

The UW Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology (CSDE): A Sentimental History

by

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Introduction

Though I moved to Seattle almost four decades ago, I don't really feel like a Pacific Northwesterner. I am a walker, but not a hiker and have never climbed a mountain. Having lived in lots of places in the US and elsewhere, home is wherever I happen to be. This identity, or perhaps the lack of one, does not naturally lead me to write a local history, for example, of the University of Washington's Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology (CSDE)

Yet, I have had a unique perch as a participant observer of CSDE for several decades, including a stint as director (from 1987-95). I have also learned a lot about CSDE by just listening. Faculty scuttlebutt generally consists of humorous stories about the colorful characters that roamed our academic hallways many years ago. My informants about CSDE and the Department of Sociology include most of my senior colleagues from the 1980s onward, including Pete Guest, Jim McCann, Lowell Hargens, Fred Campbell, Frank Miyamoto, Otto Larsen, Herb Costner, and Tad Blalock. I have also learned a lot about CSDE from informal conversations with past directors, including Stan Lieberman, Sam Preston, and Tom Pullum—good friends all.

When I was CSDE director, I had to acquire a workman-like knowledge of CSDE history to write the obligatory paragraphs that are an essential part of CSDE annual reports, brochures, and grant applications. During my years as CSDE director, and occasionally afterwards, I wrote quite a few of these encomiums to impress prospective students, review committees, and university administrators. In this essay, my intention is to offer a more balanced and detailed account of the history of CSDE, though readers may question whether I have completely abandoned my earlier role as a booster.

I have, perhaps, another qualification to write about the history of CSDE—longevity in the field of demography and the ecosystem of population research centers. Demography is a fairly small field; there are about 3,000 members of the Population Association of America (PAA), and the number was only half of that when I entered the field a couple of generations ago. In addition to the annual meetings of the PAA, the center of gravity of the field is centered on a couple of dozen population research centers at major universities and non-academic institutions. These population research centers are the engines that train most of the next generation of researchers and have the infrastructure required to organize large-scale data collection, interdisciplinary programs, and mega research projects. Because demographic science—training, research, and publication—largely depends on external funding and peer review, most senior demographers are part of interlocking networks of shared mentorships, collegial ties, research collaborations, journal reviewers, and grant review committees. Despite these close affinities, demography is one of the most meritocratic of scholarly disciplines because of the frequent and public (at least within review committees and editorial offices) system of peer review. Everyone understands that those whose work you evaluate today will be the reviewers of your project or paper tomorrow. With limited resources and intense competition, reviewers quickly learn that logic and reasoned arguments are the only way to advance the field and one's own career. My background as part of these interlocking networks allows me to be both an insider and an outsider to the history of CSDE.

I have also had a fortuitous friendship with the son of the founder of CSDE from whom I learned a great deal about the early days of the program. Calvin Schmid founded the UW Office of Population Research in 1947 and retired in 1972, the same year that I received my PhD from the other UW in Wisconsin. Then I spent the next 15 years at other universities in the East before arriving in Seattle to become the fifth director of CSDE in 1987. At that time, the Schmid era seemed like ancient history and to my eternal regret, I didn't take the initiative to visit Calvin Schmid and to learn firsthand about the origins of demographic research and training at the University of Washington.

Then, on the day in 1994 that I learned that Calvin Schmid had died, my better angels prevailed, and I called Helen Schmid (Calvin's widow) to express my condolences. She was more than gracious and grateful to know that her husband's institutional legacy was still going strong. Shortly afterward, Stan Schmid, Calvin and Helen's son, called me to tell me how much his mother appreciated my call. We talked for more than an hour and arranged for a luncheon meeting a few weeks later. Stan was charming, gregarious, and supportive of my fledging efforts to strengthen the UW Department of Sociology and CSDE. As a student, Stan worked, alongside his father's graduate students, on local area population censuses around the state. Through these experiences, he forged strong friendships with sociology graduate students and learned of his father's high standards for accuracy and attention to detail. Some years later, Stan also collaborated as a coauthor with his father on several projects, including the 1979 edition of the Schmid and Schmid *Handbook of Graphic Presentation* (John Wiley and Sons).

After completing BA and JD degrees at UW, Stan worked on Governor Dan Evans's staff in Olympia and then returned to UW as an assistant to President Charles Odegaard. Subsequently, Stan became a senior administrator at UW—providing leadership to the development and university relations programs (now UW Advancement) before becoming Vice President for University Affairs at Washington State University. At the top of his career in higher education, Stan decided to pursue his ambition to be a full-time artist ([website](#), [cottage/studio](#), and [a painter's journey](#)). He currently lives in Palm Desert, California and has studios there and on Whidbey Island in Washington State. The Schmid family are benefactors of the University of Washington and have endowed the "[Calvin and Helen Schmid Fund for CSDE](#)." Stan has also spoken at several CDSE events, most notably at Memorial Session in honor of Calvin Schmid at the 1995 meeting of the Population Association of America ([see video of the memorial session](#)), which featured remembrances by Professor Emeritus Frank Miyamoto and many former students of Calvin Schmid. In addition to the documents cited below, Frank Miyamoto and Stan Schmid have informed my knowledge of the early history of CSDE.

This history of CSDE is limited in many ways that will be evident to the reader. First, it is incomplete. My focus is on the twentieth century, which means that the last 25 years are discussed only briefly in the final section. Although I have watched with admiration CSDE's growth and success over the last two decades, I have not been involved in its day-to-day activities and am not sufficiently knowledgeable to report on or to interpret CSDE activities for these years.

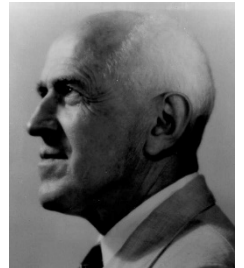
Another limitation is that my personal experiences and judgments play a disproportionate role in shaping the narrative and interpretations in this essay. This is a bias, to be sure, but perhaps almost

inevitable, given that CSDE was the major focus on my career in the decade after I moved to the University of Washington. I try to balance my recollections with references to documents and records, including the publications of several CSDE Directors (and associated faculty and students), grants proposals written on behalf of CSDE, and memos/correspondence written to CSDE faculty and students, university administrators, officials of funding agencies, donors, and Congressional staff. Although I have striven to be analytical, as well as honest and fair, this history reflects my perspective.

Prehistory of OPR/CSDE

In the United States, the earliest efforts to organize academic teaching and research on population were generally in sociology departments. The formal recognition of sociology at American universities was a product of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the pre-World War II era, many sociology departments had one or two faculty members who would today be considered demographers. The Population Association of America (PAA) was founded in 1931, but it was a very small group of a few hundred sociologists, statisticians, and actuaries until the 1950s. With a few exceptions, the founding of interdisciplinary population research centers, and the rapid growth of the field occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. The University of Washington was one the earliest American universities to organize a population research center (in 1947) and to produce a significant number of PhDs with demographic training. Many of University of Washington graduates in the 1950s and 1960s were pioneers in demography in many American universities and colleges and internationally.

In her unpublished account of the “People’s History of the UW Department of Sociology,” Isolde Raftery (2012) reports how William F. Ogburn, 1886-1959, ([American Sociological Association, Wikipedia](#))—one of most influential sociologists of the first half the 20th century and a founder of the Population Association of America (he was elected Vice President at the first PAA meeting in 1931)—was appointed as the inaugural chair of the UW Department of Sociology in 1917. Ogburn was personally recruited by Henry Suzzallo, the UW President who aspired to make the University of Washington a nationally prominent institution. Before coming to the University of Washington, Suzzallo was a professor of education at Columbia, and Ogburn was the most famous graduate of the Columbia Department of Sociology.



William F. Ogburn

Although Ogburn was recruited back to Columbia after only one year at the University of Washington, his influence and subsequent career set a high standard for the UW Department of Sociology. Ogburn was one of a handful of prominent sociologists during the first half of the twentieth century who established sociology as a scientific discipline by addressing important policy questions with rigorous statistical methods (Duncan 1968, Laslett 1998). Although best known for his theory of social change (Ogburn 1922), Ogburn wrote many books (including *American Marriage and Family Relationships*, *Social Characteristics of Cities*, *The Social Effects of Aviation, Technology and the Changing Family*) and more than 175 articles in sociological journals. He was also an effective administrator and frequently called upon to lead organizations, academic programs, and committees. While continuing his research and writing, he served as the longtime chair of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago,

editor of the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, president of the American Sociological Association and of the American Statistical Association, chair of the Social Science Research Council, and vice-president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Perhaps his most significant legacy was as the research director of the interdisciplinary “Presidential (Herbert Hoover) Research Committee on Social Trends” (United States. President's Research Committee on Social Trends. 1933). Although Ogburn was only at the University of Washington for a year, he found time to conduct field work in logging camps and wrote an article that challenged the conventional wisdom about the causes of labor unrest in the lumber industry (Ogburn 2018).

Even more influential to the evolution of the UW Department of Sociology than Ogburn was Roderick F. McKenzie (1885-1940) who served as Professor of Sociology (and Department Chair) from 1921 to 1930. Although McKenzie’s legacy was tragically cut short by an early death, he produced an impressive body of research, especially during his years at the University of Washington (Hawley 1968: vii-xxii). In a series of pathbreaking articles, McKenzie codified the embryonic ideas of the Chicago school (Robert Park and Ernest Burgess) of human ecology theory (McKenzie 1926, Hawley 1968). In a highly original work, McKenzie (1929) examined how the waves of transportation technology (ship, railroad, automobile) shaped the metropolitan structure of the Puget Sound region— an interpretation still largely intact half a century later (Guest 1979).



Roderick McKenzie

Based on his record of innovative research, McKenzie received a highly prestigious Albert Kahn Foundation award (McKenzie 1925-1926) that supported a year-long, round-the-world, study tour. Observations from this trip, field research on Asian immigration to Seattle, and statistical sources provided data for McKenzie’s (1927a, 1927b) unusually far-sighted understanding of race relations forged by political and economic forces that serve the needs of dominant groups. Here are some prophetic observations (reorganized and edited) from McKenzie’s monograph on *Oriental Exclusion* (1927a):

- Asians were initially welcomed to fill the labor needs of the frontier economy, but race prejudice soon drove the Chinese from cities to remote mines and railway camps.
- Economic competition with white workers fueled the hostility toward Asians, but economic arguments against Asians soon shifted to cultural and biological claims for restriction and exclusion.
- Extreme racial prejudice soon led to violence. In 1885 a great orgy of anti-Chinese behavior swept across the region—the most serious attack was in Rock Springs, Wyoming where twenty-eight Chinese were murdered, many more wounded, and hundreds were driven from their homes. The news of this violence spread and led to more anti-Chinese demonstrations and violence in Oregon and Washington.
- To ordinary Chinese, the exclusionary law (1924) came as an inexplicable act of cruelty perpetrated by a country they were taught to idealize as the land of liberty and justice.
- Restrictive or selective immigration inevitably breaks up natural human groups. Human beings are not like grains of corn that can be sifted and sorted into classes without violence to sentiments and causing individual suffering.

- Exclusion is no longer a solution to the problem of economic competition with races living on a lower economic level. The exclusion of one race invites the immigration of another whose standard of living may be equally low and whose racial traits may be equally divergent. The exclusion of the Chinese stimulated the immigration of the Japanese, and the exclusion of the Japanese in turn is causing an increased immigration from Mexico.
- The old system of control is passing. Modern communications and transportation are erasing or rendering obsolete most of the old territorial boundary lines. The control of human migration can no longer be successfully achieved by merely a defensive policy of guarding national boundary lines. The entire problem should be handled by international machinery based upon principles having international acceptance. There is a need at present as never before of a sound and rational immigration policy acceptable to all nations concerned.

Looking back from the present, the conclusions and interpretations expressed by McKenzie in the early 20th century are no less accurate and relevant for the 21st century. It is a pity that national policies seem to be more driven by prejudice and passion than research and wisdom.

The Schmid Era

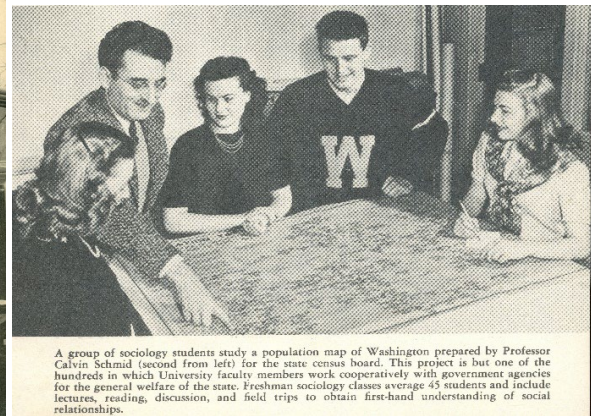
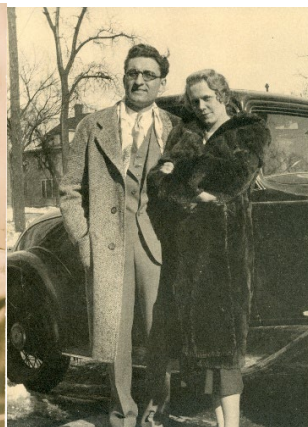
The pivotal figure in the evolution of demographic research and training at the University of Washington was Calvin Schmid (1901-94). Schmid graduated (Phi Beta Kappa) from the University of Washington in 1925 with a major in sociology. He completed his PhD at the University of Pittsburgh (1930) and served on the faculties of the University of Pittsburgh (1928-31) and the University of Minnesota (1931-37). He was appointed associate professor at the University of Washington in 1937 and promoted to full professor in 1940. He served on the UW faculty for 35 years until his retirement at age 70 in 1972. He founded the Office of Population Research (now the Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology) in 1947 and served as director for 20 years (1947-67). Schmid formally retired from the University of Washington in 1972 but remained professionally active as a consultant for many local, national, and international agencies. He was one of the founders of the UW Retirement Association in the early 1970s. After retirement, he moved from Seattle to a home he built on Whidbey Island and lived there until his death in 1994 at the age of 93. He was survived by his wife of 62 years, Helen Schmid, and two children, Barbara Linn and Stanton Schmid (Swanson 2016: 40, Van Arsdol and Wendling 1995, Stan Schmid, personal communication).

Like many of the founding figures of sociology from humble origins, college was the ladder that led to upward mobility for Calvin Schmid. As a teenager, he escaped family pressures to follow his father's trade as a baker in Cleveland and rode the rails to Seattle. He first found a job as a janitor in a drafting shop. But with ambition and natural artistic skill, he soon learned the skills of graphic design and began to design boats. These skills are illustrated with his distinctive signature and later in the statistical graphics that were a hallmark of his sociological publications.



Calvin F. Schmid's signature

The following photos show Professor Calvin Schmid at various stages of his career; courtesy of Stanton Schmid.



Notes: top left: 1925 UW graduation, top center: 1937 Calvin & Helen Schmid depart Minnesota for Seattle, top right: late 1940s newsclip of Professor Schmid with students, lower left: 1950 in front of Ravenna home, lower center: 1979 Calvin and Stan Schmid in promo photo for the Handbook of Graphic Presentation, lower right: Early 1980s at the Faculty Club. Stan Schmid noted that his father was always impeccably dressed.

Research Highlights

In a remembrance of Calvin Schmid, his longtime colleague Frank Miyamoto (1995) described him as a nominalist of the “Columbia school” who distrusted abstract theory and subjectivity, and whose sociological research focused on knowable objective reality, particularly demographic characteristics that could be measured over time and displayed graphically. This interpretation is reflected in the many graphical displays and maps that were the hallmark of Schmid’s publications. Although Schmid occasionally discussed empirical generalizations from his research (Schmid, MacCannell, and Van Arsdol 1958), he generally let facts speak for themselves. In an age when theory and interpretation were sometimes considered mere speculation, Schmid’s sociological research approach was to present “facts” in a format they could be understood by layman, policy makers, and scholars.

In a 400-page book, entitled *Social Saga of Two Cities* with a subtitle “An Ecological and Statistical Study of Social Trends in Minneapolis and St. Paul,” Schmid (1937) presented spatial patterns of population and housing by age and sex, nativity, race, family status, and other characteristics based on census enumerations, vital statistics, crime reports, and administrative records. In the introduction, Schmid (1937: viii) wrote:

This monograph is fundamentally descriptive in character and is based chiefly upon statistical facts. In analyzing and interpreting the data every effort has been made to be as objective and accurate as possible. This study may be disappointing to some, because it contains very few direct recommendations for improvement of social conditions. However, an examination of its contents should help to stimulate efforts in the direction of social betterment.

The 1937 monograph on the twin cities was a harbinger of many of the Schmid’s publications with titles such as: *Social Trends in Seattle*, *Population Growth and Distribution in Washington State*, *Growth of Cities and Towns in Washington State*, *Growth and Distribution of Minority Races in Seattle*, *Crime in the State of Washington*, and *Enrollment Statistics in Colleges and Universities in the State of Washington*. In the age before downloadable data files and computers, Schmid’s research required copying of tabular data from printed reports, laborious computations, and hand drafting of charts and graphs.

Schmid used the same “fact-based” approach in his 1965 Population Association of America Presidential address (Schmid 1966). Using a recently conducted survey of PAA members, Schmid described their geographical distribution, disciplinary field, area of specialization, and many other characteristics of demographers. The handout of tables and graphs that accompanied his presidential address was labeled [“Demographic Facts About Demographers.”](#)

Schmid’s analytical skills were in high demand to address important practical and policy-relevant issues. Early in his career at the University of Minnesota, Schmid (1939) was asked to delineate census tracts for the cities of Minneapolis, St Paul, and Duluth. Census tracts originated in the early twentieth century to map local areas with census data. Local governments often relied on census tracts to administer services and locate facilities. The creation of census tracts was based not merely on statistical expertise, but also required considerable knowledge of local history, geography, and demographic patterns to identify and map relatively small “natural areas” that were homogenous in terms of function, housing, and

population. Only 8 American cities were tracted for the 1910 census, but the number grew to 60 by 1940.

In the late 1940s, Schmid (2015, original 1949) delineated census tracts (for large cities) in Washington State and census divisions (for the rest of the state) for the 1950 Census. Washington was the first state to be completely tracted into tracts and census divisions—a model for other states to follow. Most other geographical units, such as electoral precincts and other administrative units (cities, towns, minor civil divisions) were not comparable over time, and often subject to political manipulation. Census divisions were laid out based on the principles of comparability, homogeneity, and local boundaries so that researchers and administrative offices would find them useful to regional studies and planning.

The Washington State Census Board

The turning point in Calvin Schmid's career, and the event that led to the establishment of the UW Office of Population Research (later CSDE), was the Washington State legislation that established the Washington State Census Board in 1943. The following account draws upon the first report of the Board (State of Washington 1944) and David Swanson's (2016) excellent book on the Washington State Census Board.

There was a huge wave of migration to Washington State—and the West Coast more generally— in the early 1940s following the national mobilization for World War II. In addition to the growth of uniformed armed forces at the huge Fort Lewis and Camp Murray-McChord, south of Tacoma, and at many other smaller bases throughout the state, the entire state was mobilized by war industries (airplane manufacture, shipbuilding, construction), and a boom in traditional sectors of lumber, agriculture, fishing, and mining. The population of Washington State increased by 300,000 in just two years (1942 and 1943)—mostly migrants from the Midwest. Just providing shelter and food for all the new arrivals strained resources throughout the state. After the somnolence of the Depression years, the State government had a mission—to spend funds to support the transition to a full employment economy and the needs of cities and towns to provide transportation, housing, schools, healthcare, and services for the explosive growth of population.

The state government had the financial resources to address the problem but did not have a mechanism to distribute the funds to where the needs were greatest. From the 1940 (the most recent census) to 1943, many communities had doubled or tripled their population. Following the recommendation of the Association of Washinton Cities, the state legislature decided to sponsor a program of aid based on the population size of towns and cities. This was an ingenious solution that allowed local authorities to direct resources where the needs were greatest rather than a one-size-fits-all directive from the State.

In early 1943, the state legislature established the Washington State Census Board to provide updated population estimates for 1943 and 1944 for all towns and cities in Washington. Following bureaucratic protocols, the Washington State Census Board included three members: P. Heatherton, the Executive Officer of the State Planning Council, and two additional members appointed by the presidents of the major universities in the state: Calvin F. Schmid (University of Washington) and Alfred A. Cleveland

(Washington State University). Only 18 months later (on October 15, 1944) the Census Board issued a comprehensive report with detailed population estimates for 1943 and 1944 and an accounting of how the two million dollars of state funds were to be distributed. On the front page of the report, the three names of the Census Board members are listed, but the cover letter states the report was prepared by Calvin Schmid, though it was reviewed and adopted by the other Board members.

The 1944 Census Board report (more accurately, the Schmid report) is a remarkable document. In 41 concise pages, methods of post-censal population estimation are explained, and population estimates for 223 incorporated towns and cities are presented in well-designed tables and graphs. Demographic methods of postcensal estimates using indirect indicators were still in the early stage of development (Swanson 2016: 14-15), and Schmid's work for the Washington State Census Board was one of the pioneering contributions to applied demography.

Schmid used a variety of current indicators to estimate population growth from the 1940 Census counts to 1943 and 1944 for each town and city, including ration book registrations, school enrollment, building permits, new customers for utilities, post office deliveries, births and deaths, and payroll statistics. Interestingly, Schmid does not report the equations, or the precise methods of how these indicators were used to estimate population growth across localities. He does write:

The mayors and other city officials cooperated wholeheartedly by collecting much of the information used by the Board. Business and professional men and other community leaders also rendered invaluable assistance to the Board.

Reading between the lines suggests that it might have been necessary to have some flexibility in the exact methods used to estimate local populations. For example, not every statistical indicator might have been available for all communities, and some local authorities might have been reluctant to provide data unless they thought it might have been in their interest to do so. The delicacy of managing political issues as well as statistical methods was probably very challenging. The only way to assure integrity of the process of population estimation was to maintain the scrupulously professional reputation of the Board and to appeal to the civic responsibilities of local authorities to provide unbiased local data. The fact that everyone, including the state legislature and local governments, accepted the Board's population estimates is testimony to Calvin Schmid's demographic and political skills and reputation.

The other remarkable feature of the Census Board was its cost efficiency. The operating expenses of the Board over 18 months were only \$3,219.18, covering per diems and travel expenses, clerical and secretarial assistance, printing, mimeographing, and postage. None of the Board, including Calvin Schmid, was compensated for their time spent calculating the population estimates and writing the report. Since the costs of the Board were paid from the appropriation of two million dollars to be allocated to towns and cities, one can only imagine the admiration of local governments and state officials to the Board for its frugality.

The UW Office of Population Research, 1947-67

With the recognition of the contribution of the Washington State Census Board, the Governor proposed, and the state legislature approved, continuation of the program from 1945 to 1947, which was then renewed biannually for the next 20 years (Swanson 2016:19-25). The State Census Board was governed by a committee, but Schmid was effectively in charge of operations through his role as Executive Secretary. Although funding the Board had to be approved in biannual appropriations, its continuation assured long-term funding to provide local-area population estimates by Calvin Schmid. These funds allowed Schmid to create the UW Office of Population Research in 1947.

Prior to the founding of the UW Office of Population Research, the only university with a population center was Princeton, which was founded in the late 1930s with a grant from the Milbank Memorial Fund (Phillip Hauser founded the Population Research Center at the University of Chicago in 1947). In naming the UW program, Schmid adopted the example of Princeton program, the “Office of Population Research.”

The funds from the State Census Board were largely used to fund sociology graduate students at the University of Washington—this was a win-win arrangement. Graduate students were relatively low cost, but very able workers who could use their mathematical aptitude and demographic training to provide population estimates for all towns and cities in Washington State. Although Schmid provided training and oversight to ensure accuracy, graduate students did much of the day-to-day work of the Board. Graduate students were typically hired from year to year without expectation of permanent employment.

The availability of research funds to support graduate students filled a void since there was very little funding for doctoral programs at the University of Washington or most major state universities in the 1940s or 1950s. The eminence of few universities during this period—Chicago, Columbia, and few others—was largely because of their role in producing PhDs (and supporting graduate students) that were hired by colleges and universities throughout the country.

Based on the reputation of the Washington State Census Board (and its operational arm, the UW Office of Population Research), Schmid also received contracts from several Washington State agencies for additional data (Swanson 2016: 22-33). The State requested population projections as well as post censal population estimates. An additional source of funding for the UW Office of Population Research was conducting ad hoc censuses for towns and cities that considered the decennial censuses or other population estimates were too low. The field methods for ad hoc local censuses by UW graduate students (under Schmid’s direction) were innovative applications of Census Bureau operations.

The other major application of demographic methods by Schmid and his UW graduate students was forecasts of future school enrollments in Washington State. With the baby boom in full swing from the 1940s to 1960s, public schools and colleges were struggling to accommodate increasing enrollments. The enrollment forecasts, along with population estimates and projections, created a symbiotic relationship between state agencies and the UW Office of Population Research.

In the years after World War II, many returning servicemen (supported by the GI Bill), as well as the expansion of college enrollments, led to a steady increase in the supply of applications to graduate school at the University of Washington. Funds from the State Census Board, and other state contracts, allowed the UW Department of Sociology and the Office of Population Research to expand its graduate program. Perhaps the most important legacy of the Schmid era is the extraordinary number of graduate students who earned doctoral degrees under his tutelage. Many of Schmid's doctoral students went on to play important roles as researchers, professors, and administrators in leading universities and colleges, especially on the West Coast. The list of doctoral students trained by Calvin Schmid (see details in the appendix) demonstrates a remarkable legacy.

Additional Career Achievements and Challenges

In addition to his achievements as an innovative institution builder and mentor of graduate students, Calvin Schmid was a highly productive scholar with a long list of publications in the flagship journals of sociology, criminology, and demography. His national reputation in these fields led to his election as a fellow of the American Association of the Advancement of Science and the American Statistical Association. At the height of his career in the 1950s and 1960s, he was elected to serve as president of three prestigious scholarly associations: Pacific Sociological Society, the Population Association of America, and Sociological Research Association. He was frequently called upon to serve as an advisor and consultant to federal and state agencies, including the Census Bureau and the United Nations. He also presented papers at conferences and learned societies, including international travel to meetings of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP). Calvin Schmid was one of the handful of scholars that created the modern field of demography in the mid-20th century.

In 1942, Calvin Schmid served for several months as the research director of the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) in San Francisco. The WCCA was the agency tasked with implementing President Franklin Roosevelt infamous Executive Order 9006 that authorized the internment of over 100,000 Japanese Americans, most of whom were American citizens, for the duration of the war (Daniels 1993, 1997, Shafer 1999). Four decades later, the U.S. Government formally apologized for this heinous act and paid monetary compensation to the survivors as a recognition of the injustice. Yet, the hysteria following Pearl Harbor led to contemporary support of the decision by almost all political leaders, including then California Attorney General Earl Warren. Seltzer and Anderson (2000) conclude that small area tabulations and maps from the 1940 Census were used by the army to locate Japanese American population concentrations in 1942, but that the Census Bureau did not provide individual names and addresses of individuals.

The policy to incarcerate Japanese Americans was met by opposition in Seattle and particularly on the campus of the University of Washington, where over 250 Nisei (second generation—all of whom were US citizens) were enrolled (Shaffer 1999). Among the faculty outspoken in their opposition were Sociology Department Chair Jesse Steiner and UW President L.P. Sieg. Steiner and Sieg were instrumental in supporting UW teaching associate Frank Miyamoto to transfer to the University of Chicago (beyond

the reach of the internment policy on the West Coast) where he completed his PhD during the war. Several UW graduate students, faculty members, and scholars noted that Schmid was personally opposed to the internment of Japanese Americans, though he did work for a short period for the Wartime Civil Control Administration (Van Arsdol and Wendling 1995, Isolde Raftery 2012, Shaffer 1999). The most active opponent of the internment was Robert O'Brien (1975), a UW sociology professor and dean, who became the national organizer to support Japanese students to continue their studies at colleges in the East and Midwest. In a 1975 interview, Robert O'Brien reflected on Schmid's role (quote from Seltzer and Anderson (2000):

One of the things that probably doesn't get recorded is that sometimes people who work in quiet ways can be very effective in making democracy function, and one of these was Calvin Schmid who was asked by the military to draw the maps and the plans for the evacuation of Japanese and Japanese Americans. Calvin was looking at a map of California, and he drew the line straight north so that the eastern parts of Oregon and Washington would be still available for Japanese and Japanese Americans, and these people did not have to be evacuated. I doubt if many people know this about Professor Schmid because he's a quiet person about this sort of commitment, but he had this commitment. The result was, of course, that we could relocate students to Pullman and Whitman College and other higher education institutions in the eastern part of the state.

In an interview with Isolde Raftery (2012), Frank Miyamoto reflected on Schmid's role with the Wartime Civil Control Administration:

There were two sides to Calvin Schmid. I would say that, yes, he gave data, and pulled data together, which was part of the work of apprehending the people who were in certain areas. The military wanted the data because that was what they were doing to base the evacuation upon. And Calvin Schmid undoubtedly cooperated in that. But it was data taken from the U.S. Census available to whoever went after it. Schmid happened to be knowledgeable about that data and therefore was drawn into working on it. But he was very careful to make sure that people who were not in areas subject to evacuation according to these orders wouldn't be evacuated.

Some two decades later, Schmid faced criticism for selected enrollment forecasts for higher education (Swanson 2016: 27-31). In addition to producing local population estimates for towns and cities, the Washington State Census Board issued regular reports on trends in school enrollments including forecasts of likely future enrollment in K-12 schools and higher education. Using data on current enrollment rates, population projections of the school-age population, and likely trends in future enrollment rates, Schmid and his associates (OPR graduate students) produced useful reports for Washington State public officials. The activity also generated funds to support graduate students at the University.

Since state financial support to towns and cities and to public education followed demographic estimates and forecasts, there was occasional grumbling from officials who thought their numbers were being undercounted. As noted earlier, the Office of Population Research offered to conduct local

population censuses on a cost-reimbursable basis. In 1966, officials from Washington State University complained that the Washington State Census Board forecasts of educational enrollments for WSU were too low and those at UW were too high. Some of the debate involved technical issues over data and demographic methods, and Schmid was able to show that any claims of bias were groundless. However, WSU officials claimed that there was a conflict of interest because an employee at one university (Schmid at the University of Washington) should not be responsible for enrollment forecasts that might benefit his own university (Swanson 2016: 31). This issue became a political issue over the appearance of bias. There was never any evidence that the OPR enrollment forecasts were biased.

This controversy was resolved by moving the functions of Washington State Census Board to a state agency in Olympia—a shift that Schmid favored. Several Schmid-trained students were hired to staff the new Washington State demographic unit in Olympia. The move of the Washington State Census Board ensured that Schmid's contributions and legacy would be institutionalized

By the late 1960s Schmid was nearing retirement, and the UW Office of Population Research remained essentially a "one-man shop." Schmid continued to be productive and his graduate students of the 1960s and 1970s went on to have successful careers. However, with the loss of state funds and lack of other faculty in emerging areas of demography, the future of demography at the University of Washington was in doubt. It is not known if Schmid pressed for the hiring of more demographers, but the result was that the University of Washington was falling behind other leading universities with growing demography research centers.

Stanley Lieberman and CSDE

Perhaps in anticipation of Schmid's retirement, the Department of Sociology hired a senior demographer-sociologist, Stanley Lieberman, in 1967 and a junior demographer, James McCann, in 1969. Lieberman was the second director of the UW population center (1967-72). Lieberman had a meteoric career before coming to the University of Washington at age 34 in 1967. After two years as a student at Brooklyn College, Lieberman was admitted to the joint undergraduate-graduate degree program at Chicago. Before completing his PhD at age 27, he published several articles in the leading journals of sociology and was a co-author of the seminal book *Metropolis and Region* with Otis Dudley Duncan (and others). Moving to Wisconsin after a brief stint at the University of Iowa, he advanced from assistant to full professor in six years. During his years at Wisconsin (1961-67), he published more than a dozen pathbreaking articles (and a book), which established his reputation as one of the leading scholars of race and ethnic relations, residential segregation, bilingualism, and research methods.



Stanley Lieberman

Lieberman's uncanny ability to address complex issues is illustrated in this snippet from one of his articles:

When we ask for the "causes" (of race riots), it is important that we do not confuse three different questions. First, there are the immediate events which spark riots. Second, there are the

underlying conditions which lead to this form of racial violence. Third, there is the question of why riots took place in these cities as opposed to other communities with sizable Negro populations. (Lieberson 1966: 371).

Over the next few decades, Lieberson published one blockbuster after another. His book *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants Since 1880* (U of California Press 1980) definitively showed how discrimination lessened for the children of white immigrants while it hardened for the children of Black migrants to northern cities in the early decades of the 20th century. *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America* (with Mary Waters) is the most thorough empirical assessment (circa 1980) of the whether race and ethnicity, as measured in the census and surveys, are predictive of socioeconomic status, residential location, marriage choices and childbearing, and so on. Lieberson and Waters reported wide demographic and socioeconomic inequality from the majority population for racial and Latino groups, but that most European-origin identities had largely narrowed economic, social, and other demographic gaps that characterized their disadvantaged status in the early 20th century. Moreover, almost all European origin groups, unlike racial and Hispanic defined groups, were highly inter-married. For example, most whites reported multiple ancestries, and there was a growing number of white Americans who, when asked to report their ancestry, simply responded “American.”

In his book, *A Matter of Taste: How Names, Fashions, and Culture Change*, Liberson invented a new school of research, showing how the trends and social correlates of given (first) names reveal the collective winds of culture and fashion in individual decisions that are largely independent of influences from commercialism and advertising. In these and dozens of other highly original articles and books, Lieberson shows why scholars, myself included, consider Lieberson to have been the most influential sociologist-demographer of the second half of the twentieth century.

Lieberson arrived at the University of Washington in 1967 at the age of 34 and was appointed director of the Office of Population Research. Though both Lieberson and Schmid identified as sociologist-demographers, they were at opposite ends of spectrum in terms of scholarly interests, social background, and personality. From all accounts, Schmid was a model of tradition and decorum, somewhat formal, and conservative in dress and outlook. Lieberson was outgoing, often brash, and loved to poke fun at everyone, including himself. His humor was not malicious, but was often aimed at pomposity, customs and rules, and anyone who took themselves too seriously. Radical students of the 1960s were often unsure about how to interpret his deadpan look when he claimed to be a Marxist-Feminist demographer, or that he had spent the weekend reading Foucault to reinterpret the life table. In private discussions in his office or on long walks, Lieberson was an engaging conversationalist and supportive of students and colleagues as they discussed their research and career plans.

Lieberson’s first decision was to rename the UW Office of Population Research to the Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology (CSDE). The new name was clearly a borrowing from the Center for Demography and Ecology at the University of Wisconsin where Lieberson had been on the faculty for the prior six years. The Wisconsin name reflected a broad view of the field, sometimes called social demography, or the “Michigan-Wisconsin-Chicago school,” influenced by Otis Dudley Duncan and Philip Hauser (authors of the 1959 text, *The Study of Population*). Lieberson found federal funding to support

graduate students with a NIGMS (National Institute of General Medical Services) training grant in demography. In addition to supporting graduate students, the training grant provided modest funds for the new CSDE (secretary, library, equipment, travel).

During his five years at Washington, Lieberman continued his pathbreaking record of research with two books: *Metropolis and Region in Transition* (with Beverly Duncan) and *Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada* and numerous articles in top journals including an empirical study of the military industrial complex (Lieberman 1971) and another on whether changes in corporate leadership led to improved profitability of firms (Lieberman and O'Connor 1972). Published in the leading journals of sociology, these studies show Lieberman remarkable abilities to formulate testable hypotheses, find overlooked sources of data, and to provide evidence on important questions of the day.

After only 5 years in Seattle, Lieberman was offered and accepted an offer from the University of Chicago, the oldest and most prestigious sociology department in the country and his alma mater. He did not find what he was looking for at the University of Chicago and left for greener pastures a few years later. His restless mind and spirit left a deep imprint on the many institutions where he worked and on the many colleagues and students who became lifelong friends. Below are my remarks at a celebratory event marking Stanley Lieberman's retirement from Harvard University in 2013. Rather than simply praising Lieberman, I tried to honor him by pretending to be a streetwise private detective, with a Brooklynese accent, sent to investigate him and his career.

Celebration of Stan Lieberman's Career, Aug 19, 2013.

Good evening. Many of you know me as Charles Hirschman, mild mannered sociologist. This evening, I am speaking to you from my sideline career as a private investigator. I have been retained by small college in Cambridge MA and the American Socialist Association (didn't quite get the name), to report on one Stanley Lieberman. They did not give a lot of specifics of what they were looking for but mentioned that they wanted to know more about Stanley, the MAN, the MYTH, and the LEGEND. They also asked me to waive my usual fee in return for dinner in a fancy hotel in the big city. Well, for that price, you are not going to get a full-blown investigation of his doings, let alone his wrongdoings. With limited time, I put together a few quick notes from my files, bookshelf, and memory. It is a bit of a slipshod job, but you get what you pay for.

Stanley the Man: *First of all, Stanley the Man is not related (as far as I know) to Stan "the Man" Musial, a fine St Louis Cardinals ball player, back in the 20th century. Our Stanley has a couple of suspicious traits. First of all, he is a foreigner—born in Montreal, Canada. We do not know if or how he snuck into the country, but that is a strong possibility. The second suspicious trait is that he does not appear to have a middle name. Is he trying to hide something, or perhaps his parents couldn't be bothered to think of two names. Very unusual.*

Family-wise, he appears have been a very devoted husband, father, and grandfather – married for 50 years to the same woman. Of course, appearances can be deceiving. It is entirely possible that his conventional family life could be a cover for some notorious underworld activities. We do not have any evidence of this, but he may have cleverly covered his tracks.

Now, we have mixed evidence on his personality and interpersonal relations. Some say that he is the master of the “one-liner” that can be used -- stiletto like -- to take down critics and others that Stanley thinks are not up to par. One story is that he was a particularly cruel to an Anti Semite back in the 1960s. Apparently, he went behind the person’s back and enrolled him as a member in B’nai B’rith. The repeated letters and requests for contributions from B’nai B’rith were almost more than the Anti Semite could take. A very nasty deed.

On the other hand, there is a lot of testimony from colleagues, especially junior faculty members and graduate students, that Stanley was a supportive mentor, taking them for long walks, and listening sympathetically to their problems, and sharing his own experiences. He also appears to have been a frequent correspondent, generous with praise for excellent work, and quick to acknowledge friends and colleagues in his publications. These patterns, of course, could have been just a prelude to some under-handed plans, but there is not conclusive evidence on that – at least that we know of.

Stanley the Myth. *Now the myth is that there is only one Stanley Lieberman. We have records of Stanley Liebersons living in Brooklyn, Chicago, Iowa City, Madison, Wisconsin, Seattle WA, Toronto, Canada, Tucson, Arizona, Berkeley, California, and Cambridge, Massachusetts. We even have a record that he has taken up the name of one Abbott Lawrence Lowell. Now, it is common for a successful person in his trade to move from one university to another now and then. But his pattern of recurrent mobility – back and forth across the country taking his long-suffering family with him is way beyond the normal range. Equally implausible is his record of public and professional service. Persons calling themselves Stanley Lieberman have served on committees and held professional offices in dozens of organizations, given numerous distinguished lectures, and received more honors and prizes than a 5-star general. It is time we lay to rest the myth that there is only one Stanley Lieberman. We suspect there may be two or even three of his kind. We don’t know how he mastered the art of self-cloning – perhaps growing up in Brooklyn; he got involved in a mad scientist ring working out of a basement laboratory.*

Stanley the Legend. *The work of all these Stanely Liebersons at different universities over the last half century have created quite a legendary figure among his colleagues and peers. Stanley (or the Stanleys) is reported to have largely rewritten the mission statement of the sociological enterprise. Among the legendary feats that been attributed to him are:*

- *Publishing articles in ASR and AJS while still a graduate student.*
- *Explaining that inter-marriage rates are a function of group size, exposure, as well as ethnic preferences for endogamy.*
- *Discovering data on flows of funds between banks that show how financial transactions were central to structure of metropolitan cities and regions in the United States.*
- *Proposing a novel theory of race and ethnic relations that has been reprinted in 13 subsequent publications.*
- *Making the conceptual distinction between underlying conditions and precipitating events that might account for the diffusion of “race riots” in American cities.*
- *Showing, with Glenn Fuggitt, that occupational inequality between blacks and whites would largely disappear in 2 or 3 generations if active discrimination were to be eliminated*
- *Developing a new field of sociological models of linguistic diversity*
- *Testing hypotheses of the military industrial complex*
- *Testing the hypothesis that leadership changes in large corporations have an impact on the profitability of the firm.*
- *Showing empirically that the widening gap between the children of immigrants and the Northern born African Americans between during the first half of the 20th century was due the hardening of prejudice and discrimination against blacks in Northern cities.*
- *Discovering, with Mary Waters, a new ethnic group, unhyphenated whites who claim no ethnic identity beyond being an American*
- *Developing new models, new data, and new methods for the sociology of culture with his study of names*
- *Explaining with logic, data, statistical models, and comparisons to sports and other sciences, how difficult it is to measure causality and to make empirical generalizations.*

Now, I have no idea what any of this means, but it does seem that Stan the Man, or all the Stanleys, have established quite a legendary record. So, there you have it--Stanley

Lieberson, the Man, the Myth and the Legend. It is not much of a report, but it is more than you paid for.

Sam Preston and CSDE, 1972-1977

Based on watching Sam Preston deliver a paper at the PAA meetings, Stan Lieberson recommended Preston as his replacement (Preston 2020: 4). The UW Department of Sociology quickly agreed and appointed Sam Preston, then only 28 years old, to a tenured faculty position and to be CSDE Director. Sam completed his PhD in economics at Princeton in three years (1965-68) and had served four years on the faculty in the Department of Demography at UC-Berkeley when he arrived in Seattle in 1972. Although lacking a degree in sociology appeared not to have mattered to the UW faculty, Sam, typically conscientious, prepared for his position in sociology by reading the collected works of Talcott Parsons during the summer before joining the UW faculty.



Sam Preston

Over the next five decades, Sam did not slow down. He published 17 books, more than three hundred articles, and has won every honor bestowed by scientific and professional associations, including recognitions and awards from the National Institutes of Health, Population Association of America, the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, the Population Council, National Academy of Sciences, Institute of Medicine/National Academy of Medicine, American Philosophical Society, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Statistical Association, and many more.

In a 1996 volume (Illman 1996: 181-182) celebrating 100 years of pathbreaking scientific research at the University of Washington, one of Preston's (1972, 1975, 1976) important contributions was described:

(he) resolved a long-standing controversy about the reasons for the rapid decline in mortality experienced worldwide during the first half of the twentieth century by assembling and analyzing an historical database of 165 populations from 43 countries...he showed that national income could only account for 15-20 percent of the improvement in life expectancy. Most of the gains in longevity were due to non-economic factors, such as public health, sanitation, curative medicine, and behavioral changes that decreased exposure to disease.

Preston's graph showing the historical relationship between national income and life expectancy has become known as the "Preston Curve" (Deaton 2004), and his 1975 article—heralded as a landmark study in the fields of epidemiology, public health, and demography—has been cited over 2,600 times

During his five years at the University of Washington (1972-77), Sam published three books (*Older Male Mortality and Cigarette Smoking*, *Mortality Patterns in National Populations*, and *Effects of Infant and Child Mortality on Fertility*) and more than 20 articles and book chapters. He also supervised four UW PhD dissertations (James Weed, Toby Parcel, Christopher Cluett and Alberto Palloni). Sam also invested considerable effort to strengthen the institutional and financial base of CSDE by writing successful applications for a NIMH Training Grant and a NICHD Population Center Grant. During his time at the UW,

he also wrote a successful grant application to the National Science Foundation to scan and transcribe manuscript records from the 1900 U.S. Census and produce the public use microdata sample and make it available to all researchers. Preston's 1900 Census project was a first and served as the model for similar projects around the world, most notably the University of Minnesota's IPUMS project, led by Steven Ruggles.

In addition to scholarly contributions, Sam Preston was also a gifted administrator. He was able to raise funds, organize conferences, chair meetings, share credit with colleagues, charm donors, and inspire students. What student could resist a teacher who would sprinkle his lectures with *bon mots* like the following:

Demography (has created) some ingenious indexes that provide a unique lens on the social world. (For example), life expectancy at birth is the average number of years an individual would live if subject for all of his or her life to the set of age-specific death rates prevailing in a population. What could be more beautiful? (Preston 2020: 14).

I still recall his 1984 PAA Presidential Address (Preston 1984) that brought the ballroom audience of conference-weary demographers to their feet with a prolonged standing ovation. In addition to multiple stints as center director and departmental chair over the course of his career, Sam also served for seven years as Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences at University of Pennsylvania. I have known many extraordinary colleagues who were appointed to senior university administrative roles (deans, provosts, presidents), and most profess a desire to return to teaching and research after the completion of their intensive round-the-clock administrative role. But the usual paths are retirement, continuation of an administrative career, or appointment to an honorific sinecure. Sam is the only former high level university administrator that I have known who successfully returned to his former position as a highly productive researcher.

About 25 years ago, Sam and I were fellows in the same class at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS) at Stanford. Each fellow is expected to give a research talk in the CASBS seminar series during the year. Speakers typically ask another CASBS fellow to introduce them, and there is a bit of competition to give witty, interesting, and memorable introductions of speakers. Here is mine for Sam Preston for his 1993 CASBS seminar

Introducing Sam Preston at CASBS Seminar, Fall 1993

Over the last few decades, the status of the field of demography has risen dramatically. Twenty-five years ago, when I first entered the field, demography was seen by many social scientists as a kind of bookkeeping -- minding the census and tabulating descriptive results to the third decimal. This image -- whether it was ever true or not -- has largely disappeared. Demography now has an aura of a field where important, and even interesting, results are discovered. Growing far beyond its position as a subfield of sociology, the professional meetings and journals of demography attract the best and brightest from several disciplines (including economics, history, and anthropology) who are interested in questions about the state of the American family, the

problems of the cities, socioeconomic change in the third world in addition to the traditional bread and butter issues of fertility, mortality, and migration.

This new status of demography was illustrated a couple of years ago when the Christian Science Monitor ran a series on the social sciences -- they identified four key fields [sociology, economics, psychology, and demography]. Each field was presented through a profile of an intellectual leader in the discipline. For demography, the profile was of Sam Preston, our speaker this evening. While it may be going too far to suggest that the rise in the status of the field of demography is due to Sam Preston, his contributions have had more than a little bit to do with it. Sam is one of those scholars whose works have had a tremendous impact within his own discipline and far beyond. The scope of his work is staggering; he has written or edited a dozen books and more than 100 articles. But the value of his work is not revealed by its volume -- it is the quality of his scholarship that has gained him recognition. His writings occupy a disproportionate space in the required readings for graduate courses around the country. When colleagues from other disciplines discover that I am a demographer, I am frequently asked about one of Sam's articles or books.

Usually, academic stardom is reserved for those who have made either great theoretical breakthroughs or fundamental methodological contributions. Sam knows the value of an idea more than almost anyone and has the uncanny ability to interpret data in novel ways. But his primary contribution has not been theoretical -- in the usual sense of that term. In fact, I am not even sure that I know Sam's views on most of the major theoretical issues in the social sciences. In terms of methods, there may be more justification for recognizing Sam's major contributions. He has been a major player in the development of demographic methods and is the author of a paper of the grand synthesis of the mathematics of population. The problem is that there may only be a hundred people in the world who really understand the issues at the frontiers of demographic methodology. Fame is rarely based on accomplishments that most scholars cannot fully understand or appreciate -- no matter how well it might be deserved.

In my judgement, Sam has earned his stripes the old-fashioned way: he has answered empirical questions about how the world works. Not just any questions -- he takes on big questions that have perplexed prior scholars for years and even decades. And not just any answers -- his articles are meticulously crafted with alternative analyses and interpretations considered. He resolves prior confusion and debates and makes it look easy. It leaves most readers wondering why they had not done the research themselves. Some illustrations might be in order.

For decades, demographers and medical historians had debated the reasons for the great increase in longevity during the middle decades of the 20th century. Some argued that medical and public health interventions were primarily responsible, while others concluded that rising levels of income and improved nutrition were the reason. There were case studies of specific countries and of specific diseases with wildly different conclusions. There was more than enough evidence to support quite contradictory interpretations. In a research project based on repeated cross-sectional data from dozens of countries, Sam resolved the question. About 15-20% of the

improvement in longevity is due to factors associated with the increase in economic development, but the balance is due to other factors -- primarily public health interventions and greater access to curative medicine.

You are familiar with all the arguments over the rise in divorce in the U.S. Some argue that the reasons for a weaker commitment to marriage can be found in the cultural changes that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. Others, with more historical depth, argue that you must look back to the conditions after World War II that altered the social landscape. Sam examined the trend in divorce in American society for marriage cohorts from the Civil War to the present. He found that there has been a continuing upward trend in divorce for more than 100 years. He suggests that interpretations for the historical rise in divorce must be rooted in the nature of modernization itself and the rise of urban industrial society.

In another classic study, Sam looked at the factors behind the extraordinarily rapid growth of cities in contemporary developing countries. The conventional wisdom, from those who write World Bank reports to those with a neoMarxist perspective, is that rural to urban migration is the dominant reason for the high growth rates of Third World cities. In an unusually comprehensive analysis with data from almost every developing country, Sam has shown that rural to urban migration is not the primary force behind third world city growth, but rather natural increase among urban populations. Quite a few theories need to be revised in light of this finding.

His book Fatal Years: Child Mortality in Late 19th Century America, coauthored with Michael Haines has challenged much of what we thought we knew about the inequality of mortality in American history. His 1993 article in Demography on African American family structure in 1910 has changed the course of a debate about the Black family that has preoccupied scholars from E Franklin Frazier to William Julius Wilson. Most important of all was a formal modelling exercise published last year in AJS, that exposed the flaws in the thesis that differential fertility by IQ necessarily leads to a lowering of IQ in the general population.

For many of his empirical studies, Sam found that the data to conduct the comprehensive study did not exist. So, he set about creating it. He compiled multiple life tables for many countries in the world when no one imagined it could be done. And more than anyone, he has opened up American historical studies with the creation of microdata samples from the 1900 and 1910 Censuses. These were monumental efforts to draw samples from the original census manuscript records, code the data with full detail, and then to put them into the public domain for all scholars to use.

For all of his achievements and love of demography and social science, it is clear to anyone who has had more than a 15-minute chat with Sam that he has even a greater passion than his research -- that is baseball. If Sam had the ability to play major league baseball at age 20 (or maybe even age 50), he would have quickly chucked his entire academic career. Many of us are secretly glad that Sam did not have the athletic prowess to match his scholarly talents. We need

him more than the majors do. He also writes country and western songs, but that is another story.

Continuity and Change in CSDE: The 1970s and 1980s

When Sam Preston left UW to accept a position with United Nations in 1977, the University of Washington hired Tom Pullum to be the next Director of CSDE. Tom was a sociologist demographer with a PhD from the University of Chicago and had worked on the World Fertility Project in London and served on the faculty at the University of California-Davis. With a strong publication record and expertise in mathematical demography, Tom might have been considered someone likely to follow in the footsteps of Sam Preston as CSDE director. Tom was also a very effective teacher and graduate student mentor. One former student describes Tom as “warm, approachable and of critical support at my beginning year or so of my doctoral career.” Tom was also an effective research collaborator and co-authored several articles with CSDE faculty and graduate students.



Tom Pullum

The reality is, however, that no mortal could have filled the shoes left behind by Sam Preston. In a 2015 interview with PAA Affairs (Lawton 2015: 5-6) Tom Pullum described himself as “journeyman demographer - the kind of player that goes to the team that needs him.” If attractive opportunities arose, Tom took leave from his university position and was also willing to spend weeks or months traveling for consulting and contract research. Moreover, Tom was shy and not endowed with the sort of personality that exudes the bonhomie and intellectual excitement that characterized CSDE during the Lieberman and Preston eras. Tom continued to publish significant demographic research, but not with the interdisciplinary breadth or scale that would attract major grants or a wide following.

With fewer faculty affiliates and external grants, CSDE was unsuccessful in renewing its NICHD center and training grants in the early 1980s. Without institutional support, CSDE lost its staff and University interdisciplinary status within the UW Graduate School and returned to being an administrative unit wholly within Sociology. Although it is difficult to fully reconstruct all the factors that weighed on the contraction of CSDE in the late 70s and early 80s, the long-term impact of the “Boeing Bust” on the state economy, the small number of CSDE faculty, and internal divisions within the core CSDE faculty were probably contributing factors. Despite these setbacks, CSDE core faculty members, including Tom Pullum, Avery M. “Pete” Guest, and James McCann, continued to publish in the sociological and demographic journals and mentored graduate students who went on to have successful and productive research careers.

Pete Guest joined the Department of Sociology in 1972, the same year that Sam Preston arrived. Pete received his PhD from the University of Wisconsin in 1970 and spent two years on the faculty at Dartmouth before accepting the position at the University of Washington. Pete’s primary research interests were in urban sociology and human ecology, but he published prodigiously on a wide range of topics, including family, political attitudes, race and ethnicity, demographic methods, social stratification, and demographic history. Although the prominence of Stanley Lieberman and Sam Preston in CSDE

history tends to overshadow everyone else, Pete Guest was the faculty member who served the longest and left the deepest legacy on the CSDE institutional culture and graduate students.

Pete Guest served more than three decades on the UW faculty, compiling a strong record of teaching and research, received numerous NICHD grants, mentored dozens of graduate students, held several administrative roles (including CSDE Director and acting chair of Sociology), and served as editor from 1991 to 1993 of *Demography*, the flagship journal of the Population Association of America. His publications were published in the leading journals of several disciplines, including demography, sociology, geography, and urban affairs.



Pete Guest

Pete was a constant presence in the Department; his door was always open and his two-finger typing—in the pre-computer era—was seen and heard by all who passed by. Pete’s teaching, especially his graduate courses, was designed to engage students in research. With his infectious interest in research, many graduate students learned their life’s calling in discussions and collaborations with Pete as their mentor. Many of his articles were co-authored with graduate students

Although Pete was initially a reluctant administrator, who preferred to spend his time in teaching and research, he was widely respected for his judgement and integrity by his colleagues. When asked to serve on committees and in administrative roles, he was a conscientious and effective leader. He is best remembered for his role in the creation of the CSDE logo. Pete asked Marvin Oliver, a native American artist and UW faculty member, to design a logo that would be a representation of the field of demography and our Pacific Northwest heritage. Salmon, the keystone species of the Pacific Northwest, are portrayed giving birth, migrating, and in death—the three primary demographic processes.



*CSDE Logo designed by
Marvin Oliver*

Pete also had a strong interest in the history, ecology, and community structure of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest more generally. He wrote an important article (Guest 1977) that replicated and revised Roderick McKenzie’s classic study of ecological succession in the Puget Sound. He also wrote a series of papers that examined neighborhood identification and the decline of community hypothesis in Seattle (Guest, Lee, and Staeheli 1982, Guest, Lee, Oropesa, and Metch 1984, and several others). Though never one to shine the spotlight on himself, Pete, whenever asked, would share his deep knowledge of Seattle, the Puget Sound region, and the parks and wilderness frontiers of the Pacific Northwest. All of which he loved to explore during vacations.

Pete and I also had a shared history that began in graduate school at the University of Wisconsin in the late 1960s. Pete had a master’s degree in journalism and worked as a newspaper reporter before deciding to pursue graduate school in sociology. This experience, and his seniority as a graduate student, made him a mentor of sorts to the demography graduate students in my cohort. The late 1960s was a period of record expansion of sociology and demography at the University of Wisconsin. For example, there were about 100 sociology graduate students in my entering cohort (1967) and of these, about 6 to 8 were funded by (or considered themselves affiliated with) the demography center. The political tumult of the times (the Vietnam War, the Civil Rights Movement, and the ambience of “the 60s”) was as

important as the intellectual excitement within sociology/demography—all of which created a stage for dramatic events and personalities. For the most part, political issues did not detract from student ambitions for research careers (at least for those who continued in school) but infused them with a concern for relevance and a disdain for traditional hierarchy.

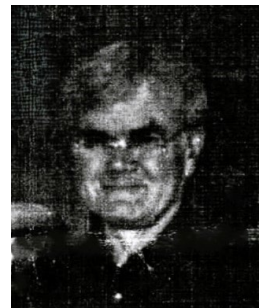
For example, the “radical” response by graduate students in demography who questioned the lack of interest to social issues at the PAA meetings was founding the journal (really a newsletter) of *Concerned Demography*. Among the issues of concern were the lack of pushback against the thesis of “overpopulation,” which blamed the poor for having too many children, the relative paucity of minorities and women in positions of power, and the disfranchisement of students in PAA elections. By virtue of his seniority and ability to write quickly and humorously, Pete was the intellectual leader of the Wisconsin graduate students who created [Concerned Demography](#) in 1969-70. I was among the admiring acolytes. Although “radical” was sometimes used as an epithet, all the Wisconsin demography students completed their doctoral degrees and have had very successful academic careers. During the 1970s, Pete and I continued our friendship with get togethers at the annual meetings of the PAA, and we also regularly read each other’s draft research papers for collegial critiques. Pete’s comments invariably improved my drafts before submitting them to journals.

Jim McCann arrived at the University of Washington in 1969 as an assistant professor. He published only a small number of articles, but several were highly original, and he earned tenure and promotion to associate professor in the late 1970s. Following a series of personal setbacks, Jim’s career stagnated, but he continued to teach a rigorous course in demographic methods and was a daily presence in CSDE for more than two decades until his premature death in 1995. Rather than presenting a career history here, I am including the statement that I read at his memorial service on July 20, 1995.

Notes for Jim McCann Memorial Service July 20, 1995

I first met Jim McCann in 1974. The Dept of Sociology at Duke, where I was then employed, was engaged in the search for a demographer, and all the signs led to the trail of Jim McCann -- the brilliant young demographer on the faculty of the U of Washington. Jim was brought in for a visit, and in due course was offered the position. He turned down the Duke offer and decided to stay in Seattle. Rumor had it that the University of Washington had made a strong counter-offer and persuaded Jim to stay. I recall the Jim McCann of 1974 in very positive terms. He was smart and articulate. Personally charming and attractive, I was really hoping to have him as a colleague at Duke. Although that did not happen in 1973, we did become colleagues and good friends 14 years later when I joined him on the faculty of the University of Washington.

For much of the last 8 years, I have had regular, usually daily contact with Jim. For many years, we had lunch together several times a week. In the last year or so, Jim's schedule changed, and our lunches were less frequent. But we usually talked every morning. By the time I arrived at 8 am, Jim had already been at the office for some time, and he was ready for conversation. He



Jim McCann

would come by my office for a 10-to-15-minute chat, then he would run off his 8:30 class. In spite of his shyness with strangers, Jim loved to talk with close friends and colleagues.

Entry into Jim's circle of friends was not automatic. Proximity was a necessary, but not a sufficient condition. Once admitted into Jim's circle, you were there for life. It didn't matter if you went away for months or even years. Even if you said something that Jim thought was wrong or even dumb, that did not bother Jim. You did not even have to agree with Jim's political or social views to be his friend. Just being there and talking with Jim whenever you were there was sufficient to be part of Jim's circle of friends.

Conversations with Jim were never dull. He always had interesting and insightful comments to make on the state of the department, national politics, and international affairs. Jim loved to gossip about the faculty and students (past and present) in the department. Mostly he talked with high regard for the professional personal qualities of his colleagues and students. He respected brilliance in all forms and areas of specialization. But his sense of humor was always present. He had a deadly eye for observing pompous actions, self-interested claims or behavior, or anything that he thought did not measure up to what it should be. His comments were typically witty observations that punctured balloons but were never mean spirited. In fact, he always tried to interpret others' behavior in a positive light.

Jim was one of the most well-informed people I ever knew. His enormous breadth of interests, his training as a historian, and his natural gift for sociological analysis always led to interesting conversations. He was equally adept in discussing medieval history, immigration patterns to the United States, and the intricate maneuvers of contemporary Russian politics. He would sometimes ask me to interpret some recent event in Indonesian or Burmese politics and then startle me by how much he knew on the topic.

I have lots of Jim McCann stories that could stretch on for hours. Let me just share two of my most vivid memories of Jim. One was a story that he told when he woke up late for class -- or at least thought that he did.

Most of you know that a few years ago, Jim switched his schedule so that he got up in the middle of the night, worked for several hours at home, and then came into the University, by bus, at some early hour. He taught morning classes. After lunch, he had put in a full day and went home to settle in for the night. One day, as he tells the story, he awoke and looked at the clock, it was 8:15 and he was going to be late for class. How could he have overslept! He called for a taxi and quickly dressed. He called the Dept office to ask someone on the staff to go to his classroom to tell the students that he was running late. No answer -- just when he needs help, everyone else is late getting to work.

It was dark outside at 8:30 am, a bit unusual, but this was Seattle winter, and the days could be short. The taxi arrived and took Jim to the University. Jim ran to his classroom, but no one was there. He was upset that the students had not waited for him. In fact, the building seemed awfully empty for this time of morning. He went to the Dept office, and it was closed. In fact,

nobody was there. What was going on? Finally, he found some students in the computer lab and asked where everyone was. Well, they answered, at 9 pm, this was about all the folks that were generally around at that hour. Jim realized that he had not overslept at all, but that he had gotten up at 8:15 pm, not 8:15 am. At this point, Jim decided to celebrate the moment. He had been on a strict diet of vegetables, but he went to McDonalds for a dinner of a Big Mac and fries.

I cannot do justice to Jim's story. His style, his self-deprecating humor, and his witty asides had me in tears. Jim was amused at his own folly and clearly enjoyed regaling me with all of the details of his story.

Another memorable time with Jim was the dinner party that he hosted for Robin and Marguerite Williams a few years ago. Robin had retired as a distinguished professor of sociology at Cornell (he had served as president of the American Sociological Association at age 43) and was an occasional visiting professor at the University of Washington. Jim and Robin were regular luncheon companions during Robin's visits to the campus. Although rather different in the most obvious ways, Jim and Robin shared many passions: heaping loads of pepper on everything in their plates, exchanging stories of sociologists past and present, and even reporting on their vivid dreams. Marguerite was also very fond of Jim, and the Williams invited Jim to join them for early dinners on several occasions.

A few years ago, I had invited Robin to give a talk at the University of Washington, and the Williams were to spend the weekend in Seattle. With long-advance planning, Jim decided to host a dinner for the Williams at his home -- at about 4 pm on Saturday afternoon. All that I can say is that it was probably the most elegant gourmet dinner that I ever attended. Jim was the perfect host. He showed us around his house and explained the history of several antique pieces of furniture. The meal began with an appetizer and was followed by dishes that were pleasing to the eye and the palate. This was a part of Jim that I had heard stories about but had not really seen before. The event created one of Williams' most wonderful memories of Seattle.

I will miss Jim more than I can ever really express today. I will miss his example of real courage. Jim had experienced some personal and professional setbacks that took their toll in the years before I got to know him. Several years ago, when he decided to lose excess weight, get back into a program of better fitness, stop smoking, and take control of his life, I asked Jim what motivated him. He told me that he was experiencing shortness of breath and other health problems. He realized that a doctor would tell him what he needed to do, so that he might as well just do it himself. I am not sure how many others could have done what he did -- and to have kept to it. It was an inspiring performance that left me in awe. When I have to confront some difficult things that I should do, but do not want to do, Jim's example gives me courage to persevere.

Most of all, I will miss Jim's sense of humor and his friendship that was centered in the daily rituals of conversation. Most of the time I go racing through life, trying to solve more problems than is possible or practical, in order to prepare for the perfect tomorrow. Jim tried to teach me that tomorrow is already here and that we need to live for today as well as tomorrow. He took

great delight in life's many routines, especially as he began to develop new interests in life. He shared with me many of his delights in his new life -- recipes for cooking, shopping for foodstuffs in Moscow, his pleasures and insights in learning a new language at mid-life, his latest students and their progress. His ability to laugh at himself and others without any expressions of envy or recrimination is another aspect of his life that holds great meaning for me. As I struggle to deal with the loss of Jim in my life, I will try to find comfort in the lessons that he taught me through the example of his life.

My Transition from Cornell to the University of Washington.

By the early 1980s, my career seemed to be in the upswing. With signs of some career success (publications, grants, national review committees) and in mid-career, I received job inquiries from several other universities. It was flattering, but I did my best to discourage them. Academic recruitment processes are time intensive for both candidates and universities, and I tended to look askance at colleagues who were always in the job market. Moreover, I was not in the job market. I had moved to Cornell in 1981 after 9 years at Duke (my first job) and understood the costs and disruption of changing jobs and moving a family to a new city. Although Jo and our children had adapted well to the transition from Durham, North Carolina to Ithaca, New York, I was not anxious to test my luck again.

In the spring of 1986, Pete Guest called to inquire if I might be interested in a faculty position at the University of Washington. Tom Pullum had moved to the University of Texas, and UW had received approval from the Dean to search for a senior demographer and CSDE director. My friendship with Pete cut both ways—it would be wonderful having him as a colleague, but I wanted to be sure there was a good possibility that I would accept before opening the door to a recruitment effort. Pete painted a very enticing picture. The UW Department of Sociology was ranked among the top ten graduate programs among American universities, and Seattle was rated as one of the best cities to live and raise a family. The UW population center had fallen on hard times, Pete explained, and I would have free hand and the support to rebuild it around my research interests. I left the door open a crack.

Overall, my family and I were happy with life at Cornell and Ithaca. I had been promoted to full professor, received generous raises every year, and had numerous close friends across the campus (Robin Williams, George Kahin, Glen Elder, Sid Tarrow, among others). I was particularly enchanted with my colleagues in the Southeast Asia Program (SEAP). The SEAP faculty were the leading historians, anthropologists, and scholars of the region. Moreover, SEAP was an active social community with weekly faculty lunches, a brown bag seminar series, and frequent dinners/social events for visiting speakers and other occasions. Despite being a newcomer and my relative youth, I was appointed to be SEAP associate director and was expected to succeed Ben Anderson as director. My wife, Jo, had a well-paying position teaching in a nearby junior high school, and she has just completed remodeling our three-story house that was close enough to campus so that I could walk to work. Much of our social life was centered on nearby families with children who were friends of our children. Many of the denizens of Ithaca, including numerous

Cornell families, like to brag that Ithaca was the best small town in America. Although we were not in that camp, we had a very comfortable life that would have been difficult to top.

However, there was one very uncomfortable push factor. The Cornell Department of Sociology had recently hired a “star,” who began acting like a petty despot: dominating hiring decisions, graduate student admissions, and disparaging areas and people in the department who stood in his way. All those who tried to voice restraint, including me, were marginalized in one way or another. I was very disappointed by several sociology faculty members, whom I had respected, that went along with this uncivil despot. The Cornell Sociology department had a history (long before I arrived) of personal disputes and rivalries, and perhaps some faculty members decided they had better side with the top dog before they became a target. I had several options, including transferring to other units on campus. But I really did not know what to do.

With all these considerations, Jo was willing to consider the prospect of moving to Seattle and came with me for my job interview in the fall of 1986. With the support of the University and Pete and Kris Guest, Jo had her own schedule of meetings and tours in Seattle. Both Jo and I liked Seattle and the University, and Jo felt good about her career prospects in a larger metropolitan area. We returned for a second trip with our children and visited schools and neighborhoods. The kids were not keen on moving but were not totally against it either.

During my initial trip to Seattle and follow-up visits, I met a number of people who would become valued colleagues and good friends. I already knew Pete, Jim McCann, and Paul Burstein. Paul was associate director of the NSF Sociology program when I was on the NSF review panel, and he was the author of several excellent papers on public opinion and the Vietnam War that I admired. Previously he had been on the faculty at Vanderbilt in Nashville, and we often spent the holidays at Jo’s family home near Nashville. Jo and I had gotten together with Paul and Florence Bernstein for a social visit a few years earlier. I was also impressed with the quality of the UW Department of Sociology and the graduate program. Fred Campbell, the department chair, was an extraordinary host for our multiple visits. He even recruited his daughter to take our children for a tour of Seattle and ride on the monorail.

I did not know Adrian Raftery previously but spent an enchanting hour with him during my job visit: talking about his recent arrival in Seattle, the UW Department of Statistics, and our shared research interests. I even asked Adrian’s advice on a statistical issue, and he clearly explained what I needed to know. I was most impressed with Tad Blalock, who was one of my heroes. Tad volunteered to take my family and me on a day long tour of the Puget Sound, including a ferry ride. Although not on the initial agenda of the Sociology Department, the incipient UW Southeast Asian Center (Biff Keyes, Dan Lev and several others) become part of the UW recruitment effort.

With a green light from my family, feeling anxious about the fate of Cornell Sociology, and the excitement of the opportunity to rebuild CSDE, I accepted the UW offer. Looking backward, it was the right decision on all counts.

CSDE and me (Charles Hirschman) 1987-95

I was the Director of CSDE for eight years from 1987 to 1995, including a one-year sabbatical, the 1993-94 academic year, when I was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in Behavioral Sciences (CASBS) at Stanford. Pete Guest was the acting director when I was at CASBS with the understanding that I would resume directorship on my return. The following paragraphs are roughly chronological but are also organized by major issues.

Lofty Ambitions and Learning the Ropes

When I arrived in 1987, I understood the broad outlines of the recent history of CSDE, but not many of the details. I was optimistic, perhaps naively, about the challenges ahead. Based on my experiences with population centers (a student at Wisconsin, faculty member at Duke and Cornell, research collaborator at UNC), and knowledge of programs at other leading universities, I had a pretty good understanding of what makes a good interdisciplinary population research center.

Most academic departments are stretched thin with a primary commitment to day-to-day administration of personnel (faculty and staff) and the organization of teaching and advising of students. Research centers generally arise with a focus on the collective needs of researchers often from across several departments. Since the 1960s, population research centers have expanded at many American (and international) universities with the availability of external funding from foundations and the federal government. The common strategy is for several research-orientated faculty members to set up a population center to share collective goods: data archives (census reports and electronic data files), computing resources, statistical consulting, library (books, journals, technical reports), and staff support to prepare/manage grants. These collective resources shift over time with changes in technology and research priorities.

When I arrived at the University of Washington in 1987, I had a general plan to rejuvenate CSDE, including the graduate curriculum in demography, starting up a weekly seminar series, rebuilding the physical resources (library, computer room), reach out to faculty members with latent interests in demography, and search for external funds to support CSDE initiatives. I also had strong beliefs about the importance of shared leadership. At Duke and Cornell, the population center directorships were virtually career-long appointments. I believed (and still do) that creating a participatory and intellectual community of faculty members based on shared values and interdependence was essential for the success of interdisciplinary centers. My plan was to serve as director for five years, create a democratic governance structure, and then pass the baton. In my first meeting with CSDE faculty, these ideas were warmly received by new colleagues, and I started to work.

Initially, I spent a lot of time talking (and listening) with everyone about the needs and future of the Center. Then I would write long memos, which would be circulated for feedback, and then revised until there was consensus. The first priority was the graduate curriculum, including a sequence of core courses that would constitute a concentration in demography and ecology and prepare students for prelim exams. In general, these core courses would rotate among faculty so there was shared

understanding of the field. More specialized graduate seminars would be offered every other year and would reflect the research interests of a particular faculty member.

My other priority was to create a social community among CSDE faculty with strong connections to other sociologists and like-minded faculty in other departments. Membership was open to anyone who showed up at CSDE events and was formalized by adding their names to the CSDE brochure. The most obvious need was to resurrect the weekly CSDE seminar that featured research talks by faculty, graduate students, and occasional visitors. I tried various venues and durations (including a late afternoon time followed by a sherry hour) but finally settled on Friday brownbag over the noon hour (actually 12:30 to 1:20 to conform to the UW class schedule). To promote sociability, I reserved a table (marked by a CSDE sign) for luncheons at the Faculty Club for the hour before the weekly seminar. There was no agenda for the Faculty Club discussions, but there was never a shortage of things to talk about. I also hosted parties at our house (with Jo's support) whenever there was an out-of-town CSDE speaker.

My most valuable mentor in these early years was Herb Costner, who became the Department of Sociology chair a few months after I arrived. Herb was a master (and model) administrator—in terms of knowledge, diplomacy, and temperament. He had been an associate dean for social sciences at UW, spent several years in senior position at the National Science Foundation in Washington, DC, and was widely respected by everyone for his wisdom and integrity. Herb must have decided that I had potential and that a revitalized CSDE would be good for Sociology and the University.

Herb first engineered my appointment to the Department of Sociology Executive Committee—an opportunity to learn about departmental issues and personalities and how Herb anticipated problems before they arose. Herb then introduced me to the key administrators on campus, accompanying me for in-person visits to their offices. Herb coached me on what resources might be possible and gave me feedback for follow up memos. Herb even arranged for a [feature story about me and CSDE in the UW Week](#)—the University of Washington administration publication. From time to time, Herb also explained why some sociology colleagues might be concerned that gains for CSDE might come at the expense of other departmental priorities. I learned a lot about being a thoughtful administrator by just watching Herb talk with faculty and administrators.

Perhaps the most important lesson I learned from Herb and the early contacts with UW administrators is that a record of success is much more persuasive than a tale of woes. Every unit on campus makes requests, often quite justified, for additional funds and positions from the university. But with very limited resources, administrators are more likely to invest in units that already have a strong track record. With two major research grants that included funds for graduate students, a postdoc (who moved with me to Seattle), and some clerical support, I was able to create the appearance of a revitalized CSDE shortly after I arrived. Then, a few months later, I applied for and received a small startup grant from the Hewlett Foundation. This was followed up with a larger Hewlett grant that provided funds for international graduate students and staff support. A couple years later, we received a Mellon grant to create postdoctoral program. These external grants, along with my ambitions, convinced the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and the Vice Provost for Research (Alvin Kwiram) to provide modest funds for CSDE.

Within a few years, CSDE had a small professional staff that included an administrative assistant, a computer core director, a librarian, and several dedicated work-study students who were available to do whatever odd jobs that needed to be done. There were also upgrades to the physical facilities, including new computers and networking for the computer lab, a new enlarged space for the CSDE Library, and a small budget for books and journal subscriptions.

CSDE Faculty: Numbers and Identity

Population research centers typically have a mix of faculty affiliates, including a “core” with a primary identity as demographers (and who can teach courses in demographic theory and methods) and larger group of sociologists, economists and other social scientists who use population data (censuses and surveys) and find intellectual kinship in broadly defined population research community. This is not a bright line, and there are many researchers whose primary identity is “both.” For example, Stan Lieberman was probably considered more of a sociologist than a demographer though he frequently taught demographic methods. There is a standing joke at meetings of the Population Association of America, when someone begins their presidential address expressing astonishment at being elected as PAA president without have taken a course in demography. Most attendees just chuckle, knowing that such distinctions are relatively unimportant in a field lacks the autonomy of departmental status or grant degrees.

Although most demographers tend to eschew the question of “who is a demographer,” the issue doesn’t disappear because sometimes it does matter, especially in matters of faculty hiring. Although most faculty have research interests in multiple areas of specialization, qualifications to teach advanced courses, especially at the graduate level, are often important criteria. Interdisciplinary centers, including population centers, have a strong interest in faculty hiring, but decision making typically rests in disciplinary departments. Population centers need to have at least a few “traditional demographers” to teach core courses, but external success and funding are to be only possible by attracting productive faculty members from beyond the core. Population centers generally minimize any social or status distinctions based on a traditional definition of demography because the collective good rests on research productivity not on disciplinary bloodlines.

It might be useful to begin with a look at the evolution and devolution of CSDE faculty in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1976, Sam Preston applied for and received a NICHD Center grant of over \$700,000 to transform CSDE from a small unit in Sociology into an interdisciplinary research center focused on the determinants and consequences of population trends. There was a core demography faculty in Sociology, (Preston, Guest, and McCann), but the NICHD Center grant was awarded to a new interdisciplinary CSDE structure, which included associate directors from the Jackson School (Susan Hanley) and Economics (Robert Higgs) and additional multidisciplinary representation on the steering committee with faculty members from Psychology, Geography, Biostatistics, Psychiatry, Epidemiology, Health Services, Social Work, Battelle Memorial Institute, Genetics, and the Law School. Although CSDE continued in its location in Savery Hall, it was recognized as an interdisciplinary center by the Graduate School and received additional university funding for staff support.

The devolution of the NICHD funded population center at the University of Washington began in the late 1970s following the departure of Sam Preston (he accepted a position with the United Nations with a two-year leave from UW, but he never returned). With the replacement of Preston by Tom Pullum, the size of the core demography group did not change—there were still three sociology faculty members. But without Preston’s leadership, the broad interdisciplinary structure and participation of affiliate faculty of the NICHD center began to atrophy. The NICHD center grant was not renewed (it is unclear whether a proposal was even submitted). CSDE retreated to a smaller unit within sociology with neither staff nor funds for graduate student support. In the early 1980s, Jim McCann experienced a series of personal and health problems that stymied his academic career. When Tom Pullum moved to the University of Texas in 1986, Pete Guest was the only full-time sociology faculty member, specializing in demography who was active research and mentoring graduate students

In the mid-1980s there were two appointments of faculty members who were to play major roles in CSDE. In 1985, Bill Lively, a new PhD sociologist-demographer from Michigan, was hired to fill a position for a China specialist in the Jackson School, with a joint appointment in sociology. Although Bill was only half time in sociology, he taught core population courses at both the undergraduate and graduate level. He was also highly regarded mentor of graduate students, particularly those with an interest in China.

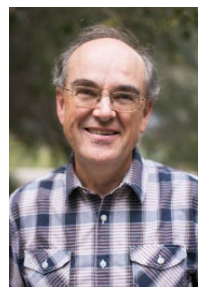


Bill Lively

Bill and I shared several common bonds as area specialists, including an understanding of the importance of foreign language fluency and fieldwork to advance international demography. We also shared the influence of Ron Freedman, the founder of the Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan and one of the founding figures in modern demography. Freedman was Bill’s mentor and dissertation advisor when he was a graduate student at the University of Michigan. I first met Ron Freedman, when I was a graduate student at Wisconsin and interviewed for a position at Michigan. His stature as a scholar and administrator, coupled with his genial personality and kindness, cast a long shadow on my career and aspirations.

In the 1990s, Bill directed the [China in Time and Space project](#), and international consortium to collect and disseminate temporal data for small geographic areas in China. In many ways, my research on Southeast Asia paralleled and complemented Bill’s work on China. Had we not been encumbered with too many administrative obligations, had more colleagues with expertise in area studies and demography, and been able to conquer our tendency to procrastination, the history of CSDE might have been very different.

In 1986, Adrian Raftery joined the University of Washington with a joint appointment in Statistics and Sociology (engineered by Tad Blalock, who was instrumental in founding the UW Department of Statistics a few years earlier). Adrian had already published important work in educational sociology and social mobility with Michael Hout and was soon involved in another project that led to the application of Bayesian statistical models to estimate population dynamics of bowhead whales. Adrian is a polymath with research interests across a broad range of topics in the social, environmental, and health sciences, but his contributions to demography have been pathbreaking. In the early 1990s, Adrian was awarded his first NICHD grant to study fertility dynamics in Iran and



Adrian Raftery

received the PAA Clifford C. Clogg Award for Mid-Career Achievement. In the last two decades, his research introduced probabilistic modeling into demographic methods of population estimation and projection, including fertility, mortality, and migration data published by the United Nations and other international agencies. Within a few years, Adrian's administrative talents were focused on creating and directing the acclaimed UW Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences. In hindsight, Adrian Raftery should have been appointed CSDE director in the 1990s.

When I arrived at the University of Washington in the fall of 1987, Sociology Department chair Fred Campbell greeted me with the news that his suggestion to hire an international demographer as part of UW initiative to expand international studies had been approved by the Washington State legislature. After a year-long national search, the Department of Sociology hired Diane Lye, a very promising new PhD from the University of Pennsylvania as assistant professor of sociology in 1988.

Within a few years, these hiring initiatives had increased to the count of "demographers" to five (though only 4 lines) in sociology: Guest, McCann, Hirschman, Lye, Lavelly (.5) and Raftery (.5). With this rebound, there was little support in the Department of Sociology for hiring additional faculty members with any interest or expertise in demography. However, the future success of CSDE in garnering institutional funding, especially from NICHD would require a larger number of productive population researchers. Thus, I began to engage with UW faculty members outside of sociology whose research was in the broad domain of population studies, especially those who sought external funding for their research. In Geography, I found kindred spirits, including Dick Morrill, David Hodge, Jonathan Meyer, Vicky Lawson and Kam-Wing Cham. Dick Morrill was the doyen of population geographers with a distinguished record of mentoring doctoral students. Although he did not replace all of Calvin Schmid's roles, Dick was a frequent and knowledgeable commentator on demographic change in Seattle and Washington State for local media. He was also a consultant and adviser on revisions of census tracts.

Susan Hanley (historian in the Jackson School) was a famous scholar of Japan, and wrote, among many important books and articles, an impressive account of how public sanitation shaped mortality rates and therefore population growth and distribution in medieval Japan. She told me how Sam Preston had taught her how to compute life tables when she was working on this project. Sue, along with her economist husband, Kojo Yamamura, were pleased to engage in CSDE activities.

The most important interdisciplinary contribution to CSDE came from Economics, including Shelly Lundberg, Anil Deolalikar, and Bob Pollak. Robert Plotnick, in the UW Evans School of Public Affairs, was also an economist with close ties to CSDE and became director in the late 1990s. In the late 1980s, Shelly and Bob Plotnick started an important research project on adolescent fertility that received NIH funding. Shelly was originally a labor economist, but over the years, she established a national reputation as an economic demographer with her innovative research applying economic bargaining models to family dynamics (often in collaboration with Bob Pollak) and was also Director of CSDE.

Bob Pollak was a senior economist who moved to the University of Washington from the University of Pennsylvania where he worked closely with Sam Preston and other demographers. At CSDE seminars, Bob would begin a question with a disclaimer that he was a novice on the (speaker's) topic but then

preceded to ask a penetrating question that reframed the topic or interpreted the results in a novel way. Many people came to CSDE seminars just to hear Bob's questions. Unlike the stereotype of economists, Bob questions and comments were never disparaging, and he often stayed afterwards to chat with the speaker and suggest ideas for further research.

Since my aim was to share responsibilities, I soon asked Bob if he would like to take over running the seminar series, which included a small budget for visiting speakers. During Bob Pollak's tenure as organizer of the CSDE seminar series, the speakers and their topics included social scientists, philosophers of science, archeologists, health and medical scientists, and anyone that Bob thought would be interesting. With such a wide range of topics and Bob playing a key role in the discussion, the CSDE seminar series attracted a wide and enthusiastic audience. For a variety of reasons, mostly due to the politics of the Economics Department, Bob Pollak, Anil Deolalikar, and Shelly Lundberg left UW for greener pastures at other universities, and CSDE has been the poorer for their absence.

In Anthropology, Donna Leonetti, Stevan Harrell, and David Tracer played an important role in CSDE. From Social Work, Mary Gillmore and Donna Morrison's projects on sexual behavior, drug use, and child development became central to CSDE inclusive umbrella. Some years later, Gunnar Almgren joined the Social Work faculty and became an enthusiastic CSDE stalwart.

Another key component of the CSDE outreach program were the demographers at the Health and Population Research group at the nearby campus of the Battelle Memorial Research Center, including Steven McLaughlin, John Billy, Bill Grady, Dan Klepinger, Koray Tanfer, and several others. For the Battelle group, research grants and contracts were not auxiliary to academic duties, but the source of support for their continued employment. Unlike some contract research firms, the Battelle group were first-rate social scientists who published their research in leading journals. Many of the best CSDE graduate students were employed as funded research assistants at Battelle and their dissertations were mentored by Battelle scientists. Trying to expand the symbiotic role of CSDE and Battelle demographers into a mutually beneficial alliance was one of my goals as CSDE director, but the differences in the organizational missions of a university and contract research firm was challenging.

Financial Support for CSDE: 1987-95

The primary aim of university-based population research centers, indeed of all interdisciplinary research centers, is to enhance the research productivity (both quality and quantity) of faculty members and postdocs/students. In addition to the abilities, dedication, and imagination of researchers, productivity is also a function of access to resources and support services. In the field of demography, access to high quality data (archives, censuses, surveys), computational machinery, and support staff (including students) to assist with both mundane (data entry) and highly bureaucratic and technical tasks (preparing grant proposals) are most important.

The larger ecosystem of demography, and indeed all science, is driven by competition and cooperation. Universities compete to recruit the best faculty and graduate students. Faculty members, and those that work with them (graduate students and postdocs) generally work overtime to publish articles and books

that advance their field, and hope that some of their contributions are regarded as significant and impactful. There is also competition for individual research grants and institutional support that enhance the research environment and support graduate students. These competitive markets are refereed by journal editors and by grant making institutions (government and foundations). Researchers also cooperate with each other in research and publication and also collaborate with journals and grant-making agencies by serving as editors, journal reviewers, and on grant review committees. The system works, however imperfectly, because of an almost universal commitment to the culture of science and peer review.

When I became CSDE director in 1987, the supportive infrastructure of CSDE had atrophied from its heights of the Sam Preston era. The CSDE Library had ceased journal subscriptions and book purchases. There were only a few volumes of the most recent US Census and no recent issues of Current Population Reports or NCHS publications. There were several old PCs in the computer room, but none were connected to the campus network. There were several graduate students affiliated with CSDE, but they were largely supported by departmental teaching assistants or as research assistants on projects.

When I arrived at my office in the fall of 1987, I was overwhelmed with the dozens of moving boxes containing my books, files, and equipment that were stacked in the office and down the hall, I was not sure where to begin. I was also bothered with the rundown look of CSDE offices and other spaces that had not been maintained in recent years. With help from Phil Guest, the postdoc that came with me from Cornell, I went to a hardware store and purchased several gallons of good paint. We spent our first weekend in Seattle painting our offices. I learned later that I broke university regulations that required union painters to do the job, though there were no funds available to buy the paint or to hire the labor.

I brought several computers with me, but it took some time to request and install connections to the UW mainframe system and to BitNet—the precursor of the Internet. When asked by UW Computing for my 8-character (or less) ID, I had to respond quickly. My surname was too long, so I just gave my first name (charles), not thinking of the long-term implications of an excessively informal username. A few years later, I tried to change my Net ID, but it was not possible without losing all my historical records. Well, at least I have many funny stories about people thinking I was the “charles” that they met in Seattle.

Over the next few years, I spent at least half of my time looking for external and internal funds to rebuild the CSDE infrastructure. With funds from my research grants, I was able to immediately hire an administrative assistant to support my projects and the Center. Support for the library, computing facilities, and graduate students were only possible with competitive institutional grants. The objective was not to support the Center as an end in itself, but as a means to enhance the productivity of CSDE faculty research and their competitiveness in winning research grants. Not all my efforts were successful, but some were. And with increasing external grant support, CSDE was able to leverage additional funding from the University of Washington.

From my prior connections with the program officer of the Hewlett Foundation population program, CSDE applied for and received an initial \$25,000 grant. The funds largely went to build the CSDE infrastructure, student support, and to seed funds for external grants by CSDE Faculty. With CSDE's

strong program on international (primarily Asia) demography, we were able to receive two regular three-year Hewlett Foundation grants (1988-90 and 1991-1993) for \$270,000 each. Most of the annual budgets of \$90,000 supported international students with some funds for infrastructure and staff. We were also successful in two successive applications for three-year grants of \$300,000 each from the Mellon Foundation. The first Mellon grant supported postdocs and graduate students and CSDE infrastructure. We also managed to leverage the second Mellon grant to seed a junior faculty appointment in anthropology. Although I wrote the grant proposals and negotiated with the foundations, interdisciplinary CSDE faculty committees made all the postdoc and graduate assistant awards. The selection of Bettina Shell Duncan for the CSDE-seeded position in anthropology was the most successful initiative. She quickly established a productive career in biological demography and was promoted and tenured in Anthropology (and later served as departmental chair).

Another successful spin-off from the Mellon Foundation connection was a grant of \$90,000 for a Minority Undergraduate program to encourage promising students from under-represented groups to pursue graduate studies in the social sciences after completing their baccalaureate. The Minority Undergraduate program was organized with a summer seminar that introduced social science research, graduate school, and PhD careers options, including as a university professor/researcher. Each student also served as a research assistant on CSDE faculty project during the summer, but most continued their apprenticeship during the following academic year. CSDE faculty members also served as informal mentors helping undergraduate Mellon fellows to apply for graduate school.

The program continued for two years and was very successful in launching the careers of more than a dozen UW undergraduate students who earned doctorates at top universities and leaders in their fields, including Alexes Harris (PhD UCLA), Distinguished Professor, University of Washington and Michael Spittel (PhD, Wisconsin), Program Officer, NIH Office of Behavioral and Social Sciences Research. In an unsolicited testimonial, Cora Marrett (U of Wisconsin Professor, later Director of the National Science Foundation) praised the UW Mellon undergraduate program in [letter \(April 2, 1997\)](#) to Mellon Foundation President William Bowen.

The most competitive sources of funding for population centers are training grants and center grants from the National Institutes of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). During my tenure as CSDE Director, we received a NICHD training grant but did not receive a Center grant though we made two valiant attempts. Generally, one measures progress by research and grants received, but sometimes there are gains from major efforts that are not successful, at least in the short run. This is how I feel about my efforts to prepare and submit two CSDE NICHD center grant proposals.

The first center grant application in 1990 tried to integrate the UW CSDE program and the Battelle Health and Population Center under the umbrella title of the Seattle Population Center. Each of the two components had different, but complementary strengths. CSDE had a long history of demographic research and training along with several promising new research initiatives, while Battelle had a much larger number of NIH funded research projects. The review committee gave us a good, but not competitive score, with the major critique being a cumbersome and cost-inefficient administrative core. The message was that CSDE should be the sole institutional applicant, and we should incorporate

Battelle researchers as CSDE affiliates. I agreed with this principle but am not sure that I could have persuaded the Battelle group to accept this framework at the outset of negotiations to prepare the first Center grant application.

In 1993, after more than a year of preparation, I submitted a second Population Center grant application to NICHD. During the preparation, we conducted a mock site review (that included the director of a NICHD-funded population center and the director of the Demographic and Social Sciences Branch of NICHD), canvassed administrators across the UW campus for matching support, and attempted to address every perceived weakness in the from prior review. I even wrote a [nine page, single-space memo to all CSDE faculty and staff](#) to prepare for the site visit. My perception that the site visit went well was consistent with the very positive review score of 161. The score would normally have been funded, but we were in intense competition with the top population centers in the country for a fixed number or slots. By a tenth of a point, we lost.

There were only two criticisms of the CSDE center grant application in the “pink sheets” (prior the electronic era, reviews were printed on pink paper). The first was that the CSDE remained a unit in sociology and was not an independent interdisciplinary center. The issue is discussed at greater length later in this history, but CSDE was *de facto* an independent interdisciplinary center with its own budget and staff and the director had direct access to high level university administrators. But it’s *de jure* status in the Department of Sociology—a legacy of its historical origins, was out of step with the emerging national pattern and NICHD expectations. The more substantive criticism of our proposal was that majority of federally funded research grants in the CSDE portfolio were from Social Work and Battelle and only very few were from the core departments of sociology, economics, and geography. I could not quarrel with this critique. Our core faculty were very good, but most were not hungry enough to engage in the highly competitive process of writing grant proposals where the success rate was only 15 to 20 percent. The salaries of many researchers in Social Work and Battelle were dependent on continuing support from grants. Most UW faculty in Arts and Sciences had guaranteed salaries, in return for which they had demands on their time for undergraduate teaching and graduate student advising. It was also the case that the careers of several junior faculty, who were widely considered to be very promising, experienced early career slumps.

In spite of the disappointment of not getting a NICHD center grant, there were a number of positive developments from the process of applying. The CSDE administrative assistant position was permanently funded by the College of Arts and Sciences, and temporary funds from the College and the Vice Provost for Research continued. The most important legacy was substantial support from the Graduate School. In addition to matching tuition support for funded RAs and temporary provision of fellowships for several years, the [Graduate School made permanent funding for two fellowships to CSDE from the UW endowment—the Shanahan Fellowships](#). One tangible sign of CSDE’s success was the number of PhDs with training in the population sciences. See the Appendix for a partial list of PhDs in the 1990s who had one or more CSDE faculty members on their dissertation committees.

In spite of the growing reputation of CSDE at UW and nationally, the upward momentum of CSDE slowed. The budget of a center grant, typically several hundred thousand dollars per year, would have

enabled the growth of computing, statistical, and administrative services to support the research of CSDE faculty and students. My disappointment was somewhat assuaged with the supportive words from the director of the NICHD social science population program (who doesn't vote on priority scores, but is a close observer of the process) who wrote:

You did a fantastic job, and the priority score reflects that. I can understand how disappointing it must be to come so close and still run into a brick wall because of stiff competition and limited resources... you have impressed everyone with what you and the center achieved

Transitions in CSDE Leadership: 1993-97

Historically, university administrators had long-term appointments for a decade or longer. In recent decades, the trend has been toward fixed-term appointments of three to five years for departmental chairs and center directors. Although long-term leadership might be an efficient strategy for organizations, there are potential costs, including complacency and the fear that authority might be abused. When I arrived at the University of Washington in 1987, faculty lore in the Department of Sociology spoke of a faculty revolt in the early 1960s against a chair who had held the office for more than a decade and had become increasingly autocratic (Isolde Raftery 2012). The conflict eventually led to the chair's resignation under pressure from the faculty and the Dean. To prevent a recurrence, the sociology faculty instituted elections for chair. Thirty years later when the conditions and personalities that gave rise to the revolt had long since disappeared, the department continued to hold elections for departmental chair, even though it largely duplicated the conventional College of Arts and Sciences process that solicited faculty preferences with confidential interviews of all faculty.

Another factor that led to shorter fixed term appointments for chairs and directors is the reluctance of many faculty members to serve as administrators. Although administrative appointments come with some reduction in teaching load and a modest increase in salary, the demands of administrative appointments reduce time for research, which is the primary source of prestige in universities. I vividly remember a conversation with Amos Hawley (an eminent scholar) who told me that the ten years he spent as department chair at Michigan were "lost years." Although some academic superstars (William Ogburn, Sam Preston) manage to combine academic administration, public service, and prolific publication records, they are the exception. Many productive researchers avoid administrative appointments like the plague.

From observing varied patterns of academic leadership during my early career, I firmly believed that rotating leadership (taking turns as directors and chairs) was best for organizations and for individuals. It maximized the introduction of new ideas and energy to organizations and minimized the costs to productive faculty members willing to assume leadership positions. My plan was to serve as CSDE director for five years and then to pass the baton to someone else. Although most CSDE faculty agreed with my principle of rotating leadership, there was little support for my wish to step down as CSDE director in the early 1990s. There were few senior CSDE faculty able and willing to serve as director and

my modest successes also worked against me. I had become over-identified with the growth of CSDE by colleagues, and perhaps even by administrators and external funders.

In addition to my belief that rotating leadership was good for the institutions, I also had personal reasons for wanting to step down as director. As CSDE director, I spent about half of my time writing proposals, supervising staff, and many other tasks necessary to keep things moving forward. I felt beleaguered as my research productivity was slowing down. I was busy with increasing demands for professional service nationally (elected offices in professional societies and appointments to national committees and boards) and locally (university and college committees, often as the chair). I was also eager to follow up on a new opportunity to realize a long-term ambition of collaborative research in Vietnam. This was an exciting stage of my career (and life), but also one that reinforced my desire to step down as CSDE director.

Although there was a long list of CSDE faculty affiliates, there were only a few with strong connections to the field of demography and the ability/potential to write competitive applications for external grants. The most likely candidate was my close friend and colleague, Pete Guest. He had strong publication record, was well known in the field, and had good judgment. When I raised the issue, Pete responded that he had no interest in the job, and that I was doing a good job as director, and I should just continue because it served the collective good.

In 1991, Pete was just beginning a three term as the editor of *Demography*, the flagship journal of the field, which precluded immediate consideration to lead CSDE. A couple of years later as Pete was winding down his term as editor, I raised the issue again when I was planning to spend the 1993-94 year on sabbatical at CASBS (Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences) at Stanford. Pete agreed to serve as acting CSDE director for the year if I would resume the directorship in 1994. Seeing no other option, I agreed, but hoped that Pete might change his mind or some other candidate might emerge.

I returned to Seattle in the summer of 1994, reinvigorated after a productive sabbatical, but resigned to continue as CSDE director with no end in sight. However, discussions about the future of CSDE quickly became entangled with the gathering storm upstairs in the Department of Sociology about departmental leadership. In the spring of 1992, Herb Costner resigned as departmental chair on a matter of principle. The Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences had reneged on a commitment to the Department, and Herb felt he could no longer work effectively with the Dean's office. Herb cushioned the blow of his departure by persuading Ed Borgotta, a trusted senior colleague, to serve as chair and Karen Cook to serve as associate chair, effectively as co-chair. Karen was a distinguished social psychologist and a popular choice for departmental leadership. Within a few months, Ed had a disagreement with the Dean and resigned as chair and also retired from the university. The loss of two chairs in two years was disturbing, but Karen served admirably as acting chair for the rest of the 1992-93 academic year and was unanimously elected chair (and appointed by the Dean) for a three-year term, beginning in 1993.

A few months into her term as chair, Karen asked Pete to serve as associate chair of sociology and Pete accepted. One of the roles of associate chair is to serve as acting chair when the permanent chair is absent. Then, things became even more complicated. Karen went on leave for five months (spring and

summer of 1994), and Pete, the reluctant administrator, was running both CSDE and the department. When Karen returned for the fall term (1994) and resumed her position as chair, she announced she had accepted a prestigious faculty appointment at Duke University beginning the following year (Fall 1995). Karen graciously agreed to continue to serve as chair for the current academic year (1994-95), but the news immediately triggered consternation in the Department and College. There was a palpable concern for stability in departmental governance and the need to rebuild the faculty following the retirements of Ed Borgatta and Herb Costner and impending departure of Karen Cook.

The process (following departmental procedure) of electing a new chair stretched out over several weeks in October 1994, beginning with a departmental meeting to discuss the future of the department. At the end of the meeting, a first vote is held—more to identify potential candidates than to elect a chair. There are no nominations, and all senior faculty are considered eligible. Then, successive votes are held at weekly intervals until one candidate gains a majority. At that point, a motion is made for a unanimous vote. The department's strategy was to force the Dean to ratify the department's choice. Although the College (of Arts and Sciences) maintains its own procedures for departmental chair appointments (an external committee confidentially interviewing each faculty member), the two processes always arrived at the same result.

The first departmental vote revealed only two candidates who had substantial support: Pete Guest and me. I voted for Pete and encouraged my colleagues to support him as well. I thought Pete had done a very good job the prior year while serving simultaneously as acting departmental chair and CSDE director. Moreover, I was trying to step down from being CSDE director and not anxious to assume an even more demanding administrative position. However, it soon became apparent that events left me little choice. Both the department election and the Dean's committee recommended that I be the next chair. My initial reaction, beyond surprise, was whether it might be better to accept a fixed term appointment as departmental chair rather than to continue an indefinite term as CSDE director.

I was also persuaded by the Dean who agreed to approve authorize multiple faculty positions to make up for recent retirements/departures plus also an "add on" position for a senior demographer. All program areas in the Department of Sociology, including social psychology, methods, and criminology were understaffed relative to student enrollments and national reputation. Although demography was an area in need of expansion (recall the NICHD grant review critique for more grant funded research in sociology/economics), but most faculty members felt that priority should be given to other areas. The Dean (and I) were concerned that the momentum of CSDE expansion in recent years would be lost without a productive ambitious director (the departure of economist Bob Pollak was another factor). I agreed to a three-year term as departmental chair, beginning in 1995. Anticipating the transition, Karen Cook asked me to gradually assume responsibilities for departmental governance during the 1994-95 academic year, including chairing faculty meetings during the spring of 1995 as she became exacerbated with several cantankerous faculty members.

One important remaining issue in the fall of 1994 was to select a new CSDE director. Although CSDE had been around for almost 50 years and had five directors, there have never been a "normal" transition—all prior directors had been recruited externally, when the previous director retired or left the university. Following the standard UW process for chairs and directors, I drafted a memo for the selection procedure and circulated it to the CSDE advisory committee, the Sociology chair (and executive

committee), and the Deans ([see here](#)). I hope to finesse the conflict between the need to make CSDE an autonomous interdisciplinary center and the opposition of most Sociology faculty members to “losing” CSDE. Although CSDE was *de facto* an independent unit, with its own staff, budget, and direct access to Deans and other UW administrators, there was an historical and sentimental attachment to Sociology, reinforced by spatial location and personal ties.

My proposal stipulated that the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences would appoint an interdisciplinary search committee and then, after receiving from the recommendation of the search committee, appoint the CSDE Director. The only recognition of the Department of Sociology as *primus inter pares* was the stipulation that the Dean consult with the department chair in appointing the search committee and that one member of the search committee be a sociology faculty member who is not a CSDE affiliate. What was left unsaid was also important—there was no mention of a formal separation of CSDE from Sociology. Recall that the [NICHHD review committee for center grant proposal](#) was insistent that CSDE have formal independence from Sociology. Since CSDE would not be applying for a NICHHD center grant for a few years, I hoped that slower evolutionary transition to a formal independent status might be acceptable to everyone.

My proposed blurring of the *de jure* and *de facto* status of CSDE did not pass unnoticed. After several weeks, Sociology Department Chair Karen Cook presented a [revised CSDE selection procedure \(Dec 1, 1994\) with the Sociology Department chair](#) appointing the search committee and making the final decision. There was only a token representation of non-sociology CSDE faculty on the search committee and a stipulation that the Sociology chair consult with the Dean before making the selection. After more informal discussions and a Departmental meeting on the issue, [Karen revised her revised procedure \(Dec 13, 1994\)](#), which still had the Sociology Chair making the final decision on the appointment of the CSDE Director, but adopted my recommendation for an interdisciplinary search committee.

This was potentially contentious moment because some academics are prone to disputes over abstract principles such as the significance of disciplinary boundaries and identities. Arguments over who “owns” resources and programs in academic institutions are counter-productive and can also rupture interpersonal relationships. To avoid any unnecessary controversy over the future status of CSDE between “traditionalists” in sociology and the realists who could see where the train was going, I supported Karen’s revised procedure, which allowed for broad interdisciplinary search committee while keeping CSDE (formally) as a unit in the Department of Sociology.

Karen solicited and accepted my recommendations for the CSDE Director Search Committee, which included Adrian Raftery (Statistics and Sociology) as committee chair, Gary Hamilton (Sociology), Bill Lavelly (Sociology and CSDE), Shelly Lundberg (Economics and CSDE), Dick Morrill (Geography and CSDE) and John Billy (Battelle and CSDE). In [a thorough \(4 single spaced pages\) and candid report \(dated Feb. 2, 1995\)](#), Raftery committee began with the progress of CSDE in recent years, which included:

- a vibrant and truly vibrant interdisciplinary center, the only one in the social sciences,
- 31 UW faculty associates in 8 departments and 7 from Battelle,
- Supporting 13 graduate students in five departments and 4 postdoctoral fellows,
- An annual budget of \$500,000 from research and institutional grants,
- A lively seminar series and well-established working paper series,

- A three-person professional staff, four student assistants, a computer lab and campus wide local area network, and efficient library services that were able to deliver documents to faculty researchers in one working day.

However, the committee noted that the future of CSDE was at risk:

“with Hirschman moving to other administrative duties and Robert Pollak leaving the University, CSDE is losing its director and its other most nationally visible faculty member at one swoop.”

This concern was reinforced with a conversation Raftery had with Dr. Christine Bachrach, Director of the NICHD Division of Demographic and Behavioral Sciences. Bachrach said that although CSDE came close to receiving a Population Center Grant in 1994, she did not encourage another application until there was a strong leadership team in place to replace Hirschman. With this concern in mind, the Raftery committee recommended the appointment of Pete Guest for a two-year term, and that a national search be launched for a scholar of national stature to follow Guest as director.

At this point, Pete agreed to be director, but he had concerns about continued College funding for CSDE and a salary increase (which often comes with administrative positions, such as department chairs and center directors). Because the Department of Sociology didn't have the resources to respond to Pete, the Sociology chair's ability to appoint the CSDE Director (as stipulated in Karen Cook's revised procedure) was moot. In an email to Karen Cook, the Dean wrote:

....I negotiated with Professor Guest regarding support of his Directorship and the CSDE. I did so with some reservation, primarily because the CSDE is a part of the Sociology Department. I was willing to do so, however, because of my belief that the Center can and should play a role in the Social Sciences that is wider than the Department of Sociology. I also accept the recommendation of the Raftery Committee that the (next) Director of the CSDE should be sought from outside the University.

CSDE continued, formally, as a unit with the Department of Sociology, but continued to operate as an independent interdisciplinary research center. This arrangement appeared acceptable to everyone and quieted any potential opposition in the Department of Sociology to the priority to hire a demographer to be a future CSDE Director. Despite Pete's reluctance to be CSDE Director, he proved to be very popular and successful administrator. with great sense of humor. In his first memo to the CSDE community, he joked:

One of my major goals is to shape up the dress code around here. An executive order will be issued shortly, requiring all men to wear white shirts and ties, and Nordstrom shoes. All women will be asked to wear gray business suits....

As noted earlier, the CSDE logo with a Native American motif was rolled out to popular acclaim. Pete also compiled and published an impressive 32-page report on the state of CSDE ([Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology 1996](#)). Pete also organized a day-long CSDE 50th anniversary conference and celebration on April 11, 1997. The theme of the conference was immigration, and presentations were made by James Smith, Stanley Lieberson, and Charles Hirschman. After a reception and dinner, there

were informal talks by former CSDE Directors, Stan Lieberman and me, and by CSDE supporters: Herb Costner, Frank Miyamoto, and Stan Schmid.

Here are the notes from my after-dinner remarks at the 50th anniversary event

*The text of my Sermon tonight is: **Research centers are to departments as families of procreation are to families of origin.** Although camouflaged with jargon, the idea is a simple one based on sociological reasoning.*

As academics, we are born, figuratively speaking, into departments. We join departments as graduate students, are certified, and eventually graduate with degrees. As adults (with PhDs) we are hired by departments, are reviewed by them, promoted by them, and eventually retire from them. Simply put departments are involuntary institutions – much like the families we are born into. We are part of them, treated with familiarity and engage in routine activities, such as meetings and classes. We cannot really leave them or survive, institutionally, apart from them.

Research centers are voluntary associations -- sort of like marriages that you enter into based on similar interests and feelings of affection. This is not to say that dissatisfactions do not arise with research centers. But like families of procreation, one can leave a research center, and join another, or none at all. Those who run research centers are very aware of the fickle nature of their affiliates. Affiliates must be courted with all sorts of incentives – intellectual companionship, support services, seminars and money. Reciprocity is the key to relationships in research centers - - unlike obligatory relationships that are part of departmental duties. So, it is in research centers that many, if not all, academics find happiness – it is a choice activity.

But the life course of research centers is very unstable – the inability to find funding, wise leadership, compatible colleagues are not guaranteed --- and all are essential for survival. The half-life of most centers and programs is very short. Many are stillborn before they ever get going

Tonight, we celebrate the 50th anniversary of a center CSDE. This is truly a remarkable achievement. CSDE has survived several generations of leaders and faculty affiliates – and countless generations of students who consider it their intellectual birthplace.

Three years ago – at memorial service for Calvin Schmid at SF PAA meeting, postdoc Dr. Ng Minh Thang quoted an old VN proverb – those who taste the fruit from a tree must remember those who planted the seed. So, it is important that we begin with an heartfelt acknowledgement of the memory of Professor Calvin Schmid who founded the center and led it for 2 decades. The Schmid family (Stan and his wife Lana are here this evening) have established the Calvin and Helen Schmid Endowed Fund to support CSDE. Stan and Lana intend the leave share of their estate to establish a Calvin and Helen Schmid Endowed Professorship. We are not expecting the collect on the Schmid Endowment before the 100th anniversary of CSDE in 2047. For those of us who did not know Calvin personally, we can witness his legacy through his family's generosity, commitment, and dedication.

Following Calvin Schmid, the CSDE directors were Stanley Lieberman, Sam Preston, Tom Pullum, me, and Pete Guest. This is a group of scholars that I am proud to be part of. When I arrived in 1987, I joined a wonderful group of sociologists: Pete Guest, Adrian Raftery, Jim McCann, Bill Lavelly, and Diane Lye – best group of colleagues one could wish for. Hard to think of a serious disagreement on matters of academic substance.

In my early days here, I set out to meet many of those who had ties to demography broadly defined on campus. Sue Hanley in JSIS, Dick Morrill and David Hodge in Geography, Donna Leonetti, Steve Harrell and Bettina Shell Duncan in Anthro, Bob Pollak and Shelly Lundberg in Econ, Bob Plotnick in Public Affairs and Mary Gillmore and Diane Morrison in Social Work. At Battelle, there was an impressive group of demographers: Steve McLaughlin, John Billy, Bill Grady, Koray Tanfer.

CSDE has been a strong community with common values. Some came initially to hear stimulating seminars and discovered like-minded colleagues that wish to learn from and to teach others.

Many thanks to lots of people: dozens of Center associates, and the UW leaders who have always been stalwart supporters: Herb Costner, Joe Norman Alvin Kwiram, John Simpson and Susan Jeffords, Dale Johnson and Betty Feetham.

And most of all, my heartfelt thanks to all the CSDE students –you have made CSDE and my life worthwhile.

Finally, I want to pay a special tribute to Pete Guest, who is the current Director and the organizer of this event. Pete and I have been friends since the 1960s, and I joined the University of Washington a decade ago primarily because of his initiative.

After we celebrate the 50th anniversary of CSDE this evening, we will go back to work tomorrow to continue our important mission. We will have even more accomplishments to celebrate at our 75th Anniversary.

How a Job Offer led to Three (and more) New CSDE Positions

As I prepared to transition from the CSDE directorship to chairing the Department of Sociology, I had several long conversations with the leadership of the College of Arts of Sciences. There were also serious losses in senior ranks of the Sociology Department, the most important of which was the imminent retirement of Herb Costner. The “Blalock and Costner Era” was not just the basis of the national reputation of the Department, but also the central element of the highly regarded graduate training program in statistical methods. The Dean had also received the Raftery, et al. report (noted above), which had recommended an external search for a new CSDE Director. As noted earlier, Pete was appointed, nominally by the Department of Sociology, but actually by the Dean of the College of Arts of Sciences.

Given that the three prior Sociology Department chairs had left the office prematurely, the primary concern of the Dean was that I would complete a normal (three year) term as chair. I agreed. The Dean

was supportive of an ambitious hiring plan for the Department, including several junior positions and a senior demographer to direct CSDE. During the summer of 1995, Jim McCann died prematurely, and the Dean's office added another position to the hiring plan.

My three-year term as chair was more challenging and frustrating than I expected. I devoted most of my time and energy to the Department that I had previously applied to CSDE and hoped for a similar success. One of my goals as departmental chair was to create a more integrated undergraduate curriculum that would prepare students with the conceptual, analytical, and writing skills for the job market. For the most part, each sociology faculty taught courses in their area of specialization with little relatively little coordination among faculty. Teachers of upper division courses could not assume that students had acquired the basic knowledge and analytical skills from lower division courses prior to enrollment in upper division courses. It is not too surprising that most undergraduate sociology majors have a difficult time explaining the precepts and corpus of the discipline. I overestimated the interest and willingness of most faculty members for this initiative. Many senior faculty were generally set in their ways and uninterested in any changes in their teaching obligations. Most junior faculty were worried about their prospects for promotion and didn't want to spend any more time on teaching than required.

As CSDE Director, I was able to raise funds to hire staff, support students, and provide services and incentives for new initiatives. As chair, I had virtually no budget to reward or incentivize faculty. Unless a faculty member had a grant, there were only minimal department resources to assist with teaching or research. There were also a few of the cantankerous individuals who had irritated previous chairs. I tried to be fair and accommodating to everyone (I had an open-door policy) but had little success in placating their concerns.

The most challenging aspect of my tenure as chair was faculty recruitment. We did hire an eminent criminologist and several promising junior faculty but failed to hire a senior demographer. We identified extraordinary candidates, organized good job visits, and persuaded our sociology colleagues to extend offers, but in the end, the candidates declined. Even the most highly rated universities often experience failure in recruiting senior faculty members. Successful academic scholars are in high demand, and intangible factors often matter more than salaries and prestige. Nonetheless, I was very disappointed in not being able to secure the future of CSDE with the appointment of a senior demographer during my tenure as chair and even considered leaving the University of Washington.

As mentioned before, I often received "feelers" from other universities inquiring whether I would be willing to consider moving. For my first decade at the University of Washington, I wriggled out these awkward situations as quickly and gracefully as I could. However, there was one exception in 1991 when an old friend at the University of Michigan called. Michigan was one of the top three sociology/demography programs in the country, and I knew and greatly admired the senior faculty in the Michigan Population Studies Center. I even persuaded Jo to accompany me on my job visit to Ann Arbor for the job visit, though her interest was short-lived. When Michigan offered me a fabulous job, I knew it would be an uphill battle to convince Jo. She loved her current job as a lecturer at the School of TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) and was discouraged by the lack of career prospects for her at

Michigan. When I called the chair at Michigan to tell him that I was declining because my wife didn't think she would find a rewarding career in Ann Arbor, he volunteered to bring her back for her own job visit. But Jo's reservations about moving again were deeper. And given that she had already moved several times to advance my career, I listened to her rather than my ego.

Over the next few years, I managed to keep my ego in check by politely, but firmly declining interest in all job inquiries. However, in 1997 after two frustrating years as departmental chair, I received a call from the University of Wisconsin to ask if I would consider an offer. Not too long afterwards, Berkeley also called with the same question. Although an inquiry is not a job offer, there is usually a very strong interest before approaching senior candidates. Unless the hiring department discovers a "skeleton in the closet" of a senior candidate, the primary issue is how to persuade the candidate to accept.

For a decade at the University of Washington, I had been trying to create a Wisconsin-like department and demography center at the University of Washington. Although I had some modest successes, my goals (a NICHD population center and highly productive faculty colleagues) seem very distant. Perhaps, it might be better part of wisdom to go to the real Wisconsin, which already had everything I wanted. Berkeley was an extraordinary place with a unique Department of Demography, but I decided not to pursue my candidacy there. The University of Wisconsin exceeded all my expectations, and they created a dream job for Jo—managing SEASSI—the Southeast Asia Summer Studies Institute.

I kept Dean's office informed of the situation but did not ask for a counteroffer from the University of Washington. Assuming that Jo was positive, I had made my decision. So, I was surprised when the Dean's office reported that College, with support from the Provost and University President created a fund to recruit several senior faculty members across the social sciences to strengthen CSDE's application for a NICHD Center grant ([see letter from UW President](#)). It was an unprecedented offer since I was told earlier that the university does not ever promise additional faculty positions in counter offers. The Dean even asked if Jo would like to have a position at the University of Washington.

I was not sure what to do. Jo asked whether it was really necessary to move, especially to a cold climate, to realize my personal ambitions. Our adult children would likely make Seattle their permanent home, and we would be so far from them. And what would we do with my father, who has just moved to Seattle to live with us? As usual, Jo was right.

Bob Plotnick and CSDE

In the spring of 1997, CSDE was facing another leadership transition. Pete Guest was completing his two-year term as director and anxious to step down. Although CSDE functioned as an interdisciplinary center, it remained administratively within the Department of Sociology. After conferring with the Dean of Arts and Sciences, I appointed an interdisciplinary search committee with Professor Donna Leonetti of the Anthropology Department as chair. Both the Dean and I thought that CSDE was ready for director from outside of sociology. A few months later, I was thrilled to make the following announcement:



Robert Plotnick

I am very pleased to announce that Professor Robert Plotnick has been appointed the next director of CSDE. Bob will be the seventh CSDE director, continuing a long line of distinguished leadership over the 50-year history of the Center (prior directors were Calvin Schmid, Stanley Lieberman, Samuel Preston, Tom Pullum, Charles Hirschman, and Avery Guest). Bob is the first economist to be CSDE director, and his leadership will advance the interdisciplinary character of CSDE as well as maintain the high standards of scholarship and service that have marked the Center's history.

Bob has been an active member of CSDE for the last decade, serving on the advisory board, organizing the weekly seminar series, and providing informal leadership for many of the good things that the Center does. Bob has a joint appointment as a professor in the UW School of Public Affairs and the School of Social Work, as well as an adjunct appointment in the Department of Economics. He is best known for his research on issues of poverty, public policy, and premarital fertility. In recent years, he has collaborated with Shelly Lundberg in Economics and Dan Klepinger at Battelle on a series of publications on adolescent fertility in the United States. Bob is also an experienced administrator, having served as associate dean of the School of Public Affairs. Last year, he was the primary organizer of the innovative "Social Science Dialog"—a daylong event that showcased the best social science research at the University of Washington.

Bob's appointment was recommended by the CSDE Director Search Committee, chaired by Donna Leonetti, approved by the chair of the Sociology Department (that's me), and confirmed by the Dean John Simpson of the College of Arts and Sciences. In approving Bob's appointment, Dean Simpson reaffirmed the College's commitment to CSDE as a central interdisciplinary program in the development of social sciences at the University. This included additional funds for CSDE's operating budget and a commitment to hire additional faculty around demography, broadly defined. Please congratulate Bob on his appointment as our new CSDE director.

Bob's five-year term as CSDE Director was transformative. First, CSDE was moved administratively from Sociology to become an independent unit in the College of Arts and Sciences. In my traditionalist mindset, this change merely ratified the status quo that the CSDE directly negotiated with the Dean, the Provost's office, and the even the President from time to time. But symbolically, the recognition of CSDE was long overdue. Official status as an independent interdisciplinary center was considered essential by NICHD and other funders. It also followed the precedent of other population centers at major American universities. And on the UW campus, CSDE was now recognized as equivalent to departments in the College of Arts and Sciences with the CSDE director participating in meetings of chairs and directors. The shift raised the status and influence of CSDE within the broader university community.

Bob Plotnick also took the lead in implementing the expansion of the CSDE as chair of an interdepartmental search committee for three new senior CSDE faculty positions. Because there was some push-back from other social science departments over this initiative (partially directed at me), I decided to remove myself from direct involvement in reviewing candidates and the hiring decisions. Fortuitously, I was on leave during the 1998-99 academic year at the Russell Sage Foundation in New York and was not involved in the recruitment of hiring for the three CSDE positions.

The CSDE faculty recruitment initiative was enormously successful. Each of the final candidates came with an academic spouse, there were actually six new faculty appointments created by the CSDE hiring initiative. Two of the spouses also had interests in demography, so there were five new CSDE faculty affiliates: Darryl Holman, Kathleen O'Connor, Mark Ellis, Martina Morris, and Mark Hancock. A couple of years later, the UW Department of Sociology hired Stew Tolnay, a distinguished social demographer for the unfilled position that had been committed in 1995 when I became Sociology chair. Some years later, Sara Curran and Kyle Crowder, senior social demographers, were also hired for initiatives that were a legacy of the CSDE hiring initiative.

It would have been nice if this hiring initiative had occurred earlier, and CSDE had a deeper bench of active researchers to support our quest for NICHD funding in the early 1990s. But, with the addition of this group of powerhouse researchers in the late 1990s, CSDE was finally able to achieve its potential as one of the top population research centers in the United States. A couple of years later, Bob Plotnick and CSDE associate director Martina Morris took the lead in preparing successful applications for center and training grants from NICHD. The NICHD center grant funded a much larger support staff and services for CSDE faculty affiliates. In addition to the traditional strength in the social sciences, CSDE has become a university wide center of excellence in demographic and health training and research. Along with its sister center, the Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences (CSSS), founded by CSDE affiliate Adrian Raferty, CSDE trains UW graduate students to be the forefront of demographic and statistical modeling. At present, CSDE has 209 faculty and research affiliates, 65 graduate student trainees, and 19 support staff.

Bob Plotnick also launched a new CSDE initiative—the [Population Leadership Program](#) with funding from the Gates and Packard Foundations. The Population Leadership Program awarded one-year fellowships to study at the University of Washington to mid-career practitioners from developing countries in the fields of population, family planning, and reproductive health. The Program sought professionals who have already demonstrated leadership in their areas of responsibility and would benefit from a year of reflection and rigorous work to develop stronger management and leadership skills. Although CSDE traditionalists, including me, might have thought that the PLP would shift attention away from the core mission of population research and graduate student training, this was mistaken. The PLP program was completely funded by generous foundation funding and largely staffed by non CSDE faculty in Public Health and the Evans School of Public Policy and Governance. More importantly, the PLP raised the worldwide stature of the University of Washington and CSDE to leaders in many developing countries.

Reflections on CSDE

CSDE has a long and distinguished lineage. Founded in 1947 (as the Office of Population Research)—the same year as the University of Chicago Population Research Center, the UW center is older than all other university-based demography centers except Princeton. With a fund-raising machine—the Washington State Census Board—and Schmid's focus on innovative methods of population estimation and forecasting, the UW center was one the most prominent in the country in the 1940s and 1950s. During

the Schmid era the UW Center produced more than 30 PhDs with demographic training, and many went on to distinguished research and administrative careers.

Yet, the UW program's reliance on "a one-man shop" became a liability as Schmid approached retirement in the 1960s. Other programs typically had a cluster of demographers, urban sociologists, and researchers in population adjacent fields that shared common interests and needs. With considerable foresight, and perhaps some measure of good luck, the University of Washington hired Stanley Lieberman as the second CSDE Director in 1967, and then 5 years later, Sam Preston, who replaced Lieberman as the third Director of CSDE in 1972. Lieberman was the most creative and inspired social demographer of his generation, and Preston is generally considered the most accomplished demographer of the modern era. During his five years in Seattle, Preston rose to national prominence with his pathbreaking research and prodigious record of research and institutional funding.

From these heights, the prestige and national stature of CSDE slipped over the next decade. Faculty continued to publish in leading journals, graduate students went on to successful careers, and external grants supported research, but most observers would probably have rated CSDE as a very good population center, but behind the very best. In the 1990s, important efforts were made to rebuild CSDE as a center of national excellence. CSDE broadened its base of productive population researchers, in sociology and across the UW campus and Battelle, and supported more than a dozen graduate students and postdoctoral fellows in most years with funding from research grants and foundation support. However, it fell short in regaining its NICHD population center grant. It came tantalizing close, missing the funding circle by one tenth of point in the priority score rankings. At this point, the UW administration finally made a commitment to launch an interdisciplinary hiring initiative which added CSDE faculty affiliates in sociology, anthropology, geography, and statistics. Then in the early 2000s, CSDE has moved upward with substantial increase in research funding, including a NICHD Population Research Center grant.

It is tempting to trace this trajectory as due solely to the brilliance and moxie of CSDE leadership. Leadership is very important, but so too are the "times"—or period influences, including the size and structure of academic institutions, the research funding environment, and competition. It takes nothing away from impressive achievements of the Schmid era at the University of Washington to note the UW Office of Population Research was essentially one professor and his graduate students from 1947 to 1967. Actually, all university population centers in the 1940s and 1950s consisted of one or two faculty members. The Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems at Miami University (1922-63) employed only two full-time researchers, Warren Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, although several leading demographers worked there for short periods, including Don Bogue, Norman Ryder, and Art Cambell. The Office of Population Research at Princeton was largely the product of Frank Notestein, Ansley Coale, Irene Taeuber (part time), and few graduate students. The early days of the Chicago Population Center were centered on the entrepreneurship of Phil Hauser and the amazing research imagination of Dudley and Beverly Duncan.

By the 1960s the leading university-based population centers grew substantially with more faculty, more graduate students, and more research funding. For the most part, these centers were located at large

public universities that experienced increased state support during the period of post-World War II prosperity and record numbers of baby boom era students entering college. Disciplinary departments, including sociology, also grew enormously during this period. By the late 1960s, the Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin had more than 50 faculty members. Larger departments made it easier for areas of specialization to increase their numbers without taking away resources or lines from other areas. Many departments were hiring five or more new faculty members per year during this era.

At about the same time as the growth of universities was occurring, the demand for demographic research and researchers exploded with the availability of federal funding, particularly from NIH. NICHD was created in the early 1960s and the Center for Population Research followed a few years later. By the late 1960s and especially after NICHD launched Population Center Grants program in the early 1970s, competition for grants, faculty, graduate students, and national prestige depended on the size as well as the quality of affiliated faculty of demography centers.

Although CSDE seemed poised to be part of this wave in the 1970s with NICHD training and research center grants, there were structural disadvantages of the University of Washington that became apparent following the loss of Sam Preston. Washington State does not have an income tax, and it is very difficult to fund all the needs of modern state government from a sales tax alone, including universities with ambitions of national stature. Somewhat paradoxically, this lack of state funding has not inhibited the expansion of some fields including medicine, public health, and some natural sciences. At present, the University of Washington receives more federal research funding than any other public university in the country. However, these funds are concentrated in research fields that have grown with “soft funding” dependent almost entirely on external grants. Traditional social science departments in the College of Arts and Sciences staffed with “hard funding” from the state budget grew less during the period of expansion and were more likely to contract during periods of decline.

Smaller budgets in Washington State constrain the size of the many UW departments, faculty salaries, and graduate student support compared to the elite public universities in other states. For example, the size of the sociology department at the University of Washington was at least a third smaller than those of our peers. With a department of 20 to 25 faculty members, there are limits on the number of population researchers that can be hired without incurring opposition from faculty in other areas as well as demands for teaching a broad range of undergraduate courses.

There are several avenues for adaptation to these structural constraints to growth. It is possible to remain small only if every faculty member is exceptional. For example, the Department of Demography at UC Berkeley has generally had only 3 or 4 faculty lines, but each one was filled with an internationally recognized superstar. A different example is Brown University, where the Sociology Department decided to invest about half of its faculty lines to sociological demographers. The more common strategy has been to look outside the traditional disciplines of sociology and economics to find productive researchers who can contribute to and benefit from a demography research center. The rise of the Carolina Population Center to one of the most well-funded and productive programs in the country is testimony to this strategy of diversification toward a more broadly defined “population and health sciences” rather than traditional demography.

There is no one model to create a successful population center, though the key is to have a core of highly productive research-oriented core faculty. Yet, it is not always obvious how to select and nurture the careers of younger scholars, both new PhDs and graduate students to become productive and imaginative researchers. I have been frequently disappointed and sometimes surprised to learn that my judgements of future potential were mistaken. Successful research careers are not always evident from observable characteristics. It is often said that future success is due to intangible characteristics, such as perseverance, the ability to identify important questions, and a willingness to change course when an initial strategy does not work.

In retrospect, the University of Washington should have invested more in CSDE during the heyday years of Lieberman and Preston eras of the 1960s and 1970s to compete successfully with growing population centers at Michigan, Wisconsin, Texas, Penn, Penn State, North Carolina, and Johns Hopkins. Perhaps a few additional social or economic demographers would have created a stronger base to cushion against the loss of a star researcher. Chance, as well as foresight, plays an important role in history. Not every promising junior researcher develops into a lifelong career of productive research. This is true at all institutions, but the impact is less at universities with more hiring and a more supportive research infrastructure, including senior faculty with large grants that can jumpstart the careers of junior faculty.

When the University of Washington finally made a substantial commitment to hire more demographers (broadly defined) in sociology and in other social sciences in the late 1990s, there was finally a foundation for more nationally competitive CSDE. The hiring initiative was a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for success in the NICHD competition for institutional support for CSDE. Credit for realizing CSDE's expansion over the last 20 years, the quality of faculty affiliates, core services, professional staff, and interdisciplinary stature belongs to all those who wrote the grants and welcomed CSDE faculty affiliates from across the UW campus and neighboring institutions.

The current success of CSDE—in terms of size, budgets, and prestige—is a source of pride to the University of Washington and to me personally. Although I doubt that I will be here in 2047 to witness the 100th anniversary of CSDE, I am confident that there will be even more achievements to celebrate in the years ahead.

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Appendix

UW PhDs Supervised by Calvin Schmid

Joseph Aaron Cavanaugh. 1943

Dissertation title: **Juvenile auto theft at the King County Juvenile Court**

Paul K Hatt 1945

Faculty member at Northwestern University: Publications: *Cities and society: the revised Reader in urban sociology*; *Methods of Social Research*; *Backgrounds of human fertility in Puerto Rico-a sociological survey*; *North-Hatt scale of occupational prestige*

Walter T. Martin 1949

Faculty member at University of Oregon, 1947-82; Department chair, 1957-68; Pacific Sociological Association president 1964-1965. Noted publications on suicide and human ecology.

Alan Phillip Bates 1950

Dissertation title: **Factors associated with adjustment to a selected housing environment.**

Monroe Sirkin. 1950.

Dissertation title: **Precision and costs in sampling surveys with errors due to non-response.**

Sirkin received his PhD in sociology, but his primary mentor was Z. W. (Bill) Birnbaum, a mathematical statistician in the Department of Mathematics. After a postdoc at the University of California, Sirkin joined the Census Bureau. He spent his early career at the Bureau and then moved in 1953 to the National Center for Health Statistics where he spent the rest of his career. As a mathematical statistician and Director, Office of Research and Methodology at NCHS, Sirkin introduced network sampling, administrative record linkage, multiple imputation, a cognitive laboratory for questionnaire design and many other innovative methods of data collection and administration.

David Bailey Carpenter 1951

Dissertation title: **Some factors associated with influence position in the associational structure of a rural community.**

Lyle W Shannon 1951

Faculty member at University of Iowa, department chair, 1962-70; Publications include, *Changing Patterns Of Delinquency And Crime: A Longitudinal Study In Racine* and *Alcohol and Drugs, Delinquency and Crime: Looking Back to the Future.*

Fred James Shanley 1953

John Gordon Shaw 1954

Dissertation title: **The relationship of selected ecological variables to leaflet message response**

Aubrey Wendling 1954.

Dissertation title: **Suicide in the San Francisco Bay region, 1938-1942/ 1948-1952**

Faculty member at Professor of Sociology, Department Chair Director Social Science Research Center at San Diego State College.

Heinz John GraalFs 1955.

Dissertation title: **Demographic and ecological correlates of the changing structure of American cities.**

Don C. Gibbons 1956

Faculty member at Portland State University, Publications: Society, Crime, and Criminal; Talking about Crime and Criminals: Problems and Issues in Theory Development in Criminology

David Yaukey 1956

Faculty member at University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Also served on faculty at American University of Beirut and worked in East Pakistan, Chile with the Pop Council. *Demography: The Study of Human Population, The Population of Modern China, Fertility in a Modernizing Country*

Donald L. Garrity 1956

Faculty member and President of Central Washington University: 1978-199; Provost of San Francisco State.

John Augustine Broussard 1956

Dissertation Title: **A comparative study of the distribution of social power in one hundred pre-literate societies.**

Maurice "Don" Van Arsdol, Jr. 1957

Faculty member and Director of Population Research Lab at University of Southern California. Don was a prolific scholar, inspiring teacher, and skillful administrator. His work covered a variety of fields from international demography to immigration in Southern California. He and his wife-both students at the University of Washington, remained personally close to Calvin Schmid after retirement. He was a major donor to the Calvin and Helen Schmid Fund at the University of Washington.

Earl Hector MacCannell 1957

Dissertation Title: **An application of urban typology by cluster analysis to the ecology of ten American cities.**

Jarvis Marion Finley 1958. Fertility trends and differentials in Seattle.

Faculty member and Department of Sociology chair at Pacific University

Warren E. Kalbach 1960

Faculty member at the University of Toronto and the University of Alberta. Kalbach founded population centers and is regarded as the "founding father" of Canadian Demography. He was past president of Canadian Population Society (1982-84), inducted into the Royal Society of Canada in 1989, and awarded the Outstanding Contribution Award by the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association in 1997.

Denis Peter Mazur 1960

Born in Poland in 1924, arrived in U.S., 1949. Held posts at U.S. Bureau of Census, United Nations, and several universities before becoming professor of sociology at Western Washington University, Bellingham where he was professor of sociology from 1961-91.

Ørjar Øyen 1962

Norwegian sociologist and demographer. Faculty member at the University of Oslo and at the University of Bergen. He served as rector (president) of the university of Bergen from 1978 to 1983. He was decorated Commander of the Order of St. Olav in 1988

George C Myers 1963

Faculty member at UCLA and Cornell before joining Duke University, where he served as the Director of the Center for Demographic Studies from 1972 to 1997. Pioneering figure in the demography of aging.

George Kupfer 1966

Dissertation title: **The reactions of salaried professionals and managers to the legitimacy of corporate political activity.**

Wilfred George Marston 1966

Dissertation title: **Population redistribution and socioeconomic differentiation within Negro areas of American cities; a comparative analysis.**

Arnold Stanley Linsky 1966

Faculty member for 34 years at the University of New Hampshire. Chair of Department of sociology and many publications on the social causes of stress and mental illness.

Han Young Kim 1967.

Dissertation Title: **Structural balance and adoption and diffusion of an innovation; a study of adoption and diffusion of the intrauterine contraceptive device.** Faculty member at the University of Western Ontario.

Charles Everett Nobbe 1968

Dissertation Title: **Correlates of desired family-size among college-educated Catholics.**

Thomas Edward Steahr. 1969.

Dissertation Title: **Analysis and prediction of graduate student migration in the United States.** Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Connecticut in Storrs. Author of many papers on migration and also the social and spatial characteristics of the population of Connecticut.

William Forrest Abbott. 1970

Dissertation Title: **Ecological and sociological determinants of first-time university student migration.**

Sociologist and demographer at the University of Kentucky in Lexington.

Patrick C. Jobes 1970.

Dissertation Title: **Juvenile delinquency in Los Alamos, New Mexico.**

Professor of Sociology, Montana State University

Charles Spurgeon Gossman.1971.

Dissertation Title: **A three-part logarithmic gravity model of migration.** Professor of Sociology, Demography, and Statistics, Western Washington University

Kazuo Kusano 1973

Dissertation Title: **Industrialization and the status of women in Japan.**

UW PhDs in the 1970s and 1980s

Murray Chapman 1970 Population geographer. Richard Morrill, PhD supervisor. Distinguished career at the University of Hawaii. Director of UH Population Studies Program. Research on migration and mobility on Pacific Islands

Robert J. Willis 1971 Economic demographer. Professor and Associate Director of the Population Research Center, University of Chicago; Professor of Economics and Director of the Health and Retirement Study University of Michigan

Barbara Reskin 1973. Professor at Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio State, Harvard, and U of Washington. President of the American Sociological Association and elected the National Academy of Science. Path-breaking research on sex and gender inequality and segregation, particularly in employment and occupations.

James L Weed 1973 **Age at marriage as a factor in state divorce rate differentials.** Served on the faculty at Indiana University before joining National Center for Health Statistics. Chief of the Marriage and Family Statistics Branch of the Bureau of the Census and Deputy Director of the Division of Vital Statistics at NCHS

Roger B. Trent 1974 **Attitudes toward population growth and antinatalist policy in 1965.** Assistant Professor of Sociology, West Virginia University; Chief, Injury Surveillance and Epidemiology Section, Safe and Active Communities Branch, California Department of Public Health

Lynn K White. 1975 **Illegitimacy in the United States; an examination of components and concomitants.** Professor Department of Sociology, University of Nebraska – Lincoln. Family demography

Christopher Cluett 1977 **Preferences for sex of children by American couples.** Social scientist and research leader at the Battelle Human Affairs Research Center for 37 years.

Toby Parcel 1977. Professor of Sociology at Iowa and Ohio State. Dean of Liberal Arts at Purdue and Dean of College of Humanities and Social Sciences at North Carolina State Sociology Program Director, National Science Foundation from 2017 to 2020.

Alberto Palloni 1977 Samuel H. Preston Emeritus Professor of Population, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Past President of PAA. 2019 IUSSP Laureate. As U-Dub graduate student, he received the Howard B. Woolston Award. Currently, he is a researcher at the Institute of Economy, Geography and Demography of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) in Madrid.

Joan E Talbert 1978 **Bases of collectivist orientation among lower white-collar workers: the retail clerk case** Professor in the School of Education at Stanford University

David E Booth. 1979. Female employment opportunity and fertility: an aggregate longitudinal analysis, U.S., 1969-1970 Professor of Development Studies at the University of Wales Swansea; Research Fellow, Overseas Development Institute (ODI)

Elizabeth Thomson 1979. Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin. Professor of Demography Emerita at Stockholm University and Director of Linnaeus Center for Social Policy and Family Dynamics. Elected to Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.

Barrett Lee 1980 Professor of Sociology and Demography Emeritus at Penn State University. Received the Woolston Award as a graduate student at the University of Washington and the Robert and Helen Lynd Lifetime Achievement Award, Community and Urban Sociology Section, American Sociological Association.

Susan Long 1980 Professor in the Whitman School of Management at Syracuse University. Elected to the National Freedom of Information Act Hall of Fame and recipient of the Kharas Award for Distinguished Service in Civil Liberties,

Ruth Steadman 1980

Stewart Tolnay 1981 S. Frank Miyamoto Endowed Professor Emeritus, University of Washington. Sociology Department chair, Editor of *Demography*. Mentored more than 30 PhD students.

Gerald K. Barrish 1982 Ecological determinants of differential manufacturing growth in U.S. cities 1880-1920 Professor, Bellevue Community College

Adolph Rosenfeld 1982

Mary Brinton 1986. Professor of Sociology at Chicago, Cornell and currently Reischauer Institute Professor of Sociology at Harvard University (Chair, 2010-2016) and Director of the Edwin O. Reischauer Institute for Japanese Studies.

Charles Maynard 1986 Research scientist, Fred Hutchinson Research Center and University of Washington.

Daniel Klepinger 1986 (Sociology) and 1987 (Economics) Economic demographer, Battelle Health and Population Research Center in Seattle.

Nancy Landale 1987 Professor of Sociology and Demography, Department of Sociology and director of Population Research Institute, Pennsylvania State University, Vice President, PAA. University of Washington Dept. of Sociology Outstanding Graduate Student Award, 1987.

Ralph Salvatore Oropesa 1987. Professor of Sociology & Demography, Pennsylvania State University. Extensive research on social stratification, immigration, assimilation and health, ethnic and racial identification and Urban neighborhoods and communities

Mary Naifeh. 1987 The effects of household demographic characteristics on residential acquisition. Demographer-Statistician in the Housing & Household Economic Statistics Division of the U.S. Bureau of the Census

Jerald Herting 1987 Professor of Sociology, Stanford University and University of Washington. Chair of Sociology, 2011-2017.

CSDE PhDs in the 1990s

Robert Flack (PhD and SJ) 1990. Prior to graduate school, Bob served as parish priest in several parishes in Chicago and on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. After completing his PhD, he taught sociology, demography, and urban studies at Xavier University, DePaul University and St Louis University. His last post before retirement was Director of Spiritual Life at St. Joseph College Seminary in Chicago.

Satomi Kurosu 1990. Professor of Sociology and Dean of the Graduate School of Language and Education at Reitaku University in Tokyo, Japan. She also served as Director of the Population and Family History Project (PFHP). Satomi is a historical demographer whose research focuses on family sociology and household and life course studies in early modern Japan, and she is the author of *Similarity in Difference: Marriage in Europe and Asia, 1700-1900* (Cambridge, MIT Press)

Gunnar R. Almgren 1990. Professor Emeritus of Social Work and Social Welfare at the University of Washington and director of the doctoral program in the School of Social Work. Prior to returning to the University of Washington, he served on the faculty at the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. Gunnar had a very productive research career on poverty and inequality, social welfare policy, research methods and health care policy, including several books: *Health Care Politics, Policy, and Services: A Social Justice Analysis*, *Health Care as a Right of Citizenship: The Continuing Evolution of Reform*, and *The Safety-Net Health Care System: Health Care at the Margins*.

Timothy Lee Armstrong. 1991 **Density, dependence, regulation and vertical integration: the case of hospital-based outpatient rehabilitation units**

Karin Brewster 1991. Professor of Sociology and Director, Center for Demography and Population Health, Florida State University. Social Demographer with major contributions to sexuality in adolescence and early adulthood, and contemporary family change.

Xinhua Ren 1992. Professor and Research Scientist, Boston University & Department of Veterans Affairs

David E Moore 1992. Socially structured survival: the effects of occupational mobility and occupational context on older men's mortality and occupational context on older men's mortality. Assistant Professor, University of Cincinnati; Senior Researcher, Battelle

Hyunju Kim Kwon 1992. Gender roles, married life and marital satisfaction in Korea Professor at Myong Ji University, Korea

Timothy Biblarz 1992. Professor of Sociology and Gender Studies, University of Southern California. Chair of Department of Sociology. Social demographer with a research focus on social inequalities in the United States and family and intergenerational issues. Recent research on how parents' gender matters for children's development; sexual orientation and patterns of social mobility, and the division of labor in same- and different-sex two-parent families.

Lisa A Cubbins 1993 Social Closure, Regulation, and Segregation: An Analysis of Change in Occupational Gender Composition in the United States between 1970 and 1989. Assistant Professor, University of Cincinnati; Senior Researcher, Battelle

Townsend Price Spratlen 1993 Professor of Sociology at Ohio State University. Research topics include: the role of grassroots organizing in desistance and post-prison reintegration success, how faith-based organizations inform health disparities and wellness outcomes, and historically, how local assets mattered during and after the Great Migration.

Renato Assunção 1994 Robust estimation in point processes Renato Assunção had demographic training while completing his doctoral training in Statistics with Peter Guttorp. He is currently a professor in the Department of Computer Science at Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG) in Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

Steven Lewis 1994. Research associate in the School of Social Work and Department of Statistics at the University of Washington. Publications on Bayesian Analysis of Event History Models to explain fertility decline, Estimating Bayes Factors via Posterior Simulation with the Laplace-Metropolis Estimator, and Psychological Distress and Substance Use by Adolescent Mothers.

Jon Hussey 1995. Professor of Maternal and Child Health and Faculty Fellow of the Carolina Population Center at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Jon M. Hussey is a sociologist and demographer with a primary interest in the association between social stratification and health. He is particularly concerned with the causes of racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic differentials in morbidity and mortality. Understanding how childhood exposures influence adult health disparities is a specific objective of his work. Google Scholar Citation Count: 5,457; H-Index: 28

David Nickinovich 1996 President, Nickinovich Research and Consulting, Inc. Bellevue, Washington. Applied research on evidence-based guideline development, survey research, statistical analysis, study design assessment, and data management

Yih-Jin Young 1997 Professor of Sociology at Nassau Community College. Author of introductory sociology text and extensive public service: Advisor of the Taiwanese American Association on Long Island and Board member of the Suffolk County Executive's Asian American Advisory Board

Mark Edwards 1997 Professor of Sociology and Director Policy Analysis Laboratory (OPAL) at Oregon State University. Published policy relevant research on social welfare including the prevalence of food insecurity and lower than expected participation in the SNAP program

Guo Jie 1997 Research scientist in the UW School of Social Work Social Development Research Group and as senior statistician at the UC-San Francisco Center for International Data Evaluation and Analysis. Founder, President and Head of School of the Shu Ren International School in Berkeley, CA (2008-20200).

Rachel Silvey (Geography) 1997 is the Richard Charles Lee Director of the Asian Institute and Professor in the Department of Geography and Planning at the University of Toronto. Current research on violence and detention experienced by domestic workers in Singapore.

Loi Manh Vu 1998 Senior Researcher, Associate Professor, Vice-Director, and Vice-Editor-in-Chief of Journal Sociological Review, Institute of Sociology (Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences). Major research areas include population and health, adolescent health, reproductive health, family and gender, community development, and ethnic minorities Author of many highly cited articles on gender-based violence in Vietnam, Vietnamese Casualties During the American War, Gender Roles in the Family: Change and Stability in Vietnam, and Continuity and change in premarital sex in Vietnam. Author of World Bank publication "Preparing for the future: forward looking strategies to promote gender equality in Viet Nam."

Minh Huu Nguyen 1998 Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of the Institute for Family and Gender Studies (IFGS), Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Hanoi, Vietnam. Published over 55 articles and chapters on marriage, family structure, and social demography in international and Vietnamese journals. Consultant to Social Science Research Council (NY), Canadian International Development Agency and many other international agencies. Member of Scientific Committee, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences and Scientific Committee, National Committee of Population, Family and Children

Jennifer Ward-Batts 1999. Visiting Scholar, Pomona College

Debra Fogarty 1999. Determinants of fertility in Tanzania

Researcher, Department of Social and Health Services. Washington State Government

Marc Bolan 1999. President of Marc Bolan Consulting

CSDE Postdoctoral Fellows (incomplete list)

William Frey, 1974-75

Phillip Guest, 1986-89

Akbar Aghajanian, 1988-91

JooEan Tan 1991-94

Jiang Hong Li, 1992-94

Mark J Vanlandingham, 1993-96

Nguyen Minh Thang, 1993-96

Sara Curran, 1994-96

Steven Lewis 1994-96

Giovanna Merli, 1996-98

Susie Cassels 2005-10

Anthony Perez, 2006-2009

Nikolas Pharris Ciurej, 2010-12