigation devices. It makes no sounds and requires no extensive training in its use. A preliminary version of the prototype was positively received by visually impaired persons who tested it, but more development will be required before the device is ready for widespread commercial use."

"You feel the steering change as a direct physical force through the handle, which makes it easy to follow the GuideCane's path without any conscious effort," said Iwan Ulrich, the U-M graduate student who built the device. "Your body automatically follows the trajectory of the guide wheels just as a trailer follows a truck. Once the obstacle is cleared, the guide wheels resume their original direction."

Borenstein and Ulrich have built a working prototype of the GuideCane and the U-M has applied for several patents related to the device and is seeking corporate partners to assist with technical and commercial development.

Funding to support the initial research and development of the prototype was provided by the Whitaker Foundation, a private non-profit organization which supports research and education in biomedical engineering.

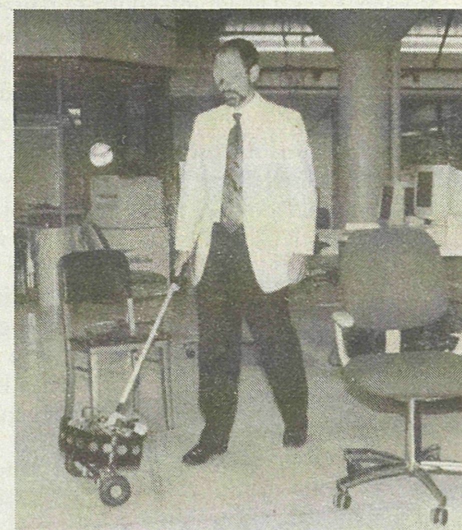


Photo by Bob Kalmbach

The GuideCane in action.

Pencil Her In

By Jennifer Silverberg

Ann Marie Lipinski Is Named Top Editor Of The Chicago Tribune

Pulitzer Prize Winner Got Her Start At The Michigan Daily In the Mid-1970s

Ann Marie Lipinski loves pencils. A cup sitting on her desk is crammed full of them. Her glass office, looking out at the *Chicago Tribune* newsroom, is stocked with boxes that contain hundreds of pencils. The only perk she has ever asked for as the paper's managing editor is a $16 pencil sharpener. And you'll always find a few pencils in her hair.

"I'm notorious for pencil wearing. I always have a pencil in my hair. I don't even realize I'm doing it. There have been times when I go to the bathroom and look in the mirror and I have four of them stuck in my hair," she said. "I love what they are. I love what they do."

I met the 41-year-old Lipinski on a June morning in her office on the fourth floor of the Tribune Tower in Chicago, overlooking Michigan Avenue. I noticed her seemingly unconscious, pencil-playing habit right away. She doesn't seem to fiddle with pencils because she's nervous. It's more like the writing instruments are an extension of her.

The editor of her high school newspaper in Trenton, Michigan, she enrolled at Michigan State but then decided at the last minute to switch to Michigan. "I can't even tell you why. I just remember one night sitting and thinking, 'I think I've made a mistake.' It was sort of late for that, but I remember going to my parents' room and saying to my Dad, 'I've changed my mind. I think I want to go to Ann Arbor.'" And that's just what she did.

"I remember the day my parents drove me to Ann Arbor in 1974. I quickly dumped my stuff in my dorm room at South Quad and I didn't even unpack. I immediately walked over to the *Daily*." But the newspaper hadn't started up yet for the year. She had to wait a week for the beginning meeting.

"I remember walking in that day and there was this crowd of new recruits. And [senior editor] Dan Biddle was standing on top of the wooden countertop that runs around the newsroom. He had a nickel coke in his hand. I just thought I had gone to heaven."

Lipinski stuck around after the meeting to get her first assignment. "I remember Dan sitting down at a manual typewriter and pecking away with a couple of fingers a couple assignments for me."

She started as a telegraph editor–a fancy title for someone who stood by the telegraph machine with a ruler, ripped stories off the machine and set them in neat stacks on the newsdesk for the senior editor–and moved up the ranks to the Ann Arbor politics beat. "I learned things on that beat I'm sure I still use on the job today. Things that are just so internalized about politics and government." It was also that job that took her to the 1976 Democratic Convention in New York City where Jimmy Carter was nominated.

The *Daily* couldn't fund the trip, so "it was me and a *Daily* photographer in his old beat-up white Chevy that was as big as a house, driving out to New York. We stayed with his grandmother in Forest Hills, slept on the floor and took the subway to cover the convention every day"–she paused to laugh–"and he turned out to be my husband." His name is Steve Kagan, and he was one year ahead of Lipinski. "I thought he was nice looking and sweet. He was maybe a little shy."

Photo by Steve Kagan

Michigan Daily *co-editors Tobin and Lipinski in 1977.*

It wasn't an overnight love story, but you could say Jimmy Carter brought them together. One day Steve and Ann Marie were headed to Detroit Metro Airport to cover Carter's arrival in Michigan. "Jimmy Carter is really the significant person in this; he may have screwed a lot of things up, but he got this right," she said, laughing, and then continued. "I was in a lousy mood, and on the drive out Steve was so sweet and solicitous without being overly so. And I thought, what a great guy. Mostly we didn't say anything." Lipinski still has the tattered green-and-white press pass she used to cover that Carter event. She keeps it in her car. She and Kagan married in 1981. He is now a freelance photographer and frequent contributor to *People* and the *New York Times*. They have a daughter.

Lipinski became co-editor of the *Daily* in 1977-78, her senior year, with Jim Tobin, now a *Detroit News* reporter and author of a recent biography of World War II correspondent Ernie Pyle. "My four years in Ann Arbor were so completely formative on every front. It helped shape my career and my personal life. It's huge; it's just an enormous school. But the thing that's great about it is there are all these niches and little villages people create for themselves in the midst of this big forest. And whether that's *The Michigan Daily* for you or the school radio or a fraternity or sorority, there are all these places where people carve out these small families or support systems for themselves. Someone can get to Michigan and really get the sense that they can learn anything there. That they can be anything there."

> 'IT'S AN ENORMOUS SCHOOL. BUT THERE ARE LITTLE VILLAGES PEOPLE CREATE FOR THEMSELVES IN THE MIDST OF THIS BIG FOREST.'

The summer before her senior year, Lipinski went to Chicago as a *Tribune* intern. The woman who hired her said that she hated bringing seniors in for internships because they always wanted jobs, that if that was Lipinski's desire, she should reconsider. But Lipinski, who already had a job offer from the *Miami Herald*, became "the intern who never left."

When Lipinski began her internship in 1978, she had just one credit to finish to ger her bachelor's degree and planned to get it that summer. When the *Trib* hired her as a feature reporter, however, her work interrupted her schooling, and she didn't complete her credits and get her degree until 1996. No one has held the delay against her.

After that she became part of the paper's three-person investigative reporting team. It was as part of that team that the 32-year-old Lipinski won a 1988 Pulitzer Prize for a 10-month investigative series on corruption in the Chicago City Council. The story documented corruption ranging from zoning and licensing problems to petty perks. The essence of the story was how perverted the system of government had become in Chicago and how many aldermen were using their public office for personal gain.

Lipinski of the **Tribune**

Photo by J. Adams

On a fast track to management, Lipinski became managing editor of news in February 1995; by the end of the year she was managing editor of the whole paper. So now that she rewrites other people's stories, does the intrepid reporter miss seeing her own byline in the paper? "No. I have the same sensation I had when the story was my own. The satisfactions may be different but they are equal. And as I got more responsibility in this job, I realized it's also thrilling not just to work with a reporter to craft a story but also to work with the photographers and graphic artists and other editors and designers. To have this great symphony orchestra and, on our best days, to conduct it, making beautiful music and making the paper really click. It feels good."

At 41, Lipinski is the youngest managing editor the paper has ever had. So what's next? "I never wanted or thought or planned to be an editor, and I never thought of being managing editor, although it has turned out to be a great thrill. I've never planned my career in terms of what's the next job. I tend to think more in terms of stories and personal development, and making the newspaper better. There are a lot of ways I can do that. And that's been good. I've tended more to think about the next story. I was on my way to Florida. This was not where I thought I would end up. I'm the accidental *Trib* employee."

She couldn't have written a better story if she had tried.

MT

Texas-based writer Jennifer Silverberg '95 was a reporter for the Michigan Daily *and is now a frequent contributor to the* Michigan Alumnus *and other publications.*

UM BOOKS

The Beast Reawakens

By Martin A. Lee '75, Little Brown and Co., $24.95 hardcover.

The beast that Martin A. Lee tracks from what at first seemed to be its tomb but turned out to be its lair, is fascism. Violent, totalitarian, racist and yet romantically populist, fascism arose in Western Europe this century. The Allies at first agreed to curb and crush the movement after the defeat of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Lee shows, however, how the Cold War gave fascists the room and financial resources they needed to survive and maneuver between the US and Soviet Union.

Lee interviewed hundreds of original fascists and their offspring and pored over mounds of European and US intelligence reports. The result is a gripping and unsettling history that traces the direct links between the first-generation fascists and current varieties that include Russian national-communists to European skinheads and right-wing politicians, and also American extremists in militia, religious, news media, political and white-supremacist groups.

Lee discussed his book with *Michigan Today*:

Michigan Today: How did you come to write this book?

Martin Lee: Since the 1980s, our government and news media were depicting terrorism as an activity of Arabs, Islamic fanatics, Third World extremists and so on. But at least since the '90s, the worst acts of terrorism in terms of numbers of people hurt or killed were neo-fascist attacks. I thought the one-sided picture should be balanced.

Hitler's bodyguard, the long-lived Maj. Gen. Otto Ernst Remer who died this October, is a key figure in your book, as is Col. Otto Skorzeny, whose widow you interviewed. How did you get so many fascists to meet with you?

I never presented myself as anything but an American journalist. Sometimes it was like pulling teeth to get them to say anything useful. But I found that to get beyond their suspicions about me as a journalist and beyond their antipathy towards Americans, they would talk if I asked questions about how they viewed the world, what their political opinions were, rather than, 'What did you do along with Klaus Barbie?' I'm not talking about skinheads–they are a one-note thing–but about the more interesting leaders, the smarter folks. We could talk philosophy, Nietzsche, Tibetan Buddhism among the more intellectual fascists. So when conversation turned to details, they were more forthcoming.

A Red-Brownshirt demonstration in post-Soviet Moscow.

Did you learn anything that surprised you in the process?

If we think of traditional categories of extreme left at one end and right on the other–if that's the prism–then exploring neo-fascists will shake up one's political categories. It doesn't work that way. It opened my eyes along the way. For example, in one section I focused on Egypt in the 1950s to show how the former Nazis were playing the US and Soviet Union against oneanother. In a great many more recent situations I found European fascists aligned to some degree with Arab groups and movements. It's not that surprising, though unfortunate. The more radical Palestinian groups get support from neo-nazis–those that want to drive the Jews into the sea get neo-nazi support. But fascism transcends all racial and religious distinctions–there are Jewish, Islamic, Christian and Hindu fascists.

How do you account for the strong dislike for the United States and the fondness for Russia, including Soviet Russia, among the fascists?

The fact that US society is a melting pot, a society that tolerates or encourages the flourishing of people of different ethnic groups and races, really rankles them. They looked at Russians as an essentially "pure white" people compared with the "mongrelized" Americans.

You describe a sort of virus-like adroitness of the fascists as they adapt to shifts in political and economic conditions from country to country.

Astute fascists realize that they must distance themselves from the way old fascists look–Klan garb or swastikas would be a give-away. The political danger comes not so much from those marginal folks as those who don't wear swastikas and sheets. Clearly, when one hears a politician like a Zhironovsky in Russia, Le Pen in France, Haider in Austria or a Pat Buchanan denouncing both the big businessmen who rip off the American workers and denouncing welfare "moochers" and immigrants–those who have less–that is a classic practice. That should raise the antennas. That smells fascist to me.

Also, they are de-emphasizing white supremacy and explicitly racialist-genetic themes in lieu of greater emphasis on culture. The European neo-fascists come off almost as pluralistic and quasi-tolerant to every culture. But they think that each of these cultures must remain separate.

Is anyone effectively combating fascist ideology?

Many anti-fascists feel a groundswell working against them. Their efforts are noble but seem not to have impact because most have been aiming at the typical target–the overt racialist or nazi. It's more difficult to counter a David Duke saying, "All white people should be proud of their heritage, just as all Black people should be."

I hope the book helps people distinguish between who is a fair-minded populist and who is a racialist populist today. People find may find such a distinction helpful.

What are the biggest threats internationally from the reawakened beast?

The thugs and the sections of the police corps who share an affinity with them are not being punished for violent crimes against people whose politics they oppose. The lassitude with which law enforcement, particularly in Germany, has pursued neo-nazi criminals has encouraged attacks on immigrants and others. Three cab drivers were arrested in Germany for giving foreigners a ride without asking to see credentials to show that they were legal immigrants. The cabbies got 20 months. That's a bigger penalty than skinheads received for kicking pregnant women or even killing people. Germany is powerful and sets the tone.

The Michigan Law Quadrangle: architecture and origins

By Kathryn Horste '78 PhD; photos by Gary Quesada; U of Michigan Press, 1997, $29.95 cloth.

An armchair tour of one of the gems of American academic architecture, the Gothic Law Quadrangle completed in 1933. The rooms, tapestries, windows, the amusing sculptured corbels, the doors, the halls, construction process, the tower with its elements of 16th century English civic and church architecture–all are depicted, and discussed in concise and fascinating detail. A biographical sketch of the major donor, William Wilson Cook '82 Law, is included. Horste also reports the roles of Deans Harry B. Hutchins (later U-M's president) and Henry M. Bates and of President Clarence Little. But the emphasis in this 150-page work is on the visual–more than 60 color photographs and much else to look at besides. A coda on the Allan F. and Alene Smith Law Library Addition designed by Gunnar Birkerts attests to the successful marriage of old and new styles in the Quad.–**JW.**

The Diversity Machine: The Drive to Change the "White Male Workplace"

By Frederick R. Lynch '67, the Free Press, $27.50 hardcover.

Lynch, a visiting professor of sociology at Claremont McKenna College, has studied ethnic-gender diversity-management programs in academic, business, governmental and management-consultant institutions. His higher-ed chapter, "Multicultural Vision Meets Multiversity Realities," is about the University of Michigan. On the basis of interviews and a review of documents, Lynch criticizes a range of programs as a "politically correct veneer" underneath which remains an institution where "top-ranked research and deep thinking still goes on." Lynch argues that diversity training should not curb free speech or individualism, or discriminate on the basis of ethnicity, gender or religion.

During a campus visit, Lynch told *Michigan Today* that the U-M has "evolved within a capitalist bureaucracy–it's an upper-middle-class institution formed by Western European traditions. The school attracts people on the make, won't easily alter its dominant characteristics regardless of the ethnic composition of its faculty, student body and administration."–**JW.**

MT

Prof. Carl Cohen is challenging the influence of affirmative action on student enrollment

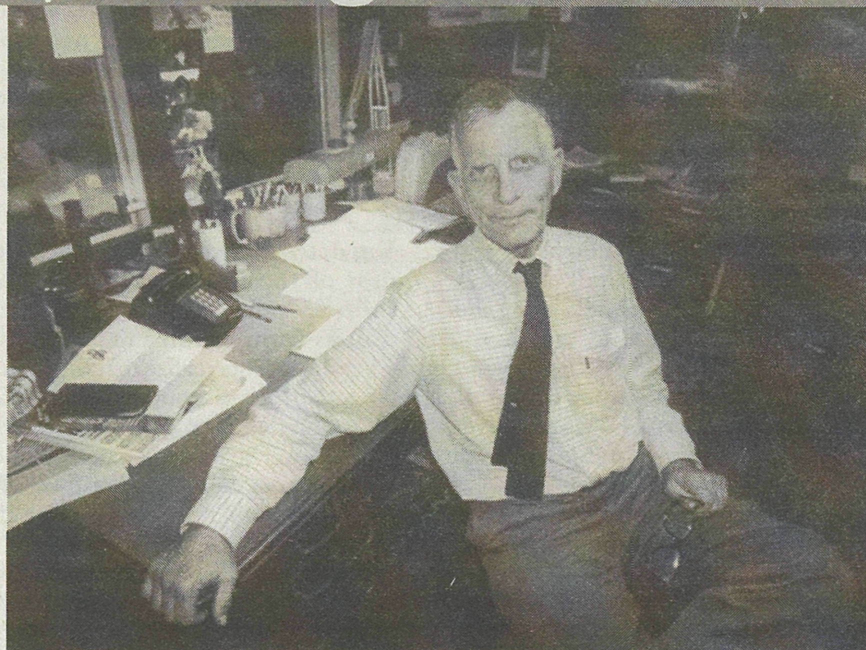
Outspoken, Outraged and Outrageous

By Eve Silberman

Fresh out of graduate school, 24-year-old Carl Cohen started teaching philosophy at U-M in the fall of 1955, a time when the country was timidly edging its way out of the McCarthy era. Before long, the "Red Squad" of the Michigan State Police was keeping a file on the young professor.

"I taught a course in those days on Marxism," Cohen recalls, "and I would talk about Marx in a very enthusiastic way. His critique of capitalism is powerful, and often very wise." No one at U-M ever tried to shut him up, but the Red Squad continued to keep files on suspected "subversives" for many years.

The Squad dissolved itself in the mid 1970s, later making its files public. Cohen "had the satisfaction of picking up this file that had been maintained by the Michigan State Police–this Red Squad! Outrageous thing for them ever to have done! Outrageous!"



Carl Cohen in his study.

Photo by Bob Kalmbach

When Carl Cohen has an attack of moral indignation, his resonant voice booms even more. Possessing keen blue eyes and sharply hewn features, he moves and talks like a much younger man.

Cohen is equal parts philosophy professor (he focuses on political and moral philosophy and logic) and civil libertarian. Throughout his four decades at U-M, he has been an outspoken social commentator. During the Vietnam War, as an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) activist, he often championed individual acts of civil disobedience, such as sit-ins or resisting the draft. In 1971, he published a well-received book titled *Civil Disobedience*.

Several years later, Cohen–with equal vigor–supported the ACLU's position affirming the right of American Nazis to march in the predominantly Jewish suburb of Skokie, Illinois. "I lost some friends," recalls Cohen, who is Jewish, himself, and a past president of his temple. "But you're not defending the Nazi view–you're defending the right of the Nazis to speak."

He's also roused the ire of animal rights activists by speaking out at both local and national forums on medical researchers' rights to experiment with animals.

Currently, he's protesting the influence of affirmative action on U-M admissions policy, which includes race as one of a number of factors considered. And this crusade has been his most controversial yet. In 1996, Cohen obtained internal U-M documentation showing how Undergraduate Admissions and the Law and Medical schools handle admissions of under-represented minority students from federally designated groups. In a number of instances, the grades of minority-group students and/or their test scores were lower than those of white students and students from non-designated, minority groups.

Cohen subsequently assailed the University in U-M publications and in the national conservative magazine *Commentary*. One result is that several Michigan legislators are attacking U-M admissions policies and mounting a lawsuit. The Washington, DC-based Center for Individual Rights, a right-wing think tank, filed a class-action suit against U-M in October (see page 7).

"It's a bit odd," Cohen admits, about his strange political bedfellows. A former Democratic activist and a longtime supporter of the NAACP, Cohen says that in the 1950s "some of the strongest advocates for civil rights were Communists, but that didn't mean that others who shared their view on civil rights were Communists."

Cohen brandishes a copy of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. "You see this?" he demands, and reads, 'No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subject to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance!' Now the University of Michigan is certainly receiving a great deal of federal assistance."

Cohen argues that the original ideal of affirmative action–to end discriminatory policies–has become distorted. "What they [U-M officials and other institutions with similar programs throughout the country] are doing is not simply expanding the pool [of minority applicants]." This is among the arguments he makes in his latest book, *Naked Racial Preference*.

Cohen says that several U-M faculty members agree with him but are afraid to speak up. A few, however, have publicly rebutted his arguments. "The issue Professor Cohen has forgotten is that grade point and test score statistics are seriously flawed measures, useful only as initial guides," wrote Nicholas Steneck, professor of history and of professional ethics, in the *University Record*.

John Griffith, the Andrew Pattullo Professor of Health Management and Policy, disputed Cohen's assertion that support for affirmative action is immoral: "No, professor, I am not immoral, and I do not appreciate your calling me that. I started my adult life at a major East Coast medical center, telling Black patients there was no room for them, when I knew there was, on the white wards. That was immoral, and I'm not going back."

Theodore J. St. Antoine, the Degan Professor at the U-M Law School, rebutted Cohen as his "friendly foe" in a March 1996 debate. St. Antoine said he agreed with Cohen that affirmative action is a "powerful, maybe even dangerous, medicine; that it has some troublesome side effects; that it is divisive; and that it can be demeaning for its intended beneficiaries. In the best of all worlds, we would make all decisions totally on an individual basis; we would not take race or gender into account in admitting people to higher education, either as students or as faculty members."

Citing widespread and long-standing practices of discrimination, St. Antoine argued that "we need race as a criterion. I make no apology for it. And there is no need for any Black person to feel ashamed about the fact. All the white race is doing at this point is struggling over a couple of generations to make up for the two or three hundred years of degradation to which they have subjected Blacks. One cannot expect all those barriers to be surmounted in a single generation."

To critics like Steneck, Griffith and St. Antoine, Cohen retorts that the University, even if it chooses to de-emphasize grades and test scores, still must hold to some sort of across-the-board standards. Further, he maintains that his position "*is* based in ethics and the law."

Cohen says that he avoids pressing his opinions on his students, who, he acknowledges somewhat sheepishly, are shy about arguing with him. He teaches in the Residential College(RC), which he helped found 30 years ago this fall. The only founder still at the RC, Cohen teaches a course Logic and Language that is something of a legend in the RC. "So many alums remember him so fondly," says director Tom Weisskopf, professor of economics.

The son of "Roosevelt Democrats," Cohen spent his early childhood in Brooklyn (which still tinges his accent), then moved to the Miami suburb of Coconut Grove where his parents ran a shoe store. He attended the University of Miami and earned his doctorate at UCLA.

Cohen scoffs when anyone mentions retirement to him. He juggles teaching, activism and writing (he's published six books, including the text *Introduction to Logic*) with late-in-life parenthood. He married Jan Schlain in 1987 after his first wife, Muriel, died. They are the parents of Jaclyn, 7, and Noah, 4.

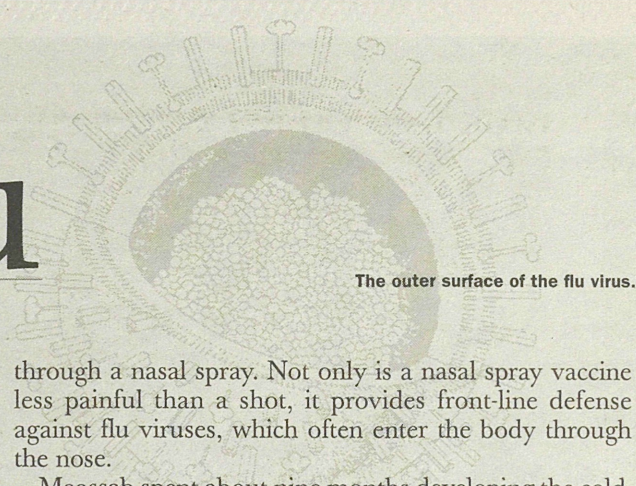
A superb debater, Cohen often sounds like he's preparing for a day in court. Clearly, he intends to continue his campaign against using race as a consideration for admissions to U-M. "My life's commitment has been to equality and fairness," he exclaims. "So I'm going to fight for it as long as there is breath in me." MT

Eve Silberman is a staff writer for the Ann Arbor Observer.

MAASSAB'S VACCINE SPRAYS A DANGEROUS VIRUS

Putting Flu to Flight

By Nancy Ross-Flanigan
(U-M News and Information Services)



The outer surface of the flu virus.

When it comes to research, Hunein Maassab has the bug. The U-M epidemiologist still finds his subject–the influenza virus–as absorbing as when he started studying it some 40 years ago, as a Michigan graduate student.

Maybe it was the allure of being a young scientist in the heady days when vaccine research was really taking off. Maybe it was the challenge of going *mano a mano* with one of public health's most persistent foes. Whatever sparked Maassab's interest years ago has continued to burn inside him.

His single-mindedness paid off recently when clinical trials showed that a vaccine he developed was highly effective in preventing influenza in children. In the trials, only 1 percent of the 1,070 children who received the vaccine developed flu, compared to 18 percent of the children who did not get the vaccine. Best of all–from the kids' point of view, at least–the new vaccine is administered as a nasal spray, not through a needle, and there are few or no side effects.

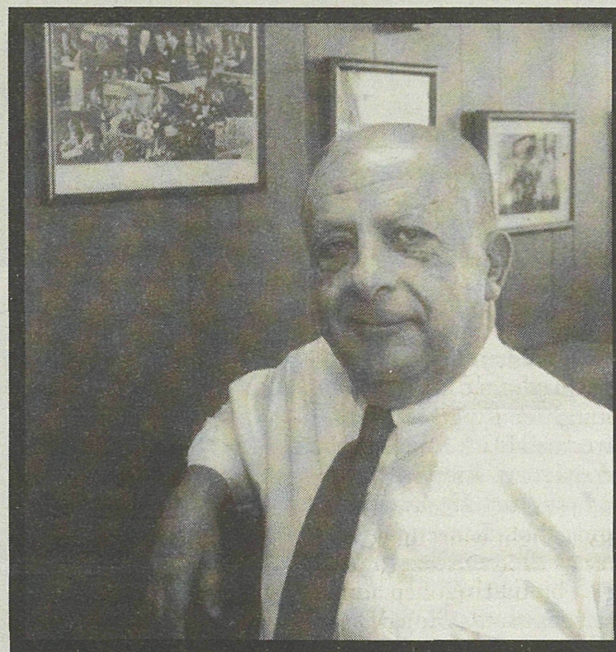
Licensed by the biopharmaceutical company Aviron, the vaccine should be available to the public in about two years. If that seems like a long wait, consider that it's been 30 years since Maassab first tackled the problem. As a student of Thomas Francis Jr., founder of the Department of Epidemiology, Maassab had studied the disease-causing properties of the influenza virus. He was intrigued by the scientific puzzle, but also by the opportunity to help humankind through epidemiology, a specialty that applies lab work to public health concerns. And Michigan was the place for a young epidemiologist to be.

"At Michigan, the Department of Epidemiology was the hub, as it still is, of activity in the areas of infectious and chronic disease," Maassab recalls. He was one of the department's first graduate students, starting his studies just a few years before Jonas Salk announced to the world from the U-M campus that his polio vaccine had been declared safe and effective. Salk and Maassab shared a mentor in Francis.

Vaccines were hot indeed when Maassab was starting his career, and the influenza virus seemed a deserving target. "Influenza has a very strong impact on the population, economically and healthwise," he says. Each winter, some 48 million cases of influenza occur in the United States. Although most of us experience flu as a miserable few days of fever, aches and chills, the illness exacts a larger toll. About 20,000 people die each year from influenza–most of them over age 65. In major epidemics, that number climbs to 40,000 or more.

The worst epidemic in modern times, in 1918, killed 20 million people worldwide, about 500,000 of them in the United States. Even in a more typical year, an estimated $4.6 billion is spent on direct medical costs related to influenza, and the cost of work days lost takes the bill even higher. The National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases estimates that a severe influenza epidemic would cost at least $12 billion in medical costs and lost productivity.

Reason enough for Maassab to want to squash the bug



Epidemiologist Hunein Maassab

Photo by Bob Kalmbach

he'd been studying. By the late 1950s, he had received his doctorate and joined the faculty, and his mentor, Francis, suggested he try to develop a "live" vaccine against influenza.

The approach made sense. It had been shown in 1941 that a vaccine containing the influenza virus could protect people against the disease. But those early attempts used dead viruses, as does the flu vaccine in use today. These "killed" vaccines contain whole viruses that have been inactivated and can no longer infect anyone.

Live vaccines, on the other hand, are made with live viruses that have been weakened, and can elicit an immune response but can't cause disease. Live vaccines, Maassab explains, generate stronger and longer-lasting immunity than their killed counterparts. They also work well in children, requiring fewer doses than a killed vaccine. Although children usually bounce back from the flu, they often pass the bug to parents or grandparents, who may get much sicker.

Maassab's first step was to develop an attenuated strain of the influenza virus. One way of doing that is by breeding generations of virus at lower and lower temperatures. For reasons that aren't completely understood, viruses become less virulent as they adapt to growing at colder temperatures.

Using a cold-adapted virus has an added benefit. The virus can't live in the lower respiratory tract, where temperatures are warmer, but it does just fine in the cool nasal passages. That makes it ideal for a vaccine administered through a nasal spray. Not only is a nasal spray vaccine less painful than a shot, it provides front-line defense against flu viruses, which often enter the body through the nose.

Maassab spent about nine months developing the cold-adapted influenza virus and testing its effects on ferrets, animals that react similarly to humans when infected with the virus. His ferret work showed that the cold adapted virus could serve as the basis for a live vaccine, but that was only the beginning. Creating flu vaccines is tricky, because the influenza virus, like a master criminal, is constantly altering its identity through changes in proteins on its surface. If the virus being passed around this flu season is different enough from the one that made the rounds last year, your immune system will react too slowly to protect you.

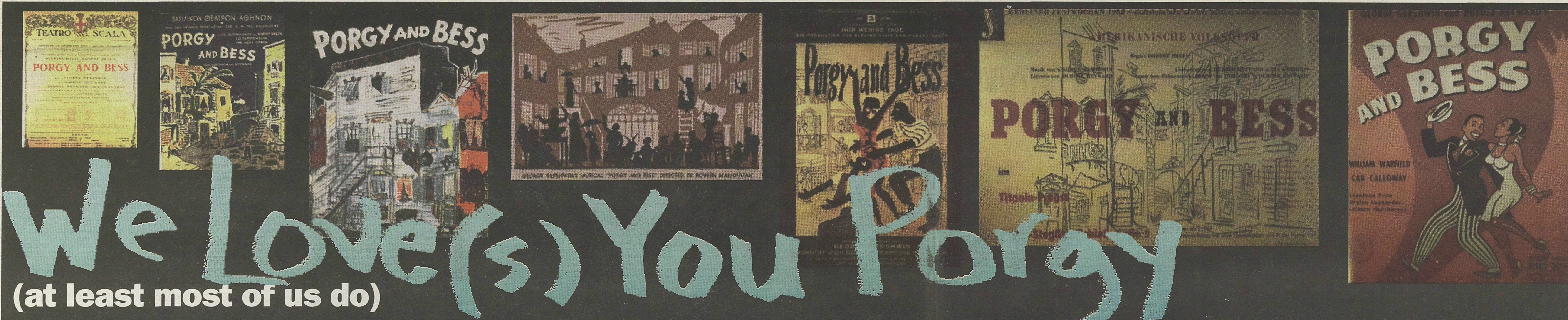
To make matters worse, there are different strains of influenza virus, and being immune to one does not make you immune to the others. Medical experts have ways of predicting which strains will be prevalent in a given year and detecting altered forms of the virus as soon as they arise. Vaccine manufacturers can then tailor each year's vaccine to the appropriate viruses.

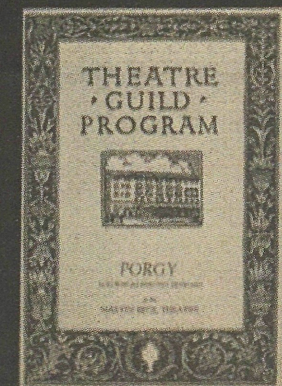
Maassab's challenge was to find a way of tailoring his vaccine to changes in the virus. He used parts of the attenuated virus, called the master strain, as the core. Each year, the core can be outfitted with a coat of proteins from the virus that's making people sick. Maassab estimates it will take three to five weeks to update and test the live influenza vaccine each year, compared with three to four months for the killed version.

By the mid-1960s, Maassab had done all the ground work for the new vaccine–developing the harmless, cold-adapted virus and figuring out how to combine it in a vaccine with surface proteins from virulent viruses. Then came years of testing, first on ferrets, then on various groups of patients, to make sure the vaccine was safe and effective. The tests were done at other centers, with funding first from the Army and more recently from the National Institutes of Health and the Aviron company.

Now, with the influenza vaccine well on its way to being commercially available, Maassab has been bitten by another bug. While continuing to collaborate with Aviron on the flu vaccine, he's also working on a vaccine for respiratory syncytial virus (RSV), which commonly infects infants. RSV usually causes mild, cold-like symptoms, but it can produce severe, even life-threatening illness. Worldwide, it is one of the leading causes of childhood deaths. Maassab hopes the vaccine will be ready for clinical trials within a year.

"Any kind of control or prevention of a disease for humans is a milestone," Maassab says. "When you develop a drug or a vaccine, then you feel like you have conquered the disease, in a sense. Besides the personal gratification, you feel you did something for the betterment of human endeavors." MT





Posters and programs from *Porgy and Bess* productions over the years.

We Love(s) You Porgy

(at least most of us do)

By John Woodford

Despite worldwide consensus that it is the greatest American opera, George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*, set in the African American ghetto of Catfish Row, remains a constantly assailed icon. Most of the sour notes issue from the culture the opera purports to be about.

The story and music render African American culture through the minds of a white Southerner and two Jewish New Yorkers, and that means *Porgy and Bess* "is consistently controversial–some find it to be a glorious love story and others find it construction built of demeaning stereotypes," says James A. Standifer, professor of music education in the schools of Music and Education, whose documentary production *Porgy and Bess: An American Voice* will air on PBS-TV's "Great Performances" series on Feb. 4, 1998, at 10 p.m. (EST).

The $1.4 million, 90-minute documentary, co-produced with Standifer by the U-M School of Music and Vanguard Films, examines the opera from a profoundly diverse African American perspective. The project received an $906,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, second only to the NEH grant for Ken Burns's documentary on the Civil War. The Ford Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts were among other key contributors.

The opera, says Standifer, began life as a novel, *Porgy*, by DuBose Heyward in 1925. Heyward was a Charleston, South Carolinian, of plantation-owning stock. But with the death of his parents, he became destitute at age 4. He quit school to support himself, and one of his jobs was cotton checker on the waterfront. There, he came in daily contact with Black dockworkers and fishermen and their families. "He was fascinated by their folklore, language and mores," Standifer says. "He got the idea for his story from a newspaper account of a legless Black beggar who assaulted a woman and was arrested while attempting to escape in his goat cart. The fact that the beggar had a private life of his own by night, a life full of love and aspirations, seemed to contain the seeds of human struggle that make for drama."

Standifer says Heyward appreciated Black Americans' "persistence, humor, faith and optimism. He heard us singing about heaven, but he also saw the gambling, fighting, lusting and superstitiousness. He saw the sacred and the profane, and tried desperately to honor his respect for the authentic in folklore."

In 1927, Heyward and his wife, Dorothy, based a play called *Porgy* on the novel. They saw the work as homage to the raw and primitive power they presumed to exist in Black folk life, a popular idea that many artists of the day deployed in treatments of a variety of other "folk cultures" worldwide, from Jewish and Eskimo to Gypsy and American Indian.

James Standifer's documentary will air on PBS in February 1998.

In the early 1930s, the composer George Gershwin saw the play. He prized the novel highly and had already corresponded with Heyward over the possibility of basing an opera on it. Gershwin found the Heywards eager to collaborate on an opera with him and his lyricist brother, Ira.

With Heyward as his guide, George Gershwin briefly visited Charleston's African American ethnic communities, especially the "primitive," as Heyward called them, Gullahs of isolated James Island. The Gullahs preserved African traditions, speech patterns, songs, dances, musical styles and incantations, some of which Gershwin incorporated into his composition. The result of his observations and collaboration with the Heywards, the opera with the more suitably romantic title *Porgy and Bess*, premiered in Boston in 1935.

"Gershwin knew," Standifer emphasizes, "that the book and opera were born when Blacks were being stereotyped in a negative way and that the opera could suffer as a result of its use of stereotypical characters." When Jerome Kern approached Heyward with a project that would star Al Jolson playing Porgy in blackface makeup, Gershwin convinced Heyward that the sensitivity and artistry required were far beyond Jolson's talents.

"To prevent degrading caricatures of Blacks," Standifer says, "Gershwin stipulated in his will that *Porgy and Bess* always be performed by African American casts in English-language productions. His family has honored that wish." Gershwin died two years after the opera's premiere.

Gershwin had seen his opera come under fire right from the beginning. "The Black composer and critic Hall Johnson offered a scathing analysis of the opera in the Black journal *Opportunity* in January 1936," Standifer says. "He wrote, 'Will the time ever come when a [Black] performer on a Broadway stage can be subtle, quiet or even silent–just for a moment–and still be interesting? By now we are painfully aware that in all Negro group scenes on Broadway, there must be swaying of bodies and brandishing of arms.'"

Numerous other prominent Blacks, from W.E.B. DuBois to Duke Ellington, have passed even harsher judgments on *Porgy and Bess*. DuBois said that whites' perceptions about Blacks were strongly influenced by the white-controlled mass media. Therefore, he saw works focused solely on uneducated and poor ghetto dwellers as an impediment to Blacks' struggles against segregation and for political and economic rights. Ellington thought the music was a pretentious and cliched exploitation of African American motifs.

Many Black performers have refused to appear in a production, most notably, Harry Belafonte, who turned down the lead role in Samuel Goldwyn and Otto Preminger's 1959 movie version, disdaining a role that would have him "performing on my knees, looking up at white people."

Some stars who have performed in *Porgy*, like Diahann Carroll, Grace Bumbry, Damon Evans and Simon Estes, appear in the documentary to tell of their initial reluctance and continued ambivalence about the work. Sidney Poitier, who reportedly agreed to take the lead in the 1959 movie version only because he was told he'd have no career if he refused, declined to appear in the documentary, saying the whole experience was so painful he didn't want to relive it.

Leontyne Price, however, said that when she sang Bess, she found the character was already "most of me; there was little to prepare for. I don't mean playing the character, I mean being wonderfully Black."

Standifer obviously sides with the more accepting camp. "Heyward had insights into our character," he says, "and there is plenty of sex and violence throughout opera repertoire. But the low-life characters in Catfish Row sing in the style of high vocal culture. Jazz, the blues, classical, gospel–Gershwin mixes in all of these elements. That's the genius of the piece. It does what America is about–the social mix."

Standifer wanted the writers and directors involved in his documentary "to be faithful to the ambiguities inherent in the opera: Is it Black music or Jewish or some sort of American amalgam? Does the story reflect Black culture or outsiders' notions of Black culture?"

The late composer and pianist Eubie Blake recalled how George Gershwin often "came uptown [to Harlem] a lot" to listen to him and his composer friends like James P. Johnson perform. In a 1974 video interview with Standifer, Blake said that "there's little question but what he used a lot of what he heard and learned, [judging] from stuff he finally made big bucks from. *Porgy and Bess* is about the best example of what he did ... cause he let all them folks add and improvise on – which was routine in musicals like [Noble] Sissle's and my *Shuffle Along* – the stuff he wrote, which made him more real and sound more like us folks he was writing about."

The late Eva Jessye (1895-1992), who taught at U-M after retiring from the stage, recalled to Standifer how she went to the first audition for the opera in 1935 and showed Gershwin acting and singing techniques that would authenticate the performance. "That's the thing, that's what I want," she recalled Gershwin as saying. Jessye was hired as choral director and performed and directed the chorus of performances of the opera for the next 35 years.

The composer and pianist Billy Taylor is also among the African Americans who embrace the opera. Taylor sees the Gershwin brothers' desire to explore Black folk and jazz idioms as a natural urge for artists to transform the culture around them.

"Jazz is America's classical music," Taylor says on the documentary. "No one makes that point more graphically than a man who is not African American, who comes from a different culture and who sees enough truth and enough validity in the music . . . [to] make it available to a broader number of people than those of us from the African American community could do at that particular time."

Gershwin was so true to African American musical idioms of the spiritual that many people, Blacks as much as others, think the spirituals are traditional pieces. Heyward and Ira Gershwin showed comparable skills in their composing of the lyrics.

Some strong voices condemn the opera on the documentary. Harold Cruse, professor emeritus of history, author of *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* and *Plural But Equal*, and the founding director of U-M's Center for Afroamerican and African Studies, attacks the notion that Black culture can be adequately conveyed through the voice of third parties.

Cruse says Gershwin's opera "belongs in a museum, and no self-respecting African American should want to see it or be seen in it." Denouncing the opera for portraying "the seamiest side of Negro life–presumably the image of Black people that white audiences want to see," he sees *Porgy* as a symptom of "many whites' ambivalent obsession with the 'primitive' Black" as represented by the more raucous denizens of Catfish Row.

Black performers, Cruse adds, have found "significant economic and artistic advancement" by exploiting "these primitive views of Blacks."

Standifer believes the documentary confirms his thesis that the opera and the debate that runs, and often rages, around it are "a mirror of our culture." As a result, he says, the documentary "holds up the opera as a way to see, think about and discuss the Black American experience."

Even those who condemn the opera must acknowledge its popularity. Standifer believes that it is hard for anyone to argue convincingly that a work that has left audiences weeping, clapping, stomping and cheering in Italy, Russia, England and the United States has achieved this response by appealing to vile stereotypes, consciously or unconsciously held.

Perhaps the poet Maya Angelou, who appeared as Ruby in the 1954 production at Milan's La Scala during her stage career, explains that popularity best when she says: "Facts can obscure the truth, but the human truths that pain is uncomfortable, that love is endearing, that children are amusing and sweet and intriguing, that old people are wise and valuable, are to be cherished. These are truths in Birmingham, Alabama, or Birmingham, England. *Porgy and Bess* is a truth; it's a human truth. Take the beauty that is inherent in it and exalt it and cherish it and be made taller and better and finer by it, with gratitude to it."

A conversation with James Standifer: 'We created ourselves under adverse conditions'

When James A. Standifer began planning the documentary *Porgy and Bess: An American Voice* in 1989, his inspiration was at least as much personal as professional.

His professional career already included compilation of a video archive that included interviews with performers who had appeared in all versions of the opera and the 1959 feature film. These and other resources from the N.C. Standifer Video Archive of Oral History he built and directs at U-M, and the Eva Jessye Afro-American Musical Collection, which Jessye donated to the Black Music Students Association in 1974, were invaluable.

As for the personal motivation, "I'm a graduate of Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee and a former Fisk Jubilee Singer," the lean and intense 61-year-old Texan explains. "It's a school whose origin can be traced to singing since the world-renowned Fisk Jubilee Singers provided the school with critical funds for many years.

"Music has played an important role in the Black American community and in the American community at large. We created ourselves, our behavior, our culture under

Porgy continued

adverse conditions in America, and continually re-created ourselves as these conditions changed. That is a reality underlying all of our culture, including our music.

"For hundreds of years, we had no venues for performance other than the church. Blacks had no place to practice culture against the grain other than in rural backwoods and honky tonks or, since the urban migrations of the early 20th century, on street corners. We've developed our culture right where we are. As a result, our music is always current, even forward-looking, and at the same time it always looks back to the very beginnings of our music.

"The people who made *Porgy and Bess* the controversial aesthetic issue that it has been and is, were my teachers. Especially Charles Samuel Johnson, Arna Bontemps, Langston Hughes, W.E.B. DuBois and Aaron Douglas, all of whom were members of the Harlem Renaissance and taught at Fisk when I was there in 1950s. We were taught to analyze the many positives and negatives of *Porgy and Bess*, to recognize how controversial the question is of whose culture does it reflect, and to why it is that our Black American culture is taken to the public by whites who presume to know how we think and even feel.

"Right from the dawn of the stage musical, Blacks played pioneering roles. My mentor Eubie Blake and his musical partner Noble Sissle had huge successes in the early quarter of this century, but when big money was to be made, Blacks did not reap great rewards.

"What if James P. Johnson had not been Black? He would have competed with the Gershwins and Hammerstein. We were blocked from the mainstream even though we had mainstream skills. Yet, we had something truly, authentically American. People heard and were irresistibly attracted to these 'strange' sounds and beats in our music. They saw that we had mixed the European and the Black American folk traditions and made something quintessentially American.

"Important economic and social questions accompany the mainstreaming of our music and our image. Who has devised the image? Who has got credit for the creativity? Who interprets our culture? Who has made the money from it? All of these questions come to play as we follow the various productions of Porgy and Bess in the documentary and listen to the people who have been involved in taking the drama and music to the world public."—**JW.** MT

LETTERS

Dear Readers:

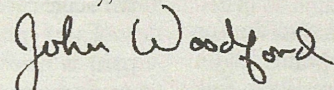
In our last issue, *Michigan Today* appealed for funds to assist in keeping University of Michigan graduates and non-alumni friends of the University in touch with U-M through this publication. Many readers responded generously, becoming Charter Members of our Friends group. We thank them all, cherish their opinion and will recognize them in a future issue.

Unfortunately, we must, we hope only temporarily, cut back to three issues a year to reduce postage and paper costs. We will add four pages to each issue, however. In addition, we will seek to find affordable paper of slightly better quality.

We still need help from our readers. We are asking others of you to contribute $50, $25, $10 or whatever you feel you can give. We will keep the Charter Friends list open for this issue, because we have now added a Credit Card Option. Your voluntary subscription will help ensure that *Michigan Today* can continue to reach a wide University audience in the most appealing manner possible.

Please fill out the form below and send your tax-deductible donation to *Michigan Today*. We thank you for your assistance and, as always, welcome your views about *Michigan Today* via mail at the address below, phone at (313) 647-1838, fax at (313) 764-7084 or e-mail at johnwood@umich.edu.

Sincerely,



John Woodford
Executive Editor

. . . .

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An Expression of Outrage

SAYING THAT I am "saddened" by the recent developments in the Steve Fisher investigation is consistent with the University's weak "disappointment" in it. I am outraged! Over the course of the past seven years, we have seen not only a decline in athletics in general but, more importantly, in the academics and reputation of this institution we all held so dear for so long. This decline must stop immediately.

While it may be easy to fluff these embarrassments off as "increased competition," "new realities" or "looser entrance standards," any grad knows it's just one thing: lack of effective and responsible leadership.

And where are the alumni? How many of us are now embarrassed to admit that we won't send our kids to Michigan unless drastic changes are made? How many now shrug their shoulders when co-workers confront them about the latest athletic scandal?

I was fortunate to grow up with strong and compassionate leadership: my parents. They sent all five of us to Michigan because it stood for everything they believed in for themselves and their family. Not so long ago, anyone could look toward Ann Arbor and undeniably agree that this was a World-Class institution–but no more. Just another university. Just another school with faceless leadership. Just another school with its share of problems.

Michael A. Pekala '79 BBA, '83 MBA
E-mail - mpekala@dow.com

Dewey at Michigan

I VERY much enjoyed your article on John Dewey at Michigan in the summer issue. One small mistake: on page 3, the caption under the photo states that Prof. George Morris's home stood where Ashley's restaurant now stands on State St. The Morris home was located at 504 S. State, now the site of the LS&A Building.

Susan Wineberg
Ann Arbor

Linda Walker adds these other corrections to Part One: Alice Chipman's sister's name was Esther, not Augusta; Dewey was member #970, not #959 at the First Congregational Church. Although Roberta Grant Dewey had been married before, she had had no children. According to Larry Hickman, when she and Dewey were on vacation in Nova Scotia, they became concerned about the welfare of two children who had been sent to live with relatives after their mother died. The couple got married in order to adopt them.–Ed.

AM READING about Dewey's Michigan years with great interest. I thought it was a long reach in time for President John Tyler's children, since his first child was born in 1815 and his 14th child died in 1947. That's 131 years. But Dewey and I top that. He was born in 1859, and I met him in 1951 in Honolulu when I was a rookie reporter for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. Now I'm retired and 79, and thus our combined reach is an incredible 137 years.

I just looked up my story on microfilm, front page, Jan. 18, 1951. Dewey, wife and adopted children Adrienne and John Jr. arrived on the liner President Wilson. In those days report-

ers took a tug from Honolulu Harbor to a spot off Diamond Head and boarded the liners from the bobbing tug. Scary stuff. Then we pursued our prey by running around decks trying to find the VIPs before the ship docked downtown and they disappeared in a taxi.

Found Dewey stretched out in a deck chair, very frail. He was 91 and obviously not in great shape. I tried to make conversation but failed. He looked at the mountains, smiled, but did not seem to react to the many people buzzing around him, many asking questions.

My story said he first visited Hawaii in 1900, returned in 1921. The story reflected my need to fill space, to pad with facts about the great philosopher since he literally had nothing to say. My story said he was rewriting his *An Introduction to Reconstruction in Philosophy*. I mentioned progressive education and his research at the University of Chicago Lab School, listed his many books and his years at Michigan, Minnesota and Columbia. Just facts, no quotes.

My father had been involved a bit in PTA in Ann Arbor so that, as a kid, and long before that day in Honolulu Harbor, I knew something of Dewey's pragmatism, reputation and influence in the education we all received in the first half of this century.

It was an honor to attempt an interview, but I uncovered no profound thoughts that day, not with boys diving for coins, the Royal Hawaiian Band playing, hula girls, hotel touts yelling, lei sellers running around, confusion everywhere on that sunny morning.

Lyle Nelson '50
Honolulu

We regret to report that Lyle Nelson, former U-M vice president for university relations and professor emeritus of journalism at Stanford University, where he established the John S. Knight Journalism Fellowship Program, died at age 79 a week after sending us this reminiscence.–Ed.

HAVING GROWN up in Fenton, Michigan, once known as the whipsocket capital of the world, I read with interest the article on John Dewey, whose wife Alice's Fenton roots are mentioned. Indeed, the early years of Fenton were filled with interesting people, as can be seen in the book *Born Strangers* (written by Alice's niece, Helen Topping Miller), which chronicles in fictional form some of Alice Chipman Dewey's ancestors, and in Ruth Ann Silbar's book *A Time to Remember*. It would appear that the Dewey children were named after Alice's forbears: Frederick and Evelina for her grandparents and Gordon and Lucy for her parents. I must say, however, that I have found no evidence that Gordon Chipman was appointed postmaster at Fenton. Franklin Ellis, in his history of Genesee County, writes that Charles Turner was postmaster from 1853 to 1861, and Ruth Ann Silbar gives the same dates. The 1900 census lists Alice Dewey's birth as Sept. 1858, and John Dewey's as October 1859.

Eugene F. Gray '60, '68 PhD
East Lansing, Michigan

THIS IS really a good read. I particularly liked the pieces on John Dewey and on the Lightweights (I was there then and I remember). *Michigan Today* and the *Michigan Alumnus* are the best of everything I receive from the University. Keep up the good work.

Bob Holland '49 BBA
Tonawanda, New York

I HAVE always enjoyed *Michigan Today* and found this issue particularly exciting because the article on John Dewey told where he went in Ann Arbor in terms of today's buildings. Anyone then may walk around A2 in the footsteps of the famous philosopher. There are lots of other fun items, but these locations in the Dewey article impressed me a great deal because they are so rarely found.

Margaret E. Day
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Homage to Cliff Keen

THANK YOU for your article on the Michigan lightweight teams of 1947 and 1948 and, most important, for writing about Cliff Keen. I knew Cliff primarily by being a member of his wrestling squad for three years but also through football. In 1929 and 1930 I was part of a program that might have been a precursor of the Lightweight program you write about. Most of the Big Ten schools got into the B-team program. We were for the most part football players basically not quite good enough to be regular members of the varsity but occasionally good enough to move up a notch and maybe join those exalted ranks.

Cliff came over at least one afternoon a week and coached the line. He was a great line coach. Bennie Oosterbaan's asking him to coach line for him with the varsity line is a case in point. He exhibited the same rare ability with his championship wrestling teams. Everybody believed in him and knew that what he told you to do was the right thing. Further, no matter how abrasive he might be on occasion or how hard you had to work for him, you knew that the sun rose and set on Cliff Keen and went along on that basis.

I remember two of Cliff's Oklahoma-type comments he often used: He'd go to demonstrate some complicated wrestling hold on some luckless volunteer, get him all tied up in a knot, then say, "See–he can't pee a drop." And if anyone looked down or worried he'd say, "What's the matter? You look about as happy as a dog crapping a peach seed!"

A wonderful guy. Over 67 years I have never forgotten Cliff Keen. Never will.

Karl S. Richardson '31
Inverness, Illinois

Addressing a Problem

I HAVE wanted to calm myself, so that is why I am late in sending my complaint. This name business is no joking matter. This article ("A Rose by Man Other Names," Spring 1997) adds insult to injury. Not only do you change a person's name, you treat it as a joke. Please remove my name from any further mailing rather than change it. The 32-cent stamp is all your institution will receive from my estate. My correct name, as it states on two degrees, is:

Janet R. Price
Glenmoore, Pennsylvania

I HAVE been amused and intrigued by recent letters regarding *MT* address labels. Throughout the nearly 30 years of our marriage my husband has received Michigan Today exclusively addressed to him. As a fellow alumni, and only semi-liberated woman, I always believed I somehow fell under his umbrella, even without the "and Mrs." on the label. And, as I was the one who eagerly awaited news from good old Ann Arbor, I was the one who faithfully read each and every issue. I doubt my husband ever read a word except when I recommended a particular article to him. Now I discover other women (not even Michiganders) are being included on the address labels. What do I need to do to get my name added? I hope it's only as easy as giving it to you. For your convenience I've enclosed "our" label. Please add "and Mrs." -or even better, my actual name.

Nan Glass Morrow
Santa Barbara, California

READING the letters column I discovered that I had missed the article regarding your address labels problems. It rather amused me that you had decided to include my wife's name on the label. It really surprised me that you decided to use her name as the primary addressee. All of this because she never attended U of M at all. In fact, she attended and graduated from MSU! A letter in the reference issue implied that you did not explain how a wife's name was included in the address so I guess I did not miss much.

While I may very well have supplied you with my wife's name, I am certain that I never used the combination of names you have chosen to use on the label. Please do not blame this on the computer or a clerk. They only do what they are told to do. The fact that they may surprise you once in a while only means that the supervisors, with more experience and bigger pay checks, have not thought out the problem as well as they should have.

Justin Smalley
Boulder, Colorado

ONE MORE small but unhappy voice concerning the mailing labels for *Michigan Today*. The mailing label from our last copy of *Michigan Today* is attached. As you can see, it is addressed to "Dr. and Mrs." However, both my husband and I graduated from the University, both with PhD degrees. If you are going to address my husband with the title of "Dr.," then you should grant me the same courtesy. I would be surprised if other couples on the mailing list didn't have the same "problem." You could probably win quite a few points if you addressed (no pun intended) this issue.

Cassandra G. Fesen
Hanover, New Hampshire

Some Favorite Things

I ALWAYS learn something from your informative *Michigan Today*, and in the current issue it was that Raoul Wallenberg attended U-M when I did.

Janet N. Spiegelman '36
St. Petersburg, Florida

I RECENTLY read the article on the graduation exercise as presented by our new president–outstanding. I had not been on the mail list for your paper. It was passed to me by a co-worker. Can you add me to your mail list?

Thomas E. Olson
Ann Arbor

Editor's reply: We're pleased to put you and anyone interested in the University of Michigan on our complimentary list.

I LOVE *MICH. Today* just the way it is and read every word of it. The publication intervals are right. Please do not change the paper quality because it is so comfortable to have paper that does not reflect light and I find it very readable.

Helen Heyn
Newton Highlands, Massachusetts

THAT LETTER from Robert Hess (since I live in THE Ohio State country) was a great selling theme for raising a few $'s! Yes, I want to help keep you alive, even though I no longer am gainfully employed. But don't improve yourself out of business through paper and "readability" (whatever that is). My time now goes to such volunteering as Docent at our Natural History Museum!

Arthur F. Kohn
Cleveland

PS: It's nice to read the words of a U-M President with a sense of humor.

THANK SO much for the fine magazine. While at Michigan I enjoyed directing several of the Gilbert and Sullivan productions, and one of the "famous" male cast union operas"! My wife and I are enjoying S. California Laguna Hills. Our son James is a classical guitarist in Paris, and daughter Martha is a folk singer and fashion designer in Auckland, New Zealand. Cheers for U of M.

Thomas Wilson
Laguna Hills, California

AN ARTICLE by Deborah Gilbert in your Summer 1997 issue refers to "a politically quiet U-M ... at the end of World War II." Nothing could be further from the truth. Veterans were a major force in the transformation of the University during those years, and of the surrounding society. My friends went regularly to Detroit (where CORE was founded in 1948) to desegregate restaurants through mixed race sit-ins. (they often invited me, but I was, alas, too obsessed with grades to join them.) They were active in the Henry Wallace campaign. On campus, students uncovered, and forced the abandonment of, quotas against Jews in Law and Medicine. They demanded and obtained the first married student housing in U.S. higher education. And they brought about a great ferment on campus in the arts: poetry, music and film.

Returning vererans were not the usual college kids. They had experienced life; education was important to many of them, not taken for granted. They did not tolerate sloppy teaching, lazy preparations, superficial answers. Their presence on the Ann Arbor campus, and

no doubt on many others, was transformative. The postwar years were Michigan's finest hour: nothing before nor since has equaled it. (And that's one more argument for a permanent GI bill.)

Mildred Dickemann
Richmond, California

MY WIFE and I both are alumni of the University. We were particularly intrigued in the spring 1997 issue by the article relating to the works of George Mendenhall on the language of the desert. We were wondering if he has written any books in this area or whether they are available.

Emmett Altman
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Professor Mendenhall recommends two of his books for general readers: Law and Covenant, *which is probably out of print but obtainable through library loans, and* The Tenth Generation, *which is still in print and in paperback.–Ed.*

AS A very active alumnus, I read a number of Michigan publications. I wanted to tell you your summer edition is superb (the article on Dewey, the Bollinger speech, etc.). Keep up the good work.

Marshall Weinberg
New York

I LOVE getting *Michigan Today*, but vote heavily in favor of keeping the magazine just the way it is and use the money to increase the number of issues per year. I really don't need one more slick U of M publication.

W. Levinson
Larkspur, California

WE'RE HAPPY TO continue receiving *Michigan Today*. It's nicely done, the articles are interesting and keeping up with research/projects at U of M is a true reminder of how far the arms of the University reach. It's just a shame the lives of our two sons, our daughter-in-law, other family members and ourselves–all U of M graduates–are so busy with our own affairs we can't always read everything (and at our age, remember) and stay on top of things.

My voice is for you to continue the good work and stay as close to your present format and goals as you can. Good Luck,

Phyllis Heilbronner
Durham, New Hampshire

Project 2000 Role Protested

WE WRITE to protest the U-M/Partnership 2000 program ("Nazarene Connections," by John Woodford, Winter 1996), in which University students, faculty and officers travel to Israel and work with Israeli institutions under financial and organizational sponsorship from the United Jewish Appeal and the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit. By this partnership, the University becomes complicit in official Israeli policies of discrimination against and repression of its citizens of Palestinian Arab descent.

The Galilee, where the students worked and which faculty and officers visited under Partnership 2000 auspices, contains large numbers of Palestinians. Ever since the establishment of the state of Israel the Galilee has been the focus of official "Judaization" efforts to increase the Jewish population and its services and infrastructure at the expense of the Palestinians. "Judaization"–in Hebrew *hityahadut*, the Israeli government's own term–is based upon the antidemocratic notion that the indigenous Palestinian Arabs have limited rights even though they are nominally equal citizens. They are denied basic social services and funds to develop their regional infrastructure and improve their land or businesses; their municipalities are reclassified (or not recognized at all) to deny them tax revenues and legal status, and their land is seized for use by Jews only.

Partnership with the UJA is key to such Israeli policies because the UJA (contributions to which are tax-deductible) is the American arm of the World Zionist Organization/Jewish Agency, quasi-governmental institutions whose services and programs are available exclusively to Jews. Services provided by the UJA and programs funded by the UJA are by custom and law denied to non-Jews regardless of citizenship status (with very minor exceptions).

Two recent books discuss the history and practice of "Judaization" in the Galilee. One, *Misgav and Carmiel: Judaization in the Guise of Coexistence*, by Asaf Adiv and Abed al-Majid Hussein, describes the systematic, comprehensive Israeli policies of land confiscation and throttled development that afflict the region's Palestinians. The Jewish town of Misgav, for instance, was built in 1982 on land seized in successive waves in the three preceding decades. Its 7,000 Jewish residents have jurisdiction over 183,000 dunams (a dunam is a quarter-acre) which include all the unused farmland and reserves for tourism and industrial development. The area's 200,000 Arabs have no land reserves, only 200,000 dunams, already populated and farmed. "As a result of these policies, Arab towns suffer from a severe housing shortage. Land costs have skyrocketed, despite the lack of infrastructure such as roads and sewers, the dearth of employment opportunities, and the poor state of educational, health, and community services. All of these are far inferior to those of the super-modern Jewish towns nearby," according to the Israeli magazine *Challenge*. Meanwhile the leadership of those Jewish towns promote a facade of Arab-Jewish cooperation and picturesque Palestinian traditions to attract Jews.

Another work, *Overlooking Nazareth: The Ethnography of Exclusion in Jalilee* by Dan Rabinowitz, describes relations between Jews and Arabs in Upper Nazareth, a Jewish town built in 1957 on confiscated Palestinian land for the express purpose of the domination of Palestinian Nazareth. Overall, Zionist ideology and the collective outlook of Israeli Jewish society mean, according to Rabinowitz, "There is no place in Nazaret Illit for a Palestinian collective, neither is there likely to be such a space elsewhere in Israel as long as Israelis experience themselves as citizens and agents of a Jewish state."

Two of the students profiled in *Michigan Today's* article worked in the Galilee, one on a project involving the irrigation of farmland (apparently belonging to a kibbutz, an institution at the forefront of the practices discussed here), the other in Jewish social services, though as Rabinowitz notes, the Galilee is entirely representative of Palestinian status in Israel. The official involvement of the University even extends to deans and faculty being photographed in their "Michigan in Hebrew" paraphernalia while on their expenses-paid tour.

One University unit that we know of, the International Institute, declined to participate in the Partnership 200 program. We call upon the rest of the University to follow that example. Enhancement of Israel's systematic discrimination against and oppression of its Palestinian citizens is contrary to all the University should stand for, prejudices the prospects of peace and justice in the Middle East, and should cease at once.

Harry F. Clark '82
Ann Arbor

Co-signers: Michael Appel '86 MSW; Elizabeth D. Barlow '61 MA; Benjamin Mordechai Ben-Baruch '83 MA; Rev. Barbara S. Fuller '47; Alan Haber '65; Odile Hugunot-Haber; Kenneth E. Seigneurie '95 PhD; Farouq R. Shafie '70 PhD; Asad Abu Shark, Visiting Professor, Department of Linguistics; Stephen P. Sheehi, PhD Candidate; James C. Sweeton '73; William J. Thomas, Professor of Psychology, U-M Dearborn.

Northern Neighbors

Michigan Today not only keeps us abreast of today, but does a good job of giving a sense of the heritage of the past. When I attended, I discovered my own personal sense of heritage at Ann Arbor. One day while waiting for a conference with a professor whose office was down by the Marine testing tank, I browsed the old graduate pictures and found a picture of Peter Silas Gibson, a great uncle of mine who had graduated in 1861 with a degree in Civil Engineering and Land Surveying. He went back to our home, Toronto, to become, I believe, that city's first graduate engineer and planner. His home in North York is today a Provincial Historical site. We were 100 years apart.

A lot of Canadians have graduated from Ann Arbor. Your "Spring Sports Roundup" cited two as contributors of note to the sports accomplishments of this past year. We all remember the many Canadians on the hockey teams, but has there ever been an article reporting the numbers, the diversity of interest and accomplishments of Canadian alumni/ae?

Myself, I switched from Mechanical Engineering to Industrial, and also my focus on applying myself to engineering and applied technology in business. I also took graduate school business courses from Dr. Clare Griffin in the Business School. From him I really learned the excitement of free enterprise and building your own business. I wound up in the environmental business in 1961 before it was called that.

Although I became 65 in August, I have just started another new business, in the field of indoor air pollution remediation, and am having a ball. In fact I'm looking for good motivated people to help me build my business. (Michigan alumni/ae desirable, but not required, Canadians and Americans both are welcome.)

Allan S. Tweddle '61 BS
Santa Monica, California
tweddlebraun@juno.com.

What About Gymnastics?

IS THERE a reason why the Spring Sports Roundup made no reference to Women's Gymnastics? I believe I recall recently receiving a circular from the Alumni office that offered a similar summary with the same omission. Last I heard, the girls were in the NCAA tournament. Did they do so poorly as to be drummed out of the Athletics program?

James M. Bourg
Mission, Texas

PS: Great article on the 150-lb. football program!! It was terminated the year I had hoped to try out.

We apologize for omitting a report on a squad that won more All-American recognition than any other at U-M. Coach Beverly Plocki reports: "We finished fourth at the nationals in Florida last April. We were winning the meet after the first round in the finals, but then had some slight slips. The top four teams finished with less than five-tenths of a point separating them. UCLA and Arizona State finished one-two, and Georgia beat us by one-tenth of a point. Our All Americans included Sarah Cain '00, first team, uneven bars, second team all-around; Heather Kabnick '98, first team, floor exercise; Nikki Peters '99, first team, vaulting and on uneven bars; and Beth Amelkovich '99, Kathy Burke '99 and Andrea McDonald '97 were first team on balance beam. Amelkovich was second team on both vaulting and all-around." —Ed.

The "Eureka!" Moment

NANCY Ross-Flanigan describes the "Eureka" moment as a myth, but I wonder. Archimedes didn't get scientific ideas completely out of the blue. When he discovered the law of hydrostatics, he'd been working on the problem for some time. It was his previous thoughts, coming together with the observation of the overflowing bath water, that crystallized the answer in his mind–and *that* was the "Eureka" moment.

Ms. Ross-Flanigan describes the experience of a modern scientist after long research: "During a layover at [Denver] airport, Marletta read Morcada's paper. ...Suddenly, it was obvious that nitric oxide was the missing piece in the macrophage pathway. Rushing to an airport pay phone, Marletta called his old science buddy Tannenbaum. 'Steve, I figured it out!'" Sounds like a "Eureka" moment to me.

Catherine Stripe Lester '72 MA
Cornwall, England

I ESPECIALLY enjoy the articles on the research that has and is being done on health issues, such as the recent "Eureka" article in the last issue. You have presented some information that I had not seen before.

Jane Rogers
Drayton Plains, Michigan

PART 2

JOHN DEWEY AT MICHIGAN

The Birth of Pragmatism: The Philosopher's Second Ann Arbor Period, 1889-1884

By Linda Robinson Walker

John and Alice Dewey moved into the only house they ever owned in the summer of 1889. It was a brick Italianate house with a cupola at 15 Forest Ave., on the corner of South University, about where the Village Corner grocery stands. Both 30, they now had two children, Frederick, born in 1887, and Evelyn, born during their year in Minnesota.

The Deweys had gone to the University of Minnesota in 1888, lured there by a higher salary. But after only five months, they heard the shocking news that George Sylvester Morris, Dewey's mentor and friend and the head of U-M's philosophy department, had died. Morris had suffered from overexposure on a late February fishing trip with his son, and died on March 23 at the age of 48. President James B. Angell asked Dewey, who had taught at U-M from 1884-1888, to take Morris's place. Despite a pay cut of $200–the U-M had a $2,200 salary cap–Dewey accepted.

'His Father Is Studying Him'

Both Deweys were interested in human development and looked to their children to teach them about it. The long-lived Prof. Thomas Trueblood, who had been a fellow boarder with Alice and John in 1884, two years before their marriage, described the Dewey parental style to Willinda Savage for her 1950 U-M dissertation on Dewey. Savage wrote:

George S. Morris taught at U-M 1870-89.

Professor and Mrs. Trueblood were dinner guests in the Dewey home on one occasion. They were not aware of the fact that John and Alice Dewey were developing some interesting theories and practices on the education of children. When, from self-protection, Mrs. Trueblood attempted to restrain one of the children from using her as a target, Mrs. Dewey shook her head and whispered, "Leave him alone. His father is studying him."

John Dewey published "The Psychology of Infant Language" in 1894. In his discussion of children's speech, he listed son Frederick's early vocabulary: "See there, bye-bye, bottle, papa, mamma, grandma, Freddy, burn, fall, water, down, door, no-no, stop, thank you, boo (peek-a-boo)" and an all-purpose word, "daw."

Some of their Ann Arbor neighbors censured the Deweys' unorthodox methods. Mrs. Alfred Lloyd, the wife of a philosophy professor, told Savage of other parents

Photo courtesy of Bentley Historical Library

Students raised funds for this portrait of Dewey when he left for the University of Chicago in 1894. It hung in Newberry Hall, now the Kelsey Museum. Photo: Morris Library, Southern Illinois University.

"who had to convince their own children that they couldn't ignore shoes and stockings as the Dewey children did. Once a local policeman was prodded by some well-meaning neighbors into advising Mrs. Dewey about the severe climate. Mrs. Dewey promptly told the policeman that it was none of his business as she was quite capable of bringing up her own children."

The daughters of Burke A. Hinsdale, an historian who lived next door to the Deweys, told Savage that the Dewey children's doctor "gave up doctoring the Deweys because she would not sanction their ways of caring for their children. They always had colds and sniffles."

It was the Hinsdales who reported the shock John and Alice caused when it was known that in 1893 the two older children were "given an opportunity to stand by during the birth [of brother Morris] while Mrs. Dewey explained the process."

A Philosophy of Growth

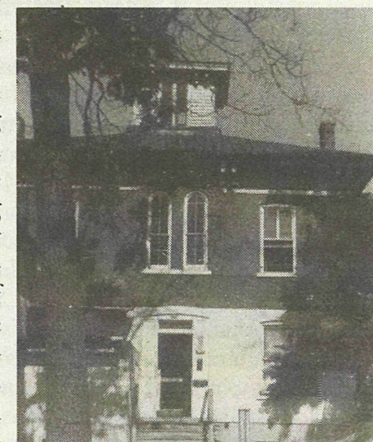
The Deweys' belief in the innate goodness of children, their encouragement of their children's experimental forays into the world, and their determination to provide as much freedom as they could for those forays, shaped John Dewey's philosophical speculations. He found parallels between a philosopher's search for truth and a child's curiosity.

By 1938, the Dewey residence at 15 (later 605) Forest Ave. had been enveloped by Witham Drugs (now Villager Corner).

The key word in Dewey's philosophical system was "growth–how people become themselves," notes Larry Hickman, director of the Center for Dewey Studies at Southern Illinois University. The germ of Dewey's brand of pragmatism, which he initially called "instrumentalism," was found in his emphasis on ideas, says U-M professor emeritus Arthur W. Burks, "ideas that were instruments for adapting to the environment and improving your life."

As Dewey explained in an 1892 article for *The Inlander*, a U-M journal he co-founded in 1891, the meeting of mind and reality is thought; in their reciprocal contact, the mind gives ideas to the world, and the world gives back truth.

Drawing upon his ideas about how people learn, Dewey experimented with the department's teaching methods. In her biography of her father, Jane Dewey, the Deweys' sixth child, revealed that his own schooling had bored John; he'd disliked the rigid, passive way of learning forced on children by the pervasive lecture-recitation method of that time. In 1891, he tried something revolutionary in one of his courses: he allowed free discussion. So bemused was the University community that the *Michigan Daily*,



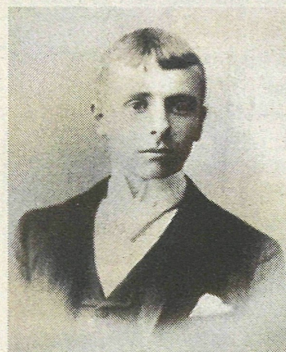
The house on Forest burned down in 1973. (The boardinghouse at 815 Packard is the only Dewey residence still standing in Ann Arbor.)

which began publishing in 1890, reported on the "new plan" for the course Introduction to Philosophy: "No lectures are given, the subject being developed entirely by discussion among members of the class, stimulated occasionally by questions from the Professor."

Midwestern Egalitarianism

Dewey posited two requirements for human growth and the discovery of truth: One was democracy; the other was the uncensored dissemination of facts. In an 1892 address to the Students' Christian Association on "Christianity and Democracy," Dewey argued that democracy freed truth by breaking down class interests and encouraging both the science and technology needed for distributing facts. He called Christianity the "continuously unfolding, never-ceasing discovery of the meaning of life," and democracy the "means by which the revelation of truth is carried on." His talk affirmed that "man is so one with the truth thus revealed, that it is not so much revealed *to* him as *in* him; he is its incarnation."

Dewey associated democracy with the more socially inclusive educational opportunities afforded by Midwestern institutions, and with Michigan, under James Burrill Angell, in particular. "To all who taught under him," Jane Dewey wrote, speaking for her father, "Angell remains the ideal college president, one who increased the stature of his institution by fostering a truly democratic atmosphere for students and faculty and encouraging the freedom and individual responsibility that are necessary for creative education. ... The fact that the institution was the natural culmination of the coeducational state education system made a deep impression on Dewey."


James R. Angell, the president's son, was taught by Alice in high school and John in college.

In his unsigned column, "Angle of Reflection" for *The Inlander*, Dewey tried on the role of social critic that he would be known for in later years. He lauded Midwestern universities for being "of and for the people, and not for some cultivated classes." In another article he defended immigrant political operatives in big city machines like Tammany Hall, saying that they do the "necessary work to which we refuse to put our hands."

A 'Wacky' Enterprise Fails

After democracy, the second requirement for what Dewey called "self-realization" was facts. In this he was at one with a fact-mad world. U-M was building laboratories as fast as it could; it fitted out the psychology lab in 1892 with $500 worth of equipment, reported the *University Record*, which was founded in 1891 as a "record of the educational and scientific work" at the University.

Before leaving for Minnesota, Dewey had made the acquaintance of a newspaper man, Franklin Ford, an editor of *Bradstreet's* newspaper in New York. The two became friends, Ford sitting in on Dewey's courses, Dewey learning about the newspaper trade from Ford. Their discussions led to plans for a newspaper, *Thought News*, scheduled for an 1892 debut. Bruce Kuklick, professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania and author of *Chuchmen and Philosophers: From Jonathan Edwards to John Dewey*, reports that the "wacky" enterprise ended as an embarrassment for Dewey.

The statements announcing the paper were written in a jargony gobbledegook that sank the project before a single issue appeared. The journal "shall set forth the facts themselves," ran one of the promotional articles, "[and] report new investigations and discoveries in their net outcome, instead of in their overloaded gross bulk." Another read that the *Thought News* would report not "the charters and the laws, but the boodle."

The traditional press recognized an easy mark when it saw one. Noting that *Thought News* did not plan a regular publishing schedule, the *Detroit Tribune* concluded that "Mr. Dewey proposes to get out an 'extra' every time he has a new thought."

Dewey scrapped the plan. Years later, he wrote to biographer Savage that the project had been "over-enthusiastic" and that "the *idea* was advanced for those days, but it was too advanced for the maturity of those who had the idea in mind." Alice Dewey responded to the brouhaha by taking herself off to Hawaii.

Conversations with Alice

Alice was enthralled by ideas, and John had the same admiration for her mind that he'd acknowledged in a letter before their marriage, noting how she'd jogged him out of "my old doing and my old thinking." Jane wrote of her mother, "She had a brilliant mind which cut through sham and pretense to the essence of a situation; a sensitive nature combined with indomitable courage and energy, and a loyalty to the intellectual integrity of the individual which made her spend herself with unusual generosity for all those with whom she came in contact." She added, "She was undoubtedly largely responsible for the early widening of Dewey's philosophic interests from the commentative and classical to the field of contemporary life."

Mildred Hinsdale, who lived next door to the Deweys, remembered when John and Alice once visited, "Dewey gave his wife an opportunity to conduct the entire conversation, and she so obviously enjoyed it." Another friend passed an evening with Alice, "discussing vital issues, and among other things she gave me a talk on Zola–his scope, his scheme, his success."

Alice, who had graduated from U-M in 1886 at the age of 27, continued to work for the interests of young women at the University, who were so isolated in their boarding houses that they had little social life. She was part of the founding of the Women's League in 1890 and held an open house every Friday for any female students who wished to come by. When U-M alumna Lucy Maynard Salmon (1876 AB, 1883 AM), a Vassar faculty member and the inventor of "domestic science," returned to deliver a series of talks in 1893 on how to improve the conditions of servants, Alice–no doubt with the aid of her own live-in maid, Annie B. Kusterer–opened her home for students to meet Professor Salmon.

Alice Dewey with son Gordon in Chicago in 1902. Gordon died on a European trip in 1904 at age 8.

Photo courtesy of U of Chicago Library.

Jane Dewey noted that her mother was not a church member and that she had maintained to Dewey from the beginning of their relationship that religious dogma was inimical to religious spirit. It is surprising, then, to find Alice one of 40 women present at Mrs. Angell's in the "oppressive heat" of a June day in 1894, just before she left Ann Arbor, for a meeting of the Congregational Church's Women's Home Missionary Association at which she offered a prayer.

Archibald and Lucina Dewey, John's parents, came to live with them at the end of 1890 in the Forest Avenue house, probably seeking help and comfort during Archibald's final illness, for he died in April 1891 at the age of 80. It seems that Lucina Dewey remained with John and Alice.

The Dewey's social life centered around Mrs. Morris and her children and the George H. Meads, who became lifelong friends. In the summers, Dewey attended Thomas Davidson's Concord School of Philosophy at Glenmore, New York, in the Adirondacks, giving the family a vacation away from Michigan.

Congregational Pragmatism

It would have been impossible for Dewey's emerging ideas about "instrumentalism," that is, pragmatism, to have had the impact they did without the aid of like-minded colleagues. The department he created was very much in his own image. Every member of it was a Congregationalist, as he and President Angell were. James H. Tufts, whom Dewey hired in 1889, had just obtained his bachelor's of divinity at Yale and was the son of a Congregational minister. When Tufts left to continue his studies in 1891, Dewey replaced him with George H. Mead, also the son of a Congregational minister, and Alfred H. Lloyd, who had once thought of becoming a Congregational minister.

These men, all raised with the same religious beliefs, brought strong empirical science to the department's psychology offerings and secularized the philosophy courses. They distrusted undemocratic organizations, were uneasy with creeds and pledges and had the mutual trust that like-minded people bent on reform often require.

Befor Dewey, first C. S. Peirce and then William James developed pragmatism–the principle that the meaning of an idea was to be found in the examination of its consequences in action. But it was Dewey, with Tufts, Mead and Dewey's pupil James R. Angell '90, '91 MA (President Angell's son), who would create the center of pragmatism at the University of Chicago.

At Michigan, Dewey, Tufts, Mead and Lloyd created a department remarkable for its innovation. Right after returning in 1889, Dewey revised U-M ethics courses away from their religious grounding and sought publicity for the changes by publishing a four-page outline in the new, secular journal of the Ethical Cultural Society. Dewey's generation was seeking spiritual significance to replace their growing disbelief in America's dominant religion, reform Protestantism, says historian Bruce Kuklick of Penn.

In 1883, before Dewey joined Morris at Michigan, some stu-

dents had expressed this growing skepticism and agnosticism by protesting the religious, or "Hegelian," bias of Morris's department. But while questioning or rejecting the truths of religion, students yearned for a moral life and purpose. Dewey answered this desire in his new system of ethics.

Unique among departments, philosophy advertised in the *Daily*, inviting students to meet with the faculty to discuss classes for the ensuing semester. A typical notice in October 1891 read, "I will meet students for consultation every evening this week after 8:00 at 15 Forest Ave. John Dewey." Dewey also tinkered with testing, sometimes substituting quizzes for final exams and in one course, Psychological Introspection, simply asked students to keep journals.

The department was almost comically responsive to its students. Tufts apologized for his first semester's efforts in an 1890 *Daily* ad: "I wish now to thank the members of this class for the patience they have shown in the trying work of breaking in a new instructor and to promise that, in the knowledge I have received at their hands, I shall do much better next time."

Dewey increased the offerings not only for undergraduates, but especially for graduate students, whom he encouraged by teaching more courses himself. Indeed, though head of the department, he taught as many as five courses and 150 students a term, often more than he had as an instructor. He added an aesthetics course by inviting Fred N. Scott of the English department to offer the University's first interdisciplinary course. Altogether, in Dewey's last year at Michigan, the three faculty members and Scott offered 28 courses.

Angellic Conformity

One of the conundrums of Dewey's life was that even as he worked to take theology out of philosophic inquiry, he stayed very active in campus religious life, both in the Students' Christian Association (SCA) and the Congregational Church. When he went to Chicago, he dropped church membership for good, but always retained "a religious spirit," Kuklick says.

The answer may lie in his relationship with President Angell. Immediately after his return to Michigan in 1889, Dewey simultaneously wrote his new secular ethics curriculum and became a trustee of the SCA. In the ensuing years he led a Bible class and addressed the Congregationalists' convention.

But it was within SCA that he was most active. He taught a course on Greek influences on the early church, spoke on "our Puritan inheritance" at the SCA New England night and was the inaugural speaker when Newberry Hall (the home of the SCA and now of U-M's Kelsey Museum) opened in October 1891.

When Dewey first came to the U-M in 1884, he was known to Angell as the son of friends from his days as president of the University of Vermont in Burlington. Dewey acted the role of loyal son, participating in religious events at Angell's side.

In the days before he left for Minnesota, however, Dewey did not call on Angell to bid him good-bye. Angell overlooked this slight when he chose Dewey to take Morris's place. Embarrassed, perhaps grateful, and always respectful, Dewey again threw himself into the religious activities he shared with Angell. No doubt the 1891 arrival of his parents—especially his pious mother—who immediately joined his church, drew him closer to his religious roots. But Chicago, a Baptist school with a Baptist president, did not catch him up in the same kind of obligations.

Chicago's $iren $ong

Beginning in 1891, the *Daily* kept up a drumbeat of stories about the reopening of the old University of Chicago. Less than a week before he accepted the U-C presidency, William Rainey Harper was in Ann Arbor for the 1891 SCA Bible Institute, where he and John Dewey no doubt had a chance to become acquainted if they weren't before. Chicago would be innovative, reported the *Daily*, an egalitarian school with branches throughout the city; it would have only American faculty, it would allow students to enter and leave at any time, and it would pay phenomenal salaries.

UC opened its doors in October 1892. That same month, the U-M Regents revamped faculty salaries and, for the first time, rewarded length of service. Professors would no longer be stuck for life under a salary ceiling of $2,200. As if these changes were meant for Dewey, the Regents raised his salary to $2,700 the very next week.

But against Chicago's offer of $4,000, $2,700 just wasn't enough. Dewey may also have been worried about U-M's future; the Panic of 1893 forced many students to drop out—women's enrollment fell 10 percent. Nor was Dewey persuaded to stay by the promise of a corner office on the ground floor of the new Tappan Hall. His former colleagues James R. Angell and James Tufts were already on the U-C faculty, and Tufts recommended Dewey to Harper. When the offer came, Dewey negotiated an eventual raise to $5,000, then accepted. George Mead left with him.

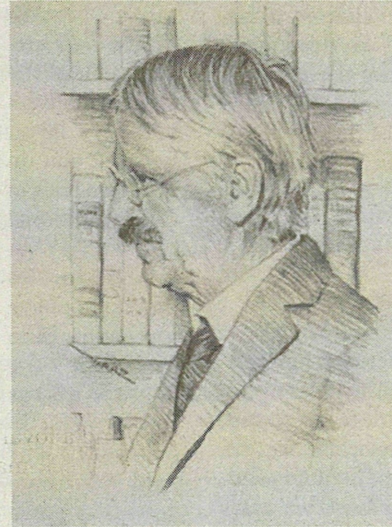


Photo courtesy of Tanner Library U-M Department of Philosophy

Sketch of Dewey (no date) by U-M art professor Wilfred Byron Shaw (1881-1959).

Resigned to its losses, the Michigan community mourned briefly. The SCA invited Dewey to give his final speech in Ann Arbor in Newberry Hall (the topic, "Reconstruction") and honored him by hanging his portrait there.

Dewey's Michigan Legacy

Dewey's greatest legacy is shared by all Americans, and that is his passionate commitment to democratic freedoms and to the use of education to improve the condition of the common man. At Michigan he stood on the side of the egalitarians and expended great efforts—as Alice did, too—to help students. He established the Schoolmaster's Club, the Republican Club, was president of the Philosophical Society, and a trustee of the Students' Christian Association. During his years, the SCA fended off the demands of the YMCA to expel its women members. Dewey wrote to a U-M official in 1939 that he had resigned from the SCA over the imposition of a creedal pledge and the expulsion of women. But women were still members as late as 1897, and the *Daily* failed to note his resignation.

To encourage literature at the University, he and Fred Scott founded *The Inlander*, and Dewey opposed those who sought to bar coeds from the editorial board. He published several books while he was at U-M, notably an expanded view of his ethics curriculum, *Outlines of a Critical Theory of Ethics*, in 1891, replaced by *The Study of Ethics: a Syllabus* in 1894. He revised his *Psychology* textbook and wrote for the *Andover Review* and the new *Psychological Review*.

One of Dewey's greatest contributions to U-M came in 1892 when he was one of six faculty members appointed to look into the situation of graduate students. Until the committee recommended the formation of an administrative council for graduate students within the Literary College, undergraduates and graduates had been mixed together. A separate graduate school was established in 1912; in 1935, it was named for Horace H. Rackham when he contributed money for a building.

Dewey's Michigan legacy is rich, and he seems to have thrived in his many friendships and associations here. That makes it hard to understand a letter he wrote to a former student and close friend in 1897 after a brief misunderstanding:

I have had years of working practically alone, you know the conditions at Ann Arbor. Moreover, the kind of studies I have pursued, and my natural bent of mind have united to give me a habit of isolation in work. The thing I have chiefly learned in the last two years is the extent to which this habit of isolated work has fixed itself upon me and the great serious difficulty I have in getting into cooperative relations with people—my theories to the contrary notwithstanding. Others have suffered from it and you have.

At the beginning of Dewey's career, Johns Hopkins's president, Daniel C. Gilman, had worried about Dewey's habit of keeping to himself. Dewey's intelligence and creativity, and the energy with which he pursued his ideas, made him seem indomitable. But it appears that in his teaching, collaboration with colleagues and administrative tasks, he continued to struggle against the intractability of his own nature.

The Remaining Years

After Dewey accepted the Chicago offer, Alice took the children to Europe where John met them before taking up his responsibilities. They lost their son, Morris, to diphtheria on that vacation. At Chicago, Dewey was made head of the Department of Psychology and Philosophy and the Department of Pedagogy, and Alice was given a part-time teaching job for $500 a year. Together they founded the famous Laboratory School for elementary children and put into practice the educational theories that Dewey acknowledged Alice had helped shaped.

The Deweys left Chicago for New York's Columbia University in 1904, over a dispute with Harper. Another trip to Europe resulted in the death of a later-born child, 8-year-old Gordon, from typhoid fever. While in Italy, they adopted a boy, Sabino. Altogether, Alice and John had seven children.

Alice died of congestive heart failure at 68 in 1927 after 41 years of marriage. John remarried in 1946 at the age of 87. He and his wife, Roberta Grant Dewey, adopted two children, making Dewey the father of nine. He died June 2, 1952, at the age of 92. The University of Chicago announced this September that, despite protests, it was closing the Department of Education that Dewey founded in 1895. MT

Linda Walker '66 MSW is an Ann Arbor writer. *She thanks Karen Jania and other staff of the U-M Bentley Historical Library; Larry Hickman, director, Center for Dewey Studies, Southern Illinois University; Wystan Stevens, Ann Arbor historian; Susan Wineberg, president, Washtenaw County Historical Society; and Louisa Pieper, historic preservation coordinator, City of Ann Arbor.*

TURNING THE FIELD

The University's Department of Anthropology has been ranked at or near the top of its field in official and unofficial rankings for a number of years. Among the reasons for its prominence is its openness to diverse approaches to theory and fieldwork.

Last spring, at a forum for the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies, several African American students in the doctoral program described how studying anthropology was changing their views of the field and how their presence ought, in their minds, to change the field, itself. Three of the students adapted their presentations for *Michigan Today*.

Dangers in the field

By Jennifer A. Scott

Many of us Black anthropology students and students from formerly colonized countries say that we are trying to "decolonize anthropology." We mean that we are trying to extend the field beyond the regional area where we conduct our research to include the academy, itself, as an object of anthropological inquiry.

I see dangers of at least three sorts in being a Black anthropologist: the threat that we pose to the discipline; the endangered nature of our presence in the academy, and the danger we potentially face in the field unprotected from the benefits of white privilege. Let us examine the dangers in more detail.

Danger One: By our mere presence we threaten what I call the "bordering" of anthropology–its traditions of tourism, colonialism, travel and so forth. Barbara Tedlock characterizes traditional anthropology as comprising four archetypes, none of which has been inclusive of Black anthropologists. They are:

•The amateur observer–the explorers, travelers, medical doctors, colonial officers, missionaries, the idle rich and all of those who provided accounts for the second archetype.

•The armchair anthropologists of the late 19th century who confidently provided out-of-field synopses of usually "Third World" areas.

•The professional ethnographer who emerged following World War I as individuals began to conduct intensive fieldwork in distant places to reconstitute order out of disorder.

•And the "gone-native" fieldworker who, in order to understand the "primitives/savages/natives," was encouraged to think, feel and behave as closely as possible to the "native."

What happens when, because of color and class barriers, your background has included neither the leisure nor the privilege of travel and tourism like the amateur observer? What happens when you do not have a historical motive of imperialism or a mission of religious evangelism? What happens if you are an anthropologist who does not subscribe to the remote "confidence" or detachment of the armchair archivist or analyst because you do not have faith in these traditional analyses? What happens when you do not have the compulsion to "order" the Third World as traditional ethnographers do? And what happens when you cannot "go native" because you are "native"?

Jennifer Scott studies a seamstresses' and tailors' guild in Kumasi, Ghana.

Photo by Jennifer Scott

Anthropology is often called the child of imperialism because it is the only discipline that derives most, if not all, of its theory from the West, while gathering all of its data from developing "Third World" countries and the "internal US colonies." Some say, in fact, that anthropology, in studying "the other," shares a thin boundary with conquering "the other." Anthropology has yet to wholly recover from its condescending craze of studying isolated "primitive" peoples. Even to this day, it is more acceptable in anthropology departments to "go away" to study someone else than to study your own or to stay close to home.

So what happens when those people who usually constitute the data suddenly become researchers in the discipline? There is disruption. All of a sudden, we begin participating in places and spaces, dialogues and discourses, where we are not used to being seen and heard and therefore are not used to joining in.

Danger Two: extinction. It is not uncommon when one of us shares with people outside of the discipline or outside of the academy that we are in anthropology, for inquirers to react with surprise confusion, or curiosity: "Are there really Black people in anthropology?" Or: "I didn't know there were Black people in anthropology." This question is more informed than it appears, as it attests to the low numbers of Black graduate students in the discipline.

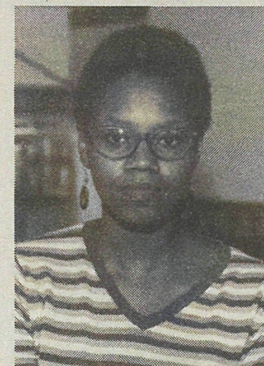
Since 1974, the University of Michigan has produced seven Black PhDs in anthropology, and U-M is one of the nation's leaders. Only 28 Blacks have enrolled in the department in that time span, and 11 of us are here now, hoping to finish. The Research Doctorate Programs in the United States reports, however, that U-M also has the lowest percentage of minority graduate students out of the top five departments.

Danger Three: the field. Fieldwork provides the core for anthropological research. Unlike most other students in anthropology, Black students in anthropology disproportionately study their "own," what we call "native anthropology," especially in the African Diaspora. But some of us are more native than others, depending not only on where we study or where we are from, but also on how we are perceived wherever we go.

For example, I'm Black here in the US, but when I go to Jamaica, I am perceived as Chinese or Guyanese, and these differences–how they impact our work–are not necessarily appreciated at "home," meaning here in the academy. Because in the academy, though I may be seen as some sort of ethnic "other," it is never first assumed that I am "fully" Black. I am often mistaken as being mixed or Latina or some sort of ambiguous ethnic other. At home or in the field, the kind of "blending in" that we do is not necessarily an advantage.

The question we keep coming back to is: who is supposed to be an anthropologist? The answer we keep arriving at is: not us. We do not want to believe that being a Black anthropologist is inherently contradictory. However, the statistics, experiences and dangers we endure make this seem so. The next question for us is not: in spite of all of this, do we become anthropologists? The more relevant and perhaps more difficult question is: considering the odds against us, how is it that we succeed in becoming anthropologists, anyway?

Greenness in the field



By Carla N. Daughtry

In 1988, I was one of 20 college year abroad students at the American University in Cairo. That year was eye-opening to a radical Black teenager who imagined she was returning to Africa, the motherland. I learned that most Egyptians do not consider themselves African and, even less so, Black African. I learned that some Egyptians do not even consider themselves Arab; they have a home-grown notion of identity: Egyptians are Egyptians. Who was I to tell them differently?

That year, my Afrocentric dreams were crushed by an Egyptian reality. I was shocked to learn that many Egyptians refused to consider me African. They counted me as one among many neo-colonizing Americans readily imposing their politics, scholarly knowledge and culture on other people. I realized that neither present day nor pharaonic Egypt is my African motherland. Nonetheless, I returned home with a deep appreciation for most of the Egypt and Egyptians I had come to know.

Now that I'm in graduate school I'm interested in how people who have left their homelands to settle in other countries form their identities. For my dissertation, I focus on the experiences of Sudanese refugees and exiles in Cairo.

In Sudan there are 19 major ethnic groups based on notions of heritage and culture, and these are further divided into more than 600 ethno-linguistic subgroups. Broadly speaking, however, the Sudanese place themselves in one of two groups–the Arabized Muslims of the North, whose mother-tongue is Arabic, and the Africans of the South, who are Christians or adherents of indigenous beliefs and whose mother-tongues are various African languages.

More than 40 years of armed civil conflict between these two camps has driven Sudanese refugees and exiles to Egypt and elsewhere. The current phase of civil war pits the National Islamic Front and Sudanese military regime that took power in 1989 against the National Democratic Alliance, which includes both the Sudanese People's Liberation Army composed primarily of Black African southerners and the Arab groups opposed to the government.

Discovering greenness at a festival

One of my main data collection sites is the annual Sudanese Cultural Festival in Cairo, where African and Arab Sudanese collaborate. During one festival, I met singer Talal Abu Zein, thanks to my field collaborator, Afaf el-Bakri (pseudonyms protect their privacy). Both Afaf and Talal come from northern Sudan, home of the Muslim Arabs, and they were curious about my interests in color symbolism and prejudice within Egyptian and Sudanese cultures.

Arab Sudanese recognize seven "racial" categories. *Abyad* (Arabic for White) refers to non-Sudanese Arabs. *Asfaar* (Yellow) refers to light-skinned Sudanese Arabs. *Akhmaar* (Red) describes skin tones a bit darker than light brown. *Asmaar* (Brown) is reserved for most Sudanese Arabs. *Akhdaar* (Green) refers to dark-brown Arabs. *Azreg* (Blue) describes the skin color of very dark-skinned Arab Sudanese, whom it is unacceptable to identify as Black. Arabs also consider Blue a polite term with which to refer to the deep blue-black coloring of African Southerners. *Aswad* (Black) is the term for the color of African peoples of southern Sudan. Arab Sudanese use the word for slave (*Abeed*) interchangeably with the word for a Black person (*Aswad*).

Ethnographers further report that whiteness to Arab Sudanese stands for a noble heritage, cleanliness and honor. Blackness stands for evil, dirtiness and disaster, and for the humiliation of defeat and the shame of being a descendant of African slaves.

My beautiful green darling

To what extent, I wondered, does the notion of these seven skin colors become a practiced social reality in the Sudan: Are there people who really see other people as green and blue? One afternoon I asked Talal and Afaf if the Sudanese think of themselves as coming coming in so many colors. Much to my excitement, they confirmed that Arab Sudanese have considered each other Green or Blue as well as Red, Brown, Yellow, Black and White. Talal said that he even knew of Sudanese love songs that speak of Green beloveds and other green things. And so my exploration into "greenness" began with Talal singing a Sudanese love song called "My Beautiful Green Darling" for me on tape.

Talal's voice crooned the lyrics, "*My Green One, in our affair my Green One shuns me. My Green One dries me out . . . . As long as passion dawns and love becomes ripe, leave me in the shapely sofa, leave me. My Green One shuns me.*" On one level the song cries out about the heartbreak of unrequited love, but the lyrics suggest multiple meanings of greenness. Is the green one actually a dark-hued beauty? Or is greenness actually Paradise, as the words conjure up images of oases and botanical gardens promised in the Qur'an as heavenly rewards? Perhaps greenness signifies sexuality and fecundity–the fruition of life. Or does the imagery recall the lost "salad days" of youth or symbolize the beloved homeland that Sudanese exiles and refugees left behind?

Ambiguity furnishes the symbolic power of green. One can never fully harness its range of meanings. The multiplicity of greenness suggests to me that scholars and lay persons alike should search for understandings of identity beyond surface explanations and simple dualism.

It's not easy being green

As I talked with Talal and Afaf about colors and race, I asked whether some Sudanese would consider me Green. Afaf said that I was a bit too light to be called *Khadaara*, which means dark-brown woman. Most likely, she said, I would be called *Samaara* which means medium-brown woman.

"Samaara." The word reminded me of how trying it has been at times to be a Black/Brown female in Cairo, facing sexual harassment in streets from Egyptian men. They would yell or whisper something like, "*Psst, pssst. Ya, Samaara! Ya, Samaara!*" Which essentially means, "*Psst, pssst. Hey, Brown Sugar! Hey, Brown Sugar!*"

Evidently, to the average Egyptian man, I fit their stereotypes of either African woman as prostitute or Western woman as sexually liberated swinger. No matter how conservatively I dressed or how much I avoided eye contact with men, I would quite often hear on the streets "*Ya, Samaara! Psst, pssst. Ya Samaara!*"

I asked Afaf, who is darker than I am, if she considered herself a Green person. Conventionally, Arab northerners who are, like her, just as dark as many African southerners would identity as an *Ikhdaarani* or *Azregi*, that is, as a Green or Blue person, but not as a Black person. However, virtually all Sudanese exiled in Cairo–whether Arabs or Africans–are Black to the minds of many Egyptians. After all, the place name *al-Sudan* translates as "Land of the Blacks." In reply, Afaf challenged the conventional definitions of Arab Sudanese by also declaring herself a Black and African.

Arab Sudanese bridal dance performed at a Sudanese Cultural Festival in Cairo.

Photo by Carla N. Daughtry

On hot summer afternoons drinking hot spice tea, Afaf and I would commiserate about our related challenges of being Black and female in Egypt. Numerous occasions served me a taste of how it feels to be African or Sudanese in Cairo, subject to ordinary Egyptian ethnocentric behavior like intrusive stares, finger pointing and laughter. I told her about a crowd of summer school students who yelled at me, "Congo!" "Congo!" as I walked by. I figured Congo conjures up images of apes and primitives to the Egyptian imagination.

Afaf told me how Egyptian men boldly look at her and chat

her up while riding elevators. She explained that such behavior is disrespectful and would never be directed toward Egyptian women.

Afaf is trying to forge social and economic co-operatives between Arab and African Sudanese in Cairo. In her endeavors she walks a fine line between the Arab identity that conditioned her formative years and a Black or African identity internally or externally imposed upon her via experiences in exile. On one hand, to the Sudanese Southerners, Afaf is a "white" Arab, a member of the oppressive group still ruling the Sudan. On the other hand, to the Egyptian host society, Afaf is from the Land of the Blacks.

I also shift between multiple aspects of my self in the course of my ethnographic encounters with Sudanese and Egyptians. Arab Sudanese, noting my nationality, class background or educational status, identify me as a "Brown" person and emphasize the American part of my Black American identity. But when I'm with African Sudanese, I am readily claimed as a fellow Black; they also attempt to discourage my fieldwork with Arab Sudanese. Still at other times, when dealing with Egyptian officials for instance, I capitalize on the privileges afforded me by my United States passport and affiliation with a world-class university

Wherever I am, however, I find myself more aware of complexly shaded realities in Egypt that are by definition more profound than my less nuanced visions of not so long ago. I will never forget the time an Egyptian cab driver defined my identity in his terms: "Michael Jackson, yes," he said. "African, no."

Survival kit for the field

By Gina Ulysse

When I began my graduate career in 1991, I was interested in Caribbean migration to Scandinavia. I was one of two Black women in the program. Given my darker skin and Leo rising personality, I was always visible. I remember lingering eyes when I dared to speak in class, my stifled frustration and anger when readings and classroom discussions were less and less about people and the politics that affect our lives and more and more about written words. As I began to realize that I had romanticized the discipline, I wanted to leave many times.

Partly because of the political intensity of my own country, Haiti, I turned my attention to the Caribbean. When I expressed an interest in researching in Haiti, however, I was told that I would not have the detachment necessary for scientific inquiry and that my work would never be taken seriously. As a "native" or insider, fieldwork would be "too easy." In any event, the Haitian military coup of 1991 deterred me from pursuing fieldwork in Haiti, and I became interested in Jamaican female market vendors who illegally entered the import/export trade in the 1970s.

Again, I encountered resistance from certain mentors. I was told the region was neither Western nor native enough for anthropology and its pursuit of the "other." They were denying the Caribbean its heterogeneity. They were still in the grip of simple and derogatory perceptions of the Caribbean as a tourist destination. Images of blue sea, flamingo-painted hotels, Rastafarians, reggae, spliffs and banana-leaf-covered shacks still tend to dominate outsiders' opinion of the region.

I also noticed that some faculty assumed that when we Black anthropologists work in the field, we do not face as many hardships or sacrifice as much as white anthropologists do. The truth is, I found that in Kingston I embodied more identities than I knew how to negotiate—outsider/insider, feminist/half-anthropologist, native. How was my experience different from that of a European, a Chinese or an East Indian male or female in Jamaica? There are several responses to this question, but they all arise from Jamaica's history.

Tradeswomen in Kingston, Jamaica.

Photo by Gina Ulysse

By the time Jamaica gained its independence from Great Britain in 1962, it had been a British colony for 307 years. Social differentiation among black Jamaicans was created and maintained by colonial administration primarily on the basis of bodily characteristics. The offspring of a white man and a black woman was a "mulatto"; a mulatto and a black produced a "sambo"; from a mulatto and a white came a "quadroon." A quadroon and a white produced a "musteefino," who was free by law and ranked as white, and thus could inherit capital and property. Hence color, manifested as class, became the most important index of a person's worth in Jamaica.

Currently, color gradations in Jamaica range from black to brown to red to high brown to 'yella.' Even among whites distinctions are made between whites (an unambiguous white from abroad), Jamaica whites (a white with acknowledge partial Black ancestry) and white Jamaicans (locals of European ancestry.

When I began fieldwork in Jamaica in 1992, I was reminded that Jamaicans of my skin tone do not seek the sun. I became more aware of uses of umbrellas and hats to avoid getting darker. Buju Banton's song "Brownin"—about his desire for brown-skinned as opposed to black women—had caused an uproar prompting a response from Nardo Ranks. Ranks's song titled "Dem a bleach" is about the extensive use of skin-bleaching creams among "brown" women.

In 1993, I returned for predissertation fieldwork. I lived in a working class area near a market. I became aware of how differently Jamaicans from various backgrounds treated me at various sites—the streets, the arcades where the women traders I studied worked, the University of the West Indies, the gym, the bus or the shopping mall I frequented. It dawned on me that in Jamaica, with my Social Science Research Council grant, I was economically upper class, though I seldom behaved as such for several conflicting reasons.

At that time, my hair was straightened or "colonized"—a term I used often, much to the shock of the women I encountered. In Jamaica, I decided to stop "processing" my hair after a self-loathing experience at a beauty salon. Several months later, I got my hair cut off completely. A female hairdresser asked me if I was going to "texturize" it (that is, apply a permanent/relaxer chemical). She didn't understand that I had cut it off because I no longer felt the "relaxed" hair on my head was mine.

Many people were offended by my short, natural hairstyle. Women couldn't believe I had cut off all that hair. Most men reacted with verbal violence to women with hairstyles like mine. I was often asked, "Why did you do that to your head?" That question was often followed by, "Do you have a man?"—suggesting that I was a lesbian. Back then, before "low hair" became fashionable, the middle-class women who wore this style were often artists or "yardies" (Jamaicans who went abroad and came back) or working class women who do not adhere to social norms, known as "rebel-women."

My love for the sun and this cropped hair gave me another identity in Jamaica. People assumed I was African. When asked, at times, I would answer, "Aren't we all?" which often discombobulated the inquirer. That my natural appearance was equated with Africanness is more than ironic, since many Africans, themselves, also suffer from that perverse "white bias." The Afro-phobia—fear of blackness—that pervades Jamaica is among other things bound up with a fear of economic and in some cases social poverty.

The lessons I learned in 1993 informed my preparation for dissertation fieldwork. On some grant applications, I requested funding for certain status symbols. I wanted to document the fact that as a dark-skinned woman in Jamaica, I had special research requirements because I had neither the political nor social luxury of whiteness. As a "native" of the region, I would be expected to know better than to "dress down." Before my return in 1995, I shopped for my status symbols, a "lady's" wardrobe—jewelry and designer glasses that said "foreign" or "money"; clothing that included tailored pieces for the interviews with officials, lots of high heels, perfume, make-up and a pair of Adidas for those days when Kingston got to be too much.

At the arcades—the markets where the women I was researching worked—I wore long floral skirts and linen shirts or blouses that covered my arms, which got me the respect of the older men around, who dubbed me their African Princess, but annoyed the women vendors, who thought I must be either pregnant or spineless, because I did not accentuate my body as they did. When I did wear shorter clothing, I dreaded going to the field site without my survival clothing kit because the markets are filled with the testosterone of the "goose-killers"—young men the market women hire to steer customers to their stalls—who would grab me and demand that I talk with them.

All in all, the process of living against the culture was helpful for me, since this approach forced me to "see out of more than one eye." And that is what an anthropologist is supposed to learn how to do. MT

Chasing the Orphan Angell

Continued from page 24

of Angell across the street at the Union. They found the painting in the Pendleton Room behind a bulletin board. They rolled that aside and with some difficulty took the picture down and carried it across State Street to the art museum.

In the deadpan style of medical reports, the Oberlin experts made the following points in their official Report on Condition:

1. The 4'x 6' painting was nailed to the wall. "Ten to twelve nails had been driven through the front edge of the canvas and stretcher." A wooden molding somehow held a thick piece of glass against the front surface of the painting.
2. Ultra-violet light revealed a strongly fluorescing surface coating. There was probable discoloration of the varnish.
3. There was evidence of moisture damage at the bottom center edge.
4. The "painting support [that is, canvas] is a coarse weave linen, very brittle and very slack. It is abraded at the tacking margins."
5. Dead insects were trapped behind the glass, and there was an accumulation of soot on the upper surfaces of the sags and bulges of the canvas.
6. Flaking paint was seen and first aid was applied to stop the process while a proposal for restoration made the rounds.

A note at the end suggested that when the picture came back, a better place should be found to hang it than behind a bulletin board. Further, they emphasized that glass was a good protection in high traffic areas but never, ever should it be put flat against a painting's surface. Again, however, there was no word about the frame.

The restoration of paintings is a high-priced specialty. Spink suspects that no unit stepped forward to claim ownership of the painting in 1976 because Waller had estimated that proper restoration would cost $1,000 or so.

And today, the Alumni Association says flat-out, "We don't own it." The Museum of Art says, "We own no Chases. It belongs to the Union." The Union says, "No, not us. The University owns it."

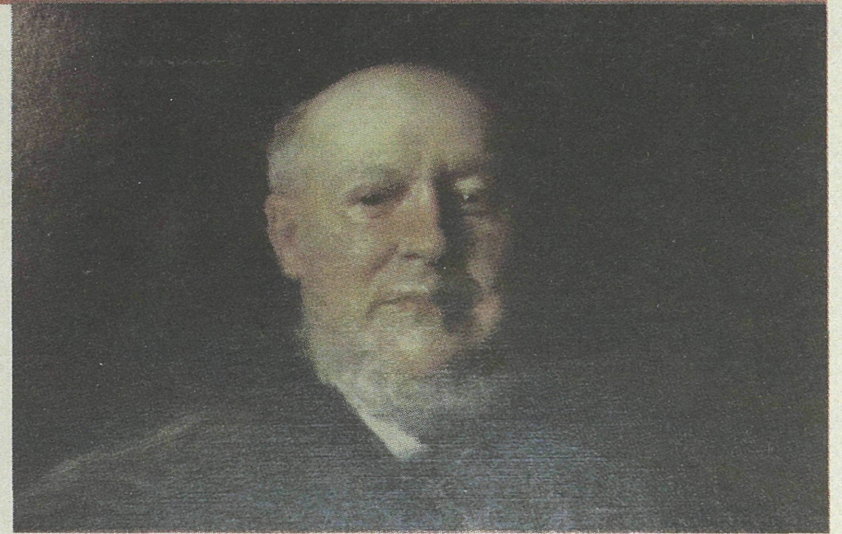
At this point in Spink's sleuthing William Stegath reappeared, having found the whole story of ownership in the *Michigan Alumnus* of 1907. The Student Union had decided to commission a major portrait of President Angell. Looking around for a painter, they decided, remarkably, on William Merritt Chase, the internationally celebrated American portrait painter. They raised the necessary $4,000 entirely by subscription. The money came in one-, five- and ten-dollar bills from thousands of students, faculty and alumni.

In the summer of 1906, Angell met Chase in the town of Good Ground on Long Island, New York. Angell, who served in office from 1871 to 1909, grumbled about his dreadful lodgings there in a letter to a friend. He went on to tell her (the letter is now in the Bentley Historical Library) that he was enjoying his talks with the painter during the sittings. They appear to have talked about well-known people they knew in quiet, competitive rounds of name-dropping.

This photograph from a 1907 **Michigan Alumnus** *shows the missing ornate frame that held Angell's portrait when it was presented to the University in December 1906.*

Photo courtesy of Bentley Historical Library

When the portrait was finished, Chase declared it his best ever, and Angell said if he looked as good as the picture, he was pleased. After being exhibited in Providence, Rhode Island, Angell's home, and in New York City, the picture came to Ann Arbor in the fall to be formally presented to the University of Michigan in University Hall on Dec. 6, 1906. A beautiful frame, shown in the accompanying photograph from the *Michigan Alumnus,* set it off handsomely.



President Angell was highly satisfied with the way Chase depicted him. The painting is now estimated to be worth at least $125,000.

A quick search of the minutes of the Board of Regents revealed no record of their having accepted the portrait, but clearly the Union was right all along–the University of Michigan owns the painting.

Besides this vindication on the question of ownership, the Michigan Union can also take credit for putting up the money for the restoration. But the 1980 project was shrunk, procedure by procedure, well below Waller's estimate of $1,000. The job was handed over to the Detroit Institute of Arts laboratory instead of Oberlin. Spink found that the final bill was $320 minus a 50 percent "institutional discount," which brought the Union's bill down to $160. "For that amount, only Band-Aid treatment could be expected," she says.

The painting had been cleaned with benzene, and a patchwork of stop-gap measures had halted or slowed deterioration. The varnish had not been removed, the back had not been relined with new linen, and other fundamental measures were left to be taken next time.

A New York dealer with specialist's knowledge of the Chase market has this to say: "A portrait of a man brings less than one of a woman. This man is of only institutional interest, which further discounts the painting's value. Nevertheless, I would say the picture is worth not less than $125,000."

The question remains of what to do about the huge job of caring for the entire campuswide accumulation of artwork–an accumulation that undoubtedly includes several neglected or undiscovered masterpieces. The task may seem impossible. Yet, as late as the 1970s, the entire contents of the Kelsey Museum were uncatalogued, Prof. John G. Pedley discovered when he arrived to teach classical archaeology and Greek. "One woman wrote things down in notebooks, and she and she alone knew where everything was," he recalls. "But a modern cataloguer tackled the project and completed it in two years."

Spink knows a start has been made. Inventories at the School of Medicine and the Law School are in good shape, and they are under way elsewhere. But she advises that the University consider the following as a comprehensive approach to the problem:

- Have all University units that record their artworks use "standard museum form" (an example of which accompanies this article);
- Record the location of each piece of art and keep a curatorial history of each item;
- Create a curatorial position for the oversight of the whole institution.

Following her advice would be a big undertaking, she admits, but that's what it takes to rescue artworks from orphanhood.

As for the whereabouts of that frame–heavy, expensive, dignified, rich-looking? Spink continues to look for it. MT

Annette Hodesh is an Ann Arbor writer.

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CHASING THE ORPHAN ANGELL

By Annette Hodesh

Nesta Spink and the formerly orphaned Angell.

Photos by Bob Kalmbach

Last March, Nesta Spink walked into the Alumni Center and there before her was a 90-year-old painting she had long had on her mind. "It had hung in the Pendleton Room at the Union when I first came here 30 years ago," she recalls. "It had a gold frame, I think, and at 4 feet by 6 feet it was an imposing portrait of a seated man. The painter was one of America's greatest, William Merritt Chase, and the subject was one of the University's great presidents, James Burrill Angell. At some point I realized I hadn't seen it for a long time, so I started looking for it, off and on."

Spink, a Whistler scholar and a private dealer in prints and drawings, was the curator of collections at the University's Museum of Art from 1967 to 1979. She is seriously concerned about the disciplines that keep artworks safe and well cared for. She still has the soul of a curator, which is closely akin to that of a detective. Here in front of her was the impressive figure of President Angell with no information posted nearby to identify either the subject or the painter. "I find that incredible," she says. "If you bend down you can make out a signature in the lower left hand corner." (In fairness, we must point out that the Center will give you a guide to its art on display, a security-conscious practice that the Bentley Library, among many other non-museums, uses.)

Along with her old colleague Marvin Eisenberg, professor emeritus of the history of art, Spink looked its surface over. They found a hole, dents, light scrapes, flaking paint and a pronounced wrinkle. A general murkiness, apart from the picture's natural dark tones, dulled its impact on a viewer. All this their trained eyes took in without diagnostic tools like infrared light and microscopes.

The painting was in a high traffic area, behind a table holding refreshments for a reception in progress. A large coffee urn sent whiffs of steam up and over President Angell's belly. Spink wondered how the portrait had got to the Center, which was opened in 1982. Where had it been before arriving there? How might it have fallen into its present condition?

Charles Sawyer, director of the U-M Museum of Art from 1957-72, speculates that Chase's portrait of Angell had become "an orphan." What did he mean by that? "Throughout the University's sprawl there are dozens and dozens of portraits and other artwork. Every school, many departments and special areas (rare book rooms, the Hopwood Room, the Vandenberg Room) have these things. Most of them are mainly of archival interest, but some are fine works of art.

Standard museum form for identifying a work of art:

William Merrit Chase
American, 1849-1917
President James Burrill Angell
1906
Oil on canvas
4' x 6'
Inscribed l.l. [lower left]: Wm. M. Chase
Gift of the Student Union to the University of Michigan, 1906

"Here's what I've seen happen," Sawyer continued. "An ambitious young man gets a major promotion in his school. He sits at his desk in front of a large portrait of his world-famous predecessor. He feels intimidated. One day he says, 'Can we find storage for this picture? I need the wall space.' The storage space may turn out to be a closet in the basement; the moment the painting enters it, the painting becomes an orphan. Other routes lead to the same end. 'Temporary storage' during major moves, building demolition or just renovations can easily become permanent, completely undocumented storage." Sawyer guesses this happens a lot.

Chase's works bring high prices today. Spink asked the Office of Risk Management how much the painting was insured for. The answer was unclear. But surely it *was* insured? The answer was still unclear.

What did the Alumni Association recall about its arrival? William Stegath, former assistant executive director of the Alumni Association, remembers that when the new Alumni Center was finished in 1982, he asked Evan Maurer, director of the U-M Museum of Art at the time, if there were pictures in storage that the Association could borrow for the new building. Together they went to the Museum's storage area and in the end selected the Angell portrait. It had no frame, but its records showed that it went out for light restoration in 1980 and had then returned straight into storage again.

Where had it been before all that? Spink did some more digging and found records indicating that the painting had been stored in the Museum for four years awaiting the O.K. for its restoration. Its location before that? The Michigan Union.

In 1976, a committee form the Intermuseum Conservation Laboratory at Oberlin College in Ohio had paid its regularly scheduled visit to the Museum to see if anything needed attention. Bret Waller, who was then the Museum's director, asked them to look at Chase's portrait

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