

Community



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Community

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In memory of our friend and colleague, Farnaz Stosik



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Chair's Introduction

Mara Loveman

I am excited to introduce this inaugural issue of *Community*, a magazine that showcases the people and work of the UC Berkeley Department of Sociology. *Community* is produced by the Sociology staff, under the leadership of John O'Donnell, and with contributions by faculty, lecturers, alumni, and students. As you will see, the pages are filled with essays and images that tell different parts of the department's story: who we are, where we came from, what we are about, and how our teaching and research illuminates and shapes the societies we study.

One of the things that sustains community is a sense of shared history. In this issue, you can read about the personal and professional trajectories of some of Berkeley Sociology's most famous faculty. The opening essay details how the intersection of biography, history, and social structure propelled Leo Goodman — our would-be Nobel prize-winner (if only there were Nobel Prizes for Sociology) — to join the Berkeley faculty. Professor Goodman spent three decades as professor of Sociology and Statistics at Berkeley before his retirement in 2017. This issue also provides a glimpse into the famous “salons” of Leo Lowenthal, as told by Ann Swidler. Lowenthal was a member of the Frankfurt School who is perhaps best known to current graduate students as the namesake of a fellowship that supports dissertation research, but who made foundational contributions to the sociology of culture.

Of course, the department's history is more than the biographies of individual faculty; it is also comprised of important moments of conflict (and resolution) — with each other, with the administration, or with other powers that be. Don't miss the story of an all but forgotten episode from the 60s when the department came under attack for employing a lecturer who turned out to be a former Soviet secret agent. Herbert Blumer, then Acting Department Chair, rose to his defense and effectively shut down the critics. But more important don't miss the extraordinary tributes to one of Berkeley's most extraordinary sociologists, recently deceased, Robert Blauner, author of such classics as *Alienation and Freedom* and *Racial Oppression in America*.

The contributions to this issue also highlight some of the influential work of our present-day community. Professors Irene Bloemraad and Cristina Mora offer a prescient analysis of Trump-era immigration politics; lecturer Mary Kelsey takes us on a sociological tour of West Oakland; Annette Bernhardt, researcher at IRLE, shares a photo essay of her work documenting contemporary protests; and Professor Martin Sanchez-Jankowski shares his tips for avoiding tarantula bites on your next sleepover in the Brazilian Amazon (among other practical advice for doing good ethnographic fieldwork, and surviving the experience).

Being part of a community like Berkeley Sociology has lots of practical advantages — high among them, is the chance to learn from the experience and knowledge of other members. In this issue, two of our distinguished Ph.D. alums share experience and advice about different paths they took after graduation. Kimberly Hoang reflects on the process of applying for post-doctoral fellowships en route to a tenure-track faculty position. Catherine Barry describes how she became an applied sociologist doing research to benefit military veterans. We also hear from two current graduate students about their work as mentors to undergraduates as part of the thriving “Berkeley Connect” program in the department.

Now in our 70th year we can see more clearly what defines our distinctive and enduring scholarly community. As before, so now our department is filled with scholars engaged in path-breaking research of real social importance; with teachers dedicated to their students' learning and to the broader mission of inclusive and accessible public higher education; and with inspiring and inspired students from the most varied backgrounds. Members of today's Berkeley Sociology community are engaged in a broad range of pursuits within and beyond the University to advance just causes and improve the public good. There is much to celebrate in the pages of this inaugural issue of *Community*, just as there is much to celebrate in the current manifestation of UC Berkeley Sociology.

Leo Goodman is the Class of 1938 Professor of Sociology and Statistics at UC Berkeley. He has revolutionized methods of statistical analysis used in sociology and the social sciences more broadly. In particular, he has had an important role in elevating the analysis of survey data from an art form to a rigorous branch of statistical science by providing a set of interrelated statistical tools that enable researchers to rigorously examine categorical data.

In recognition of his achievements, Leo is an elected member of each of the three main learned societies in the U.S.: the National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the American Philosophical Society. This recognition also extends to numerous awards including the American Statistical Association's Samuel S. Wilks Memorial Medal, the American Sociological Association's Career of Distinguished Scholarship Award, the Institute of Mathematical Statistics' Henry L. Rietz Lectureship, the Committee of Presidents of Statistical Societies' R.A. Fisher Lectureship, and the American Sociological Association Methodology Section's Paul F. Lazarsfeld Award for a Career of Distinguished Contributions to Sociological Methodology, among other awards.

די לאנגע רייזע The Long Journey



Di lange rayze can be loosely translated as "the long journey." It is meant to evoke the dual journeys: that of European-Jewish émigrés who came to the US in the first half of the twentieth century, and of Leo's personal journey to become a scholar. Leo is both the son of Jewish-Ukrainian émigrés and a student of Jewish scholars who fled the Nazis. What follows is a scholar's personal story of the journey taken. It adds to the historical record of the persistence of anti-Semitism, while also highlighting the often-overlooked chance opportunities that aid the rigorous work it takes to achieve success. Leo is characteristically positive and often disarmingly simple in his explanation of what led to his success. And so, when asked why he preferred to develop statistical methods, he replied, "I guess I like to figure things out."

Born in 1900, Abraham "Abe" Goodman, Leo's father, grew up in a Jewish village (a *shtetl*) in the Ukraine. His mother supported the family as owner of a women's sewing factory, and his father, Aria-Leib (Leo, the Lion of God), was a Talmudic scholar and direct descendant of the Baal Shem Tov (1700-1760), the founder of Chassidism. Chassidism is a Jewish sect founded by opponents of the Hellenistic innovations and devoted to the strict observance of the ritual of purification and separation. Abe was not raised an Orthodox Jew, nor even to be particularly religious. However, these distinctions mattered little to marauding Ukrainian Cossacks who periodically swept into the village on horseback intent on pillaging and killing Jews. The regularity of these attacks taught villagers to hide at the earliest hint of the sound of Cossack

horses' hooves pounding the ground. When Abe was still very small, Cossacks broke into his home. Abe was crawling on the floor, while his grown sister was hiding above in an attic area where she could see her brother exposed and in danger. Selflessly putting aside danger, she climbed down from the attic and put herself between the Cossacks and her little brother. They killed her, but spared Abe.

When Abe was still a boy, he was playing in a field near the village with a friend of his when they saw Cossack horses coming towards them from a distance. The two boys ran in search of safety. Abe tripped and fell to the ground just before the horses rushed past him, but his friend, still visible to the men on horseback, was killed.

Many years later, after Abe had grown into a man, he went to the father of a girl, Mollie, whom he had been friends with all through childhood to say that they wanted to get married and live in Palestine. Mollie's father was supportive, but he had many grown children whom he wanted to keep together, so he asked Abe to put off marrying his daughter until after the whole family, along with Abe, migrated to America.

The extended family settled in a Jewish neighborhood in Brooklyn where they all lived in the same apartment building. Abe worked with his father-in-law selling bulk goods out of a tiny shop on Orchard Street in the East Village. Abe and Mollie had two children, Leo (named after Abe's father) in 1928, and a girl, Janice, four-and-a-half years later.



Abe and Mollie Goodman with their newborn, Leo

After Hitler came to power, Abe knew that Hitler wanted to kill all the Jews, and so he understood that those whom he had left behind in Europe were in great danger. Abe stopped his work at once and he went back by ship to warn not only his own family, but also all the other families in the *shtetl* that they needed to move further east out of Hitler's path. However, they were all confident that the Soviet army could beat Hitler so they stayed. After his father returned home to Brooklyn, Leo recalls, the two of them were lying down on the floor listening to one of Eleanor Roosevelt's broadcasts on the radio when Leo could see that his father's carotid artery began "jumping out of his neck." Abe whispered to Leo to call his mother who was in the kitchen. She in turn contacted her brother-in-law who was a medical doctor and Abe was taken to a hospital in an ambulance. Abe had suffered a nervous attack after he realized that his younger sister, nephew, and all the others he cared about back in

Europe had been killed. The sole survivor was Abe's brother-in-law, who was at the time in a Gulag in Siberia.

For his first two years of elementary school, Leo attended a Hebrew school (a *yeshivah*) where the day was divided between Hebrew and a general curriculum. Abe wasn't particularly interested in Leo following all the rules of Judaism and just wanted his son to know he was Jewish. When Leo did go to the synagogue, it was to please his maternal grandfather. His grandfather was a short man, and when Leo sat with him near the front and center of the synagogue, he noticed how his grandfather sat up as tall as he could while proudly glancing around. After the services in the synagogue were completed, Leo's grandfather gave him some money (he was not supposed to bring money to the synagogue) and asked him to purchase Turkish cigarettes called Murad for him (smoking cigarettes was definitely not good for his health).

The *yeshivah* was located on the border of Leo's neighborhood and an Italian neighborhood. At the end of the school day, Leo would walk with a couple of his classmates along the border of the two neighborhoods to get home. One day, while the three Jewish boys were walking home, they were confronted by three Italian boys carrying lighted torches, which they were aiming at Leo and his two classmates. Leo could see that the Italian boy who was aiming his lighted torch at Leo had an ear partly burnt off and a burnt face, so Leo made up in his own mind the following "Jewish" proverb, which he told to his two classmates: "Boys running without lighted torches can run faster than boys running with lighted torches."

Leo's best friend in middle school, Saul Jacobs, lived across the street from Leo in a private home. It was the middle of World War II and Saul, who was the son of a relatively well-off dentist, aspired to become an Army officer. Saul felt that his chances of becoming an Army officer would be much improved if he were able to attend the elite all-boy Stuyvesant High School in Manhattan, renowned, even then, for its math and science curriculum. He convinced Leo to go with him to take the entrance exam, arguing that after they took it, they would have the rest of the day off from school. Leo passed the exam, but Saul didn't.

To get to Stuyvesant, Leo had to take two subway trains during rush hour to connect from Brooklyn to Manhattan and then two trains back to Brooklyn at the end of school. Ironically, it was this long commute which contributed to the two boys losing touch with one another. (Despite the fact

that Saul didn't attend Stuyvesant, Leo later learned that Saul eventually became a lifelong Army officer).

At the end of high school, Leo successfully applied to Syracuse University, which he chose because all of the top universities at the time had strict restrictions limiting the number of Jewish students they would admit. His mother had gently cajoled Leo into taking a pre-medicine program with words like: "I think that your dad would like you to be a medical doctor." So Leo did what his father and mother wanted. But after being in the pre-med program for a short time, and taking courses like biology that required a lot of memorization, which Leo was terrible at, he switched his major to sociology. Statistics was a required course for sociology majors and the instructor, Bob Faris, recognizing Leo's abilities in the course, encouraged him to strengthen his mathematics education.

At that time, Syracuse University was not a particularly good university, but the chair of the mathematics department had recruited two underappreciated world-class Jewish mathematicians who fled the Nazis. They were Charles Loewner and his student from Prague, Lipman "Lipa" Bers.

Leo had the propitious opportunity to study under both Loewner and Bers during their short stint at Syracuse before they both moved on. Loewner later became a professor at Stanford University, and Bers became a professor at the Courant Institute of Mathematics in New York City.

Leo graduated from Syracuse summa cum laude with a dual major in mathematics and sociology, and was the class valedictorian. The sociologist, Bob Faris, received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and recommended Leo apply to the graduate sociology program there. Bers wanted Leo to apply to the math program at Princeton because he knew that no one from Syracuse had ever been accepted there, and he felt that Leo had a chance. The chair of Princeton's mathematics department at the time was Solomon Lefschetz, a Moscow born Jew whose parents were Ottoman Empire citizens. Lefschetz had started out as an electrical engineer but had lost both hands and part of his forearms after a transformer exploded in

a lab where he was working several decades earlier. Afterwards, he wore wooden prosthetic hands with gloves on them. He shifted to mathematics and became a professor in the Princeton University Math Department in 1924. Lefschetz was one of the first, if not the first, Jewish faculty member at Princeton, and would later say that he had felt early on that he was an invisible person, ignored by all the other faculty members.

As department chair, Lefschetz built Princeton's Mathematics Department into a world class center for research and teaching. Nevertheless, he had his faults. Lefschetz could be rude, imperious, idiosyncratic, and obstreperous. More immediately, and what Bers had not revealed to Leo, Lefschetz stated openly that he would not admit Jewish students into the graduate program because he felt the mood in America was still too anti-Semitic for Jewish students to get good work positions after they completed the program.

Though Leo had applied to both Princeton and Chicago and had not yet been accepted to either, he couldn't choose

between them. While visiting his parents in New York City during his senior year at Syracuse, he decided to visit the Princeton University campus. The mathematics department was located in Fine Hall, which until 1939 had also included the offices of the members of the Institute of Advanced Study. The most famous Jewish European émigré of them all, Albert Einstein, had had his office in room 109 of Fine Hall. Leo was very impressed with the great beauty of the Princeton campus, and as a young 19-year old he walked down the halls of Fine Hall thinking, "This is where the great Albert Einstein had his office."

One office had its door open, and the secretary working there came out to ask if she could assist Leo. After she learned that he had applied to the mathematics program, she introduced Leo to Professor Samuel Wilks, a mathematical statistician. Wilks was the son of a Texas rancher, and spoke with "a very pleasant Texan drawl." Wilks invited Leo to come into his office, and they talked for more than an hour. Concerned that he had imposed too much on Wilks' time, Leo got up to leave. Wilks asked him to wait a minute while he picked up his



Leo at time of graduation from Syracuse University

phone to call another statistician who was in the Sociology Department, Fred Stephan. Then Wilks sent Leo to meet and talk with Stephan.

Afterwards, Leo went to the Princeton Junction train station, but dazed by his good fortune, he got on the train headed in the wrong direction. Arriving in Philadelphia rather than New York, he realized his mistake. After that eventful day he made up his mind and was subsequently admitted to the math graduate program at Princeton.

Later, Leo found himself walking down the hallway of Fine Hall again, this time as a graduate student, when he crossed paths with one of the mathematics professors, John Tukey. Tukey asked Leo how he was doing, and Leo replied that he didn't know how he was doing. At that moment, Leo was actually feeling out of his element because Princeton's math program attracted the best students in the world including John Nash, one of Leo's classmates and a good friend, who went on to win the Nobel Prize for his work. Tukey suggested to Leo that both of them should walk down the hallway and find an empty classroom.

Alone together, Tukey asked Leo to go to the blackboard, and he gave Leo a math problem to work on. While Leo was doing so, he could see Tukey had sat down near the back of the classroom focused on something else—maybe he was working on a new research paper, Leo mused. After Leo finished working on the problem as best as he could, Tukey gave him another problem to work on without commenting. Tukey kept giving problems to Leo, who would work them on the board to the best of his ability, one after the other. After more than an hour elapsed this way, Tukey got up from his chair, slowly walked down to the blackboard, and turned very slowly to Leo with a very serious expression on his face saying: "What I think," then pausing for some time, "that you need," another long pause, "is some folk dancing." This was Tukey's way of letting Leo know that his math ability was very good. Regardless, Leo attended Friday evening folk dancing lessons every week for well over a year.

One of Leo's mentors at Princeton was a European Jewish émigré, Salomon Bochner. Bochner was the son of orthodox Jews living near Krakow. He lectured at the University of Munich until the Nazis promulgated a law in 1933 forcing all teachers of Jewish descent to resign, and so he left for Princeton. Five years earlier, Harvard University was considering recruiting Bochner but this was scuttled by G.D. Birkhoff, a Harvard professor and a leading mathematician,

whom Albert Einstein once referred to as "one of the world's great anti-Semites." Emile Artin was a third European émigré in the Mathematics Department at Princeton while Leo was there. Artin was Austrian and one of the leading algebraists of the twentieth century, known for his work on algebraic number theory. While not Jewish, Artin's wife was and the Nazis issued another law four years after the one that pushed Bochner out, this time aimed at those married to Jews.



Leo as a Princeton graduate student

In a 2009 interview, Leo related how Bochner once mused how, if he could have a life changing do-over, rather than be a professor he would choose to be a laundry-truck driver. Leo was surprised to hear this from such a great mind so he asked him what he meant. Bochner went on to explain in detail a laundry-truck driver's daily work routine before concluding, "and, while you are doing this during all that time," taking an extra-long pause before continuing with a smile, "you can also simultaneously spend all that time proving interesting theorems!"

Leo described the Princeton mathematics program in this way:

Math graduate students at Princeton, at the time when I was there, were not required to attend any courses. All you had to do was pass an oral exam, called the general exam, covering four subfields of math, usually taken after your first year as a graduate student was completed, or sometime after that. You then had to submit a thesis and have the thesis approved. Also, there was a foreign language requirement, two foreign languages of your choice, and, for each of these languages, you had to demonstrate to a math faculty member of your choice that you had a reasonable ability to read ordinary mathematical texts that were written in the foreign language. There seemed to be a general understanding among the math graduate students that the math faculty didn't take the language requirement very seriously. As a math graduate student at Princeton,

you had the feeling of having almost complete freedom.

Sociology and Statistics Departments. Leo retired in January, 2017.

It turned out that Leo happened to receive an important lesson on complex manifolds in an impromptu, hour-long lesson from a more advanced graduate student a short while before his general exam. When the day of the general exam arrived, Bochner, who was one of the four examiners along with Wilks and Artin, asked Leo what he knew about complex manifolds. "Not very much," Leo replied. Then Bochner instructed Leo to demonstrate on the blackboard what he knew about them. While he was writing on the board what he had learned earlier from the more advanced graduate student, Artin exclaimed, "This is incorrect!" Then Bochner interjected: "No, that is correct," and Leo watched as these two examiners argued with each other, before the exam resumed with more questions. Despite the argument, Leo passed.

If the unbridled freedom of the program Leo describes is not enough to create envy in today's sociology graduate candidates, consider the fact that Leo obtained his Ph.D. in mathematics just two years after his BA. However, any graduate committees would likely grant a Ph.D. as quickly if they were able to predict a candidate would go on to receive the sort of recognition in their field Leo has.

The influence of Syracuse's Bob Faris stayed with Leo even though he did not choose to attend graduate school at Chicago. After obtaining his Ph.D. from Princeton, Leo went to Chicago where he was appointed a Professor of Statistics and Sociology, not mathematics. He stayed there from 1950 to 1986, and then joined UC Berkeley's

Did You Know?

by Michael Burawoy



...that *Herbert Blumer* was not the founder of the Sociology Department? Blumer only arrived from the University of Chicago in 1952, whereas the department was officially founded in 1946. It was a late developer, held back by the fiery Irish auto-didact *Frederick Teggart*, who was so obstreperous that the administration gave him his own department in 1923, the Department of Social Institutions. Teggart had a deep antipathy to sociology which he regarded as a vacuous and ahistorical discipline. He himself studied migration patterns between China and the Roman Empire and can be considered the first world systems theorist. Teggart successfully opposed sociology until he died in 1946, whereupon the university recalled one of Teggart's proteges, Robert Nisbet, from the war front to become the first chair of the now newly-created Sociology Department. The move generated such a political storm that he only lasted six months before the department was put into receivership under the direction of the philosopher Edward Strong, who would later become the controversial and subsequently deposed Chancellor of the University during the Free Speech Movement. From the beginning, Berkeley sociology was beset with strife that has made its sociology so exciting.

Postdoctoral Fellowships

Kimberly Kay Hoang

It is that time of year for Ph.D. graduates to choose between a variety of opportunities after finishing their degree: staying in graduate school for another year, applying for postdocs, applying for academic jobs, or leaving academia altogether. These are all tough decisions with their respective challenges.

As a former graduate student, I found uprooting my life for a two-year postdoc incredibly stressful and not a path I wanted to take. In retrospect, however, pursuing a postdoc was incredibly beneficial for both my professional and my personal life.



Postdoc Application Timeline

I applied for postdocs at the beginning of my 5th year in graduate school, right after returning from fieldwork in Vietnam. To prepare my dossier, I spent fall semester writing two empirical chapters of my dissertation to submit as writing samples for my application materials. In addition, I drafted my cover letter, research statement, and teaching statement. Some postdocs also require you to put together a sample syllabus. I applied for 13 postdoctoral fellowships across the nation, got short listed for 3 and ended up only getting one offer.

The first advantage of my postdoc applications was that it pushed me to complete my dissertation by June 30, 2011. This was what my academic year looked like:

August: Dissertation Chapter 3

September: Postdoctoral Application Materials

October: Dissertation Chapter 4 and Revision of Postdoc Materials

November: Dissertation Chapter 5

December: Dissertation Chapter 6

January: Dissertation Chapter 7

February: Dissertation Chapter 2

March: Dissertation Introduction

April: Dissertation Methodological Appendix

In terms of writing each month, I would read for two weeks and outline the chapter. I then wrote for 10 days. Each day, I would allocate 6 hours for myself to write 3 pages at a pace of ½ page/hr. If I finished early, I quit writing for the day.

Getting the Right Postdoc

It is very important that you find the kind of postdoc that provides you with as much control over your time as possible. In general, I would not advise taking a postdoc that requires you to teach more than one or two courses per year. There are several postdocs out there that require you to teach 3-4 classes a year, and this can really hurt your career in the long-term as it inhibits new research projects.

In addition, there are research postdocs that require you to work on another professor's research project. This could be beneficial if there are mutual research interests, but if you have to learn a whole new literature or methodology, that will not advance your own research agenda. I would advise against applying or taking one of these postdocs.

Regarding postdocs vs. graduate school: with the publication demands of the academic job market, I would have spent one or two extra years in graduate school doing the same things I did on my postdoc. So it's important to consider whether you want to spend a few more years at Berkeley or move on to someplace else.

Advantages of Postdocs

A postdoc experience can open up many new and incredible opportunities that will be beneficial for your academic career and research. You can gain valuable perspectives from new people in your field, while maximizing your time and effort in pursuit of a tenure academic path.

- **New Mentors and Letter Writers---** This was an incredible advantage when I pursued my postdoc, as it forced me to focus and revise my dissertation into a book for new and unfamiliar readers. With a whole draft in place, I got valuable feedback from my new mentors at the new institution. When you are writing your dissertation as a graduate student, you are really writing for yourself and the four mentors in your subfields. With my new mentors at Rice, I had to think about how to revise my dissertation into a book that could speak to a much more general audience. For example, my dissertation was in conversation with scholars in gender, globalization, and qualitative methods. How could I make my work legible to cultural or urban sociologists? Casting the wider net in the revision

of the work was crucial to the process of turning the dissertation into a book.

- **Time---** On the postdoc, I had valuable time off the tenure clock to revise my dissertation into a book with new mentors to read and comment on my work.
- **Getting a Leg up on the Tenure Clock---** I also had the luxury of drafting journal articles and getting the book manuscript out for review without the pressures that come with being in a tenure track position. When I began my first job at Boston College and had to juggle teaching, research, and service to the university and profession, all of my major articles were under review and the book was already under a publishing contract. This gave me a huge leg-up when I started my tenure track position.
- **Better Job Market Prospects---** The time on the postdoc will enable you to have a much stronger publication record and increase your chances for landing a tenure track position at a higher tier R1, receiving multiple offers, and setting yourself up on a successful path towards tenure.
- **Learning to Say No---** As a woman of color, I made several mistakes on the postdoctoral fellowship by saying yes to multiple service requests that took up a lot of my time. I eventually learned how to choose service commitments tied to issues I really cared about, such as graduate student job placement and diversity; with those, I could say no to other requests when they came my way.

Disadvantages of Postdocs

As someone who came from a working class background, I needed to get out of graduate school in five years simply because I could not afford to stay. However, in hindsight there are a couple of things to keep in mind when pursuing a postdoc. Once you graduate and take a postdoc there are other pressures that you will have to juggle.

- **Job Market Pressures---** Most postdocs come with a two-year contract, which means that you will have to decide whether you want to go on the job market your

(Continued on page 53)



Walling Off the Country

Irene Bloemraad and G. Cristina Mora



President Donald Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric played a central role in his electoral campaign and, many believe, was key to his eventual success. But rather than making America great, his talking points are based on fiction blind to facts and on language that will likely widen partisan and racial divides in America, and might alienate millions from the Republican Party.

As a candidate, Trump most famously claimed that, as president, he would build "a great wall" along the border, one that is "physical, tall, power[ful], beautiful" and which

will be paid for by the people of Mexico. He also called for a ban on Muslim immigration, an end to birthright citizenship, and a cutting of all federal funds to places where police do not give immigration information to federal law enforcement. Such a policy would defund the counties of San Francisco, Santa Clara and San Mateo, as well as the city of Berkeley. Since his inauguration, he has tried to move forward on almost all of these proposals.

Trump is clearly not alone in blaming immigrants for stagnant wages, lost jobs and a sense of cultural malaise

¹ Transcript of Donald Trump's immigration policy speech, Phoenix, AZ, August 31, 2016, as reported by the Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/08/31/heres-what-donald-trump-said-in-his-big-immigration-speech-annotated/>.

among some native-born citizens. UK voters' decision to leave the European Union, "Brexit," was animated in large part by the desire to keep foreigners out. Prominent French politicians called for a ban to "burkinis," clothing that supposedly damages France's secular values by covering up too much of a woman's body when she spends a day at the beach.

Putting aside the flagrantly gendered tones of this debate – whether 'tall, powerful' walls or the control of women's bodies – why do fears over immigration gain such purchase when many of the claims are just factually wrong? How will this affect politics and Americans' sense of common identity?

Don't Let Facts Get in the Way of a Sound Bite

Promises to build a wall conjure up images of hundreds of thousands of migrants pouring across the border, a flashback to the 1994 campaign ads of California governor Pete Wilson that showed men, women and children running along highways from Tijuana, Mexico into San Diego.

But since about 2007, more people born in Mexico are leaving the United States than entering. In fact, the population of Mexican immigrants living in the United States, whether they hold residence documents or not, is dropping.²

Walls might aim to keep people out, but they also lock people in. Ironically, building a wall might slow return migration to Mexico. Sociologists argue that the increase in border enforcement in the 1990s exacerbated the rise in undocumented migration. By increasing the cost and danger of border crossings, U.S. border policy disrupted historic patterns of circular migration, and then encouraged family members to join workers living in the United States.

Scaremongering over Latino migration also fails to realize another 21st Century fact: new arrivals to the United States are more likely to come from Asia than Latin America.

Starting around 2009, Asian arrivals; 2.5 million immigrants who have been in the U.S. less than five years were born in Asia compared to 1.7 million from Mexico, Central America or South America.³ Simple demographics suggest these trends may well continue given falling birth rates in Latin America and the billions of people living in Asia.

Social scientists also find that people are more likely to risk a costly move across international borders when they and their societies become a bit richer. It is not the poorest of the poor who migrate. Economic growth rates in Asia and the continued pressures of globalization will radically change future migration patterns. The United States will likely follow trends in Canada and Australia, where the majority of migrants now come from countries spanning the Philippines to Syria.

And what about the claims of rampant criminality among immigrants? False, again. Immigrants are less likely to be convicted of crimes than native-born Americans, and neighborhoods with a higher percentage of immigrant residents experience lower crime rates.⁴ This is despite the fact that immigrant neighborhoods are often over-policed and that immigrants are often stereotyped as criminals.

Are immigrants a net drain on the public treasury? Almost all economic and social scientific research on the issue emphasizes that undocumented immigrants provide an overall net economic benefit to communities.⁵ Immigrants pay several forms of taxes, including sales, income and payroll taxes. Some of these payments, like social security, are never returned to undocumented immigrants. They, along with most temporary, legal migrants, and some immigrants with permanent residency, are also barred from a range of social services. So, despite political rhetoric, immigrants are less likely to use public services and programs. The fiscal challenge of immigration is that the costs are concentrated in local communities and the benefits are widely diffuse across regions.

² See, for example, the Pew Research Center report "More Mexicans Leaving than Coming to the U.S." November 19, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/11/19/more-mexicans-leaving-than-coming-to-the-u-s/>.

³ See, for example, the Pew Research Center report, "Modern Immigration Wave..." September 28, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/28/modern-immigration-wave-brings-59-million-to-u-s-driving-population-growth-and-change-through-2065/>.

⁴ See Reid, Lesly, Harold Weiss, Robert Adelman and Charles Jaret. 2005. "The Immigration-Crime Relationship: Evidence Across US Metropolitan Areas." *Social Science Research*. 34:757-80

⁵ For overview see: Becerra, David, David Androff, Cecilia Ayon, Jason Castillo. 2012. "Fear Versus Facts: Examining the Economic Impact of Undocumented Immigrants in the US" *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 39: 111-136

In classic “us” versus “them” rhetoric, Trump called for immigrants to pass a “values” test before entering the country. Over a decade ago, the late Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington raised similar fears, turning his ‘clash of civilizations’ view inward to claim contemporary immigration, particularly from Mexico, was undermining the culture and values that, in prescient language, makes America great.

So are immigrants failing to integrate into American society? Wrong again, concludes a recent report by the National Academy of Sciences, written by a panel of academic experts that included ten sociologists.⁶ Today’s immigrants learn English as fast or faster than European immigrants a century ago. The children of immigrant parents with modest education experience significant gains in their schooling, and poverty levels drop. From one generation to the next, people earn more and hold better jobs. And not only do they work together with Americans of diverse backgrounds and immigration histories, but their children are more likely to set up families spanning cultural and racial backgrounds than generations past.

We also have to recognize that integration may not always be a good thing. Becoming more American can harm your well-being: the longer immigrants live in the United States, the less healthy they become. Their U.S.-born children face greater health risks than their parents and commit more crimes. Americans might have something to learn from immigrants.

Partisan Divides and Linked Fate

One in four people living in the United States is an immigrant or has an immigrant parent. In California, about half of the state’s residents are immigrants or the children of immigrants. Among our resident students at the University of California, Berkeley, about two-thirds are first or second



generation immigrants.⁷ Given these demographics, it is hard to understand how political candidates believe broad attacks on immigrants will reap long-term political rewards.

One answer, of course, is that candidates might not care about long-term political calculations, happy to maximize votes during the moment. Such a calculation is helped along by the United States’ poor track record in helping immigrants to become citizens. Less than half of all foreign-born residents have acquired U.S. citizenship. Even when we take into account undocumented migrants, who are barred from naturalization, the United States lags far behind countries like Canada or Sweden in making immigrants full members of the political community.⁸

But current expediency might not be a smart tactic over time. It is hard not to see echoes of California’s anti-immigrant campaigns from the 1990s in current state policies that grant in-state tuition and drivers’ licenses to undocumented residents. Various observers have remarked on the eclipse of the Republican Party in California, likely fueled by demographic change and negative reaction to the politics of Pete Wilson and candidates like him. Political changes in California might be a harbinger of transformations in other parts of the country.

Of course, not all immigrants hold the same political views. The “immigrant” label encompasses people who hail from cultures, backgrounds and religious traditions that span the globe and it captures undocumented laborers as well as high-tech professionals in Silicon Valley (and professors in the Sociology department).

Still, broad-based attacks on immigrants, even if targeted to

⁶ *The Integration of Immigrants into American Society*, The National Academies Press, 2015. Available for free on-line: <https://www.nap.edu/catalog/21746/the-integration-of-immigrants-into-american-society>. Full disclosure: one of us (Irene Bloemraad) was a member of the panel.

⁷ Already in 2007, Berkeley’s Center for Studies in Higher Education dubbed our campus, “The Immigrant University.” Douglass, J.A., H. Roebken, and G. Thomson. 2007. “The Immigrant University.” CSHE Research & Occasional Paper Series, 19-07.

⁸ OECD. (2011). *Naturalization: A Passport for the Better Integration of Immigrants?* Paris, France: Author. Available: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/naturalisation-a-passport-for-the-better-integration-of-immigrants_9789264099104

-en. One of us (Bloemraad) has argued that the United States’ lack of integration and multiculturalism policies makes it harder for immigrants to naturalize, especially as compared to a more supportive policy environment in Canada. See *Becoming a Citizen*, UC Press, 2006.

particular national origins, such as Mexicans, or particular faith traditions, like Muslims, increase the possibility that those not born in the country will feel a sense of linked fate, either as immigrants, or people of color, or Latinos. As one of us has argued, the “Hispanic” or “Latino” label did not evolve organically or naturally, given real divisions and distinct identities between those of Mexican, Cuban and Puerto Rican backgrounds. Rather, this pan-ethnic label was created out of a reinforcing process between media entrepreneurs, government officials and community advocates.



The content of “Latino” continues to be ambiguous. But as social scientists have argued for the black community – a group that polled as having the lowest level of support for Trump – being targeted based on race (or ethnicity or nativity) generates feelings of linked fate and common cause that might trump (pun intended) internal differences in social class or views on social issues.

Latinos are steadily realigning their partisan affiliation to the Democratic Party. Muslim Americans might also be shifting their support. Surveys in 2000 found that immigrant Muslims favored Republican George W. Bush over Democrat Al Gore. But in a survey done during the 2016 primaries, of all Republican or Democratic candidates, Donald Trump received the least support, at just 4 percent of Muslim voters.⁹

This does not mean that Democrats have the immigrant vote in the bag, if such a thing exists. While an “anti-Trump” feeling might invigorate a certain sector to go out and vote, the Democratic Party’s embrace of immigrants has been

tepid. Many in the Latino community still recall Hillary Clinton’s 2014 comments to return Central American child migrants to the violence-ridden countries they fled, and many immigrant community leaders voiced frustration about the growth of immigrant detention centers and the lack of progress on immigration reform during the Obama administration. Democrats could do with a lesson in demographics and research on immigration, too.

Public Education, Beyond the Classroom

The children’s rhyme “Sticks and Stones” claims that “words will never hurt me.” Should political campaign rhetoric be dismissed as simply a candidate espousing his beliefs to rally supporters? Media reports regularly feature someone commenting that regardless of what is said during a campaign, candidates become “more pragmatic” or “reasonable” once in office. The first few months of the Trump administration suggest this is not necessarily the case.

In addition, words do hurt. Trump’s arguments will survive his administration and live on in Twitter feeds and Youtube videos. They create “common knowledge” that is simply wrong. Research shows that when negative national discourse on immigration trickles down to communities, prejudicial attitudes can rise, with real consequences on local policy decisions.

It is a public intellectual’s job – whether a journalist or academic – to inform the public with facts. Those facts show that under the right conditions, immigrants flourish and bring benefits to their communities. Believing the rhetoric when facts show the opposite is at best careless and at worst a racist worldview that reinforces inequality and inhibits America’s greatness.

⁹ National Public Radio, “Sept. 11 Marked Turning Point for Muslims in Increasingly Diverse America,” September 7, 2016. <http://www.npr.org/2016/09/07/492413599/sept-11-marked-turning-point-for-muslims-in-increasingly-diverse-america>.

Leo Lowenthal

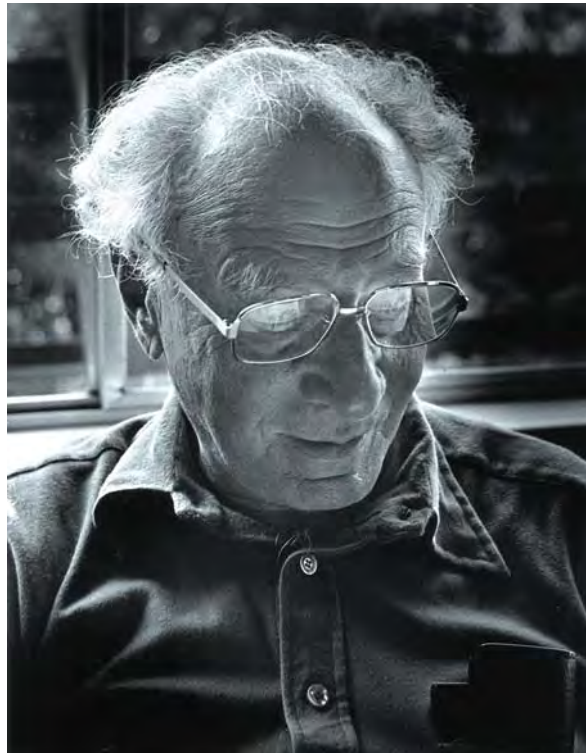
Ann Swidler

Almost all Berkeley Sociology graduate students at one time or another hold a Lowenthal Fellowship, named in honor of Leo Lowenthal, a member of the Sociology faculty from 1956-1968 and an influential figure in the Department and University until his death in 1993. But who was Leo Lowenthal?

From his birth in Frankfurt, Germany in 1900, Leo Lowenthal's life traced the arc of the 20th Century. He was seventeen when the Bolshevik revolution triumphed in Russia; during the revolutionary ferment of Weimar Germany, he became a Marxist, a socialist student firebrand, and, for a period, a Zionist socialist; and in 1926 he joined the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, becoming an important contributor to the work of the Frankfurt School. He and his colleagues emigrated from Germany in 1933 as the Nazis took power. Lowenthal and other members of the Institute then had to make their way in America.

For American-born students like me who knew Lowenthal in his Berkeley years, he was a bridge to another world, which differed from ours in almost unfathomable ways. Having repeatedly faced profound personal and historical

dislocations, he embodied a morally-committed but wryly skeptical equanimity—a lofty sense of perspective—that served as a corrective to our parochial concerns, both our sense of the 1960s as a period of unmatched radical ferment and our more prosaic concerns about academic careers.



In terms of radical ferment, the 1960s hardly competes with Lowenthal's student years. In the wake of the Bolshevik triumph in Russia and the dislocations of World War I, Germany saw a surge of Marxist and Socialist political movements, as well as right-wing movements. In his memoir, *An Unmastered Past*, Lowenthal recounts how in Spring 1920, he and a few other members of the German Socialist Student League "searched the houses of the most reactionary fraternities for weapons." They found no weapons, but were brought before the rector of the University:

A group of four or five ringleaders, including me, was called before him. He summoned the so-called ringleaders into his office and informed us of his intention to institute proceedings to have us expelled. Half in a state of shock, half out of impudence, I had a good idea. I said, 'Herr Rektor, you can, of course, do as

you please. But if you institute expulsion proceedings against us, every streetcar driver in Frankfurt will go on strike tomorrow.' We were immediately asked to leave the office, and nothing ever happened to any of us.¹

With this bit of bluster, Lowenthal showed the agile audacity that would serve him well in many situations.

To create a fuller picture of Lowenthal's life, I want to start with a very different story, and then work backwards: In 1972 or '73, a group of graduate students in the informal culture seminar Lowenthal had initiated during the 1970 Berkeley campus protests were somewhere between thrilled and awestruck to learn that Herbert Marcuse, Lowenthal's closest friend, would join us for dinner one evening. Marcuse was an icon of the New Left, whose *Eros and Civilization* (1955) and *One Dimensional Man* (1964) offered liberatory critiques of the culture of capitalism. In preparation for the evening, we reread these works and were prepared to debate how to transcend capitalism's constraints. As the evening began, Lowenthal and Marcuse—Leo elegant, twinkling, charming, and Marcuse handsome, imposing, with a mane of white hair—had other matters on their minds. These old friends discussed with relish which of the three kinds of cigars Lowenthal had provided they would smoke and the qualities of the wines they would drink. I believe that we had a serious discussion (although I don't remember much because we students somehow thought that polite dinner guests should finish up the wine, while Lowenthal's Old World manners required that there should always be two bottles open on the table). But what I took away from that evening was an appreciation of how a classic German high-bourgeois upbringing, and an education steeped in Enlightenment philosophy, Marxism, and classics of German and world literature, had imbued Lowenthal and his generation with standards against which the resolutely pedestrian, middle-class world of American capitalism, and indeed the pedestrian world of production-oriented academia, could be judged.

From an upper-middle-class, resolutely secular Jewish family, Lowenthal participated, along with other members of

this period included Theodore Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Erich Fromm, Max Horkheimer, Siegfried Kracauer, Marcuse, Franz Neumann, Friedrich Pollock, and Felix Weil. The culture of capitalism, they came to believe, made the proletarian revolution Marx had envisioned impossible. In the late 1920s, the Institute conducted a study showing that German workers, far from being the vanguard of an anti-capitalist revolution, had authoritarian tendencies that made them ripe for fascist mobilization. Lowenthal used to say that this piece of empirical research helped the largely Jewish members of the Institute for Social Research anticipate the need to leave Germany. (This research eventually led to Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* [1941] and Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel Levinson, and Nevitt Sanford's *The Authoritarian Personality* [1950].)

The Institute managed to move its funding, and most of its members, from Germany and from Europe well before the war. (Only Walter Benjamin, stranded in Paris in 1940 as the war closed in, did not survive.) This account, partially drawn from *An Unmastered Past*, describes this fraught time:

On September 14, 1931, when 107 National Socialists entered the Reichstag, this group of Jewish intellectuals began to view themselves as "internal exiles" in a world that threatened to engulf them. In Lowenthal's recollection, "It became clear to us all, even before January 1, 1933, that political life had taken on a new quality.... Fascism creates a new political context, characterized by total mobilization of society, where everyone is a fellow prisoner, fellow culprit and conscious fellow traveler of the political order. That is why we emigrated." The exit strategy developed by the group at the time was a branch research office in Geneva.... Institute funds were transferred to the Netherlands, and only enough money was left in Frankfurt to cover running expenses. Frequent trips by both the professors and assistants paved the way for the exodus to Geneva. Lowenthal was the last to leave on March 2, 1933. Three days later, the SA (Sturmabteilung, or Storm Troops) occupied the building but found no one on the premises.²

¹ Leo Lowenthal, *An Unmastered Past: The Autobiographical Reflections of Leo Lowenthal*, edited and with an introduction by Martin Jay (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1987), p. 36.

² Gertrude J. Robinson, "The Katz/Lowenthal Encounter: An Episode in the Creation of Personal Influence," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 2006, p. 80.

The Institute for Social Research found a home at Columbia University, and during 1933 and 1934, its members made their way to the U.S., mostly to New York. Lowenthal had important administrative and editorial responsibilities for the Institute and its journal, the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, during much of this period. When in 1942 the journal was suspended for lack of funds, Lowenthal went to work in Washington, DC, first for the Office of War Information and then for seven years as the research director of Voice of America. Then, after a year at the Center for Advanced Study at Stanford, he came to Berkeley.

Leo Lowenthal's scholarly contributions are primarily to the sociology of literature, although he also co-authored (with Norbert Guterman) *Prophets of Deceit* (1949), a study of the techniques of the demagogue. His best known works are two collections of essays, *Literature and the Image of Man* (1957)³ and *Literature, Popular Culture, and Society* (1961).⁴ His two most influential essays are probably "The Triumph of Mass Idols"⁵ and "The Reception of Dostoevsky's Work in Germany: 1880-1920."⁶ "The Reception of Dostoevsky's Work in Germany" initiated study of the reception of cultural works as a sociological way of understanding how a society receives those texts. "The Triumph of Mass Idols" used changes in biographies in popular magazines to trace a change in capitalist culture from the portrayal of "idols of production"—entrepreneurs and captains of industry who had accomplished great things—to "idols of consumption"—film stars and celebrities, celebrated for their life styles rather than their achievements.

At Berkeley, through his teaching on Durkheim, sociology of culture, and the history of social thought, as well as his writing, and especially through his informal student seminar,

the sociology of culture alive and influenced generations of students, who were engaged by his remarkably lively intellect, his immense charm, and his critical moral perspective.

I remember once teaching Lowenthal's "The Triumph of Mass Idols" to Stanford undergraduates and finding that my students were very offended. He's making "value judgments" they said. Yes, indeed, he was making value judgments. Jan Philipp Reemtsma, the German scholar and activist, said at Lowenthal's memorial that he regarded elitism not as an

accusation, but as praise. I really understood this only after conversations with Lowenthal's widow, Susanne Hopmann Lowenthal. Like all of us, Lowenthal had personal insecurities and idiosyncrasies. But Lowenthal didn't reduce the world to those psychological particularities. Rather he took the world—the world of high culture, the world of literature, the world of intellectual exchange, and the world of politics and history-making events—as an arena for a struggle of moral visions, for the working out of principles that transcend ourselves and our personal difficulties.

I was always amazed at Lowenthal's ability to make profound judgments based on principle, at the same time that he conveyed mannerly charm, an impish wit, and a delight in sensuous pleasures. Lowenthal understood, and accepted as real, the frequent absurdity and irrationality of human life, without giving up the search for reason and coherence. At some level his "elitism," and the sense of himself as a member of an elite of education, taste, and values gave him an anchor for judgment that most of us don't possess. Lowenthal did not see values as arbitrary, and he did not see evaluation as a suspect activity. This gave him immense moral courage whatever his own frailties.



³ Leo Lowenthal, *Literature and the Image of Man: Sociological Studies of the European Drama and Novel, 1600-1900*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.

⁴ Leo Lowenthal, *Literature, Popular Culture, and Society*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1961.

⁵ Leo Lowenthal, "The Triumph of Mass Idols," in *Literature, Popular Culture, and Society*, pp. 109-140.

⁶ Leo Lowenthal, "The Reception of Dostoevsky's Work in Germany: 1880-1920," in *The Arts in Society*, ed. Robert N. Wilson. Englewood Cliffs (NJ): Prentice-Hall, 1964, pp. 124-47.

Sociology in Bricks and Mortar

Mary Kelsey *A Tour of West Oakland*

My interest in West Oakland has personal as well as sociological roots. Ten years ago I began mentoring a girl, then in third grade, who lived in West Oakland. In my frequent visits to her neighborhood, I not only got to know her family and neighbors, but also started to recognize the physical evidence of the many forms of social inequality I had

planners who knew nothing about the communities they razed in the name of progress.

Despite its reputation as a “dangerous” neighborhood, West Oakland now faces the pressures of gentrification. Six months ago, my “goddaughter” and her family were asked to



been discussing in my sociology classes. The small factory buildings and large warehouses in West Oakland spoke of industrialization as well as the deindustrialization that has silenced most of these buildings. The condition of many houses gave eloquent testimony to the historical absence of resources from redlining (the practice of denying services, either directly or through selectively raising prices, to residents of certain areas based on the racial or ethnic makeup of those areas) as well as the plundering of absentee landlords. The blocks of public housing told tales of the city

vacate their rent-subsidized house. The house was put up for sale and was quickly bought for over half-a-million dollars. My goddaughter’s family, however, has been unable to find housing they can afford. While friends and relatives offer them places to stay, they are now homeless. I drove past my goddaughter’s former home in West Oakland a few days ago. The open porch where neighbors once congregated had been enclosed. A heavy door had been installed, creating a sturdy barrier between house and street, house and community. Was this architectural change a metaphor for

West Oakland's future?

A major aim of sociology is to help us understand the structures of our society and how these structures develop and function. Sociologists discuss “invisible” underlying forces, but social forces are equally evident in the characteristics of our physical environments. The neighborhood of West Oakland offers a particularly rich setting to observe how communities have been shaped by the larger forces of inequality. A brief history of West Oakland can shed light on the meaning of its bricks and mortar structures.

West Oakland is one of the city's oldest neighborhoods and has been home to a large and diverse number of economic enterprises. The terminus for the transcontinental railway was located on Woods and 16th Street in 1869. An elegant Beaux Art terminal (abandoned but still standing) replaced the first train station in 1912. The Central Pacific Rail Company built the Oakland Long Wharf on the site of what is now the Port of Oakland. Central Pacific also expanded the rail yard to service its trains. The historian Robert Self has catalogued the diverse enterprises that had once been part of Oakland's economy, like those just mentioned as well as ship repair, automobile and truck manufacturers, warehouse and storage facilities, canning and packing industries, machine tool manufacturers as well as numerous small factories that produced diverse chemical, electrical, and wood products (Self 2006:26-27). Trains and train tracks still crisscross West Oakland and the Port of Oakland remains a major employer, but the small factories have long been shuttered. The buildings remain, some re-purposed as art studios or housing, but many stand empty.

Housing in West Oakland also tells a complex story of class and race. In the 1880s and '90s, wealthy entrepreneurs, seeking larger estates than one could find in San Francisco, built palatial houses in Oakland's downtown, Lake Merritt and West Oakland neighborhoods. Longshoremen and railway workers, including a small community of African American railroad porters, lived in smaller homes near the shores of the San Francisco Bay. In the 1910s and 20s, many

“craftsmen” style bungalows were built among the Victorians. These smaller homes and were intended to house Oakland's working class. They gave rise to a vision of Oakland as an “industrial garden,” where industry and enterprise prospered in a peaceful community of single-family homes within walking distance of Oakland's many enterprises (Self 2006).

Before the Great Depression, West Oakland came close to fulfilling the vision of the “industrial garden,” but the character of the population, housing and businesses in West Oakland would radically change after the National Housing Act of 1934. The National Housing Act was intended to revive the housing and construction industries, which had crashed in the Great Depression. It revamped the mortgage system to make homeownership more affordable¹ and created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to oversee and guarantee home mortgages. The FHA ordered all major metropolitan areas to create “residential security maps” of their neighborhoods to distinguish economically viable from “economically unsound” communities. The criteria used to determine a neighborhood's “security grade” depended not just on its class composition, but also on its racial/ethnic composition. Any neighborhood that included families of color was deemed “unsound” and assigned the high-risk security code of “red.”

According to a 1937 report made by the Building Inspectors Office for the City of Oakland (see illustration), West Oakland could be described as a racially integrated, primarily working class, neighborhood. The African American population in Oakland before World War II was small, about 3 percent of the total city population. But, because black residents were excluded from many of Oakland's hillside neighborhoods, they were concentrated in the flatlands of the city. The Building Inspectors report estimated the African American population in West Oakland at 10 percent. Another 15 percent of the neighborhood included a “foreign-born” population of “Latin, Slavic, etc.” origins. Presumably the remaining 75 percent of the population would have Northern European ancestry. The Building Inspectors report ominously warned of the

¹ FHA instituted a new mortgage system that is largely in practice today, where 10 to 20 percent of the home value is paid as a down payment and the buyer has 30 years to pay off the balance of the mortgage. This system replaced an older mortgage system where the customary down payment was 50 percent of the cost of the home with five to ten years to repay the balance.

“infiltration of Orientals and Negroes,” while estimating the number of families on relief as “Many”. West Oakland was assigned the Security Grade of “Red.” The entire western section of the East Bay was “redlined” in the 1930s, not only restricting the capital available to area residents but also encouraging the exodus of the neighborhood’s white population.

The concentration of West Oakland’s African American population dramatically increased during and after World War II. The huge need for labor in the ship-building and related industries during World War II drew many African

Americans to the area. By 1950, African Americans constituted about 13 percent of Oakland’s population. By 1980, African Americans represented 47 percent of the city’s population. It has since fallen to 26 percent (US Census 2014).^{2(a)} As Oakland’s African American population grew, West Oakland became prime ground for massive urban renewal projects. The urban sections of the interstate highway system were often routed through poor neighborhoods. In the 1950s, the I-880 freeway bisected the community along what is now the Nelson Mandela Parkway. More freeway construction would follow as the I-580 traversed the north end of West Oakland in the 1960s. The I-980, dividing West Oakland from downtown, was completed in 1985. After the mile-long collapse of the double-decked section of I-880 during the Loma Prieta earthquake, I-880 was re-routed to curve around the west and south sides of the community, leaving West Oakland completely surrounded by interstate highways.

In the 1960s, over 30 acres of land in the northwest corner of the West Oakland were razed to build the giant Post Office and mail distribution center. The massive Acorn housing projects also began in the 1960s. Acorn demolished existing homes and businesses in the 25 acres of land between Union and Brush Streets and 10th Street to the Embarcadero. The demolition for the Acorn project began in 1962, evicting more than 9,000 people from their homes and businesses. When Acorn housing opened in 1974, only 1,000 housing units had been replaced. In the 1990s, Acorn housing was again demolished and rebuilt, mostly in townhouse style. West Oakland does indeed lend truth to James Baldwin’s quip that “urban renewal” might more honestly be called “Negro removal.”^{2(b)}

In the 1970s, the business strip along 7th Street was razed to make way for the West Oakland BART station. At one time, 7th Street had been a lively commercial district, most famously home to the Slim Jenkins Café, where R & B luminaries, including Earl Hines, Louis Jordan, Aretha Franklin, and BB King, performed. The only reminder of this premier nightclub is Slim Jenkins Court, a public housing complex on the corner of Willow and 7th Street. As evident from this short history, the West Oakland community has

NS FORM-B
8-20-37

AREA DESCRIPTION

1. NAME OF CITY OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA SECURITY GRADE RED AREA NO. D-2

2. DESCRIPTION OF TERRAIN Level

3. FAVORABLE INFLUENCES. Convenience to local and San Francisco transportation, schools, public library, local shopping center and walking distance to downtown Oakland.

4. DETRIMENTAL INFLUENCES. Old homes, run down in appearance; infiltration of Negroes, Orientals, etc. High city taxes in proportion to value of property.

5. INHABITANTS: Clerical, industrial wage
a. Type earnings, shop-keepers & rooming-house keepers. b. Estimated annual family income \$ 1000-1800
c. Foreign-born Latin, Slavic, 15 % ; d. Negro Yes ; 10 % ;
(Nationality, etc.) (Yes or No)
e. Infiltration of and Negroes ; f. Relief families Many ;
g. Population is increasing ; decreasing ; static. Yes

6. BUILDINGS:
a. Type or types Detached large homes b. Type of construction Frame ;
c. Average age 35 years ; d. Repair Poor

7. HISTORY: 2-story, old SALE VALUES RENTAL VALUES
nine-room home: PREDOM- PREDOM-
YEAR RANGE INATING \$ RANGE INATING \$
1929 level \$ 3500-7500 \$5000 100% \$35 - 75 \$50 100%
1933 low \$ 1500-3250 2500 50% 17.50 - 30 25 50%
1937 current \$ 1800-3500 2750 55% 22.50-32.50 30 60%
EX sale values XXXXXXXXXX 1927 and were 110 % of the 1929 level.
EX rental values XXXXXXXXXX 1927 and were 110 % of the 1929 level.

8. OCCUPANCY: a. Land 95 % ; b. Dwelling units 97 % ; c. Home owners 35 % ;
Large old homes for
9. SALES DEMAND: a. Poor ; b. income \$2500 ; c. Activity is Fair
Large old homes for
10. RENTAL DEMAND: a. Poor ; b. income \$25 ; c. Activity is Fair

11. NEW CONSTRUCTION: a. Types None ; b. Amount last year

12. AVAILABILITY OF MORTGAGE FUNDS: a. Home purchase Limited b. Home building None

13. TREND OF DESIRABILITY NEXT 10-15 YEARS Downward

14. CLARIFYING REMARKS: *(7) Indeterminate ground values made definite valuation impossible. This area includes the former elite section of Oakland, with many homes of old mansion type, which formerly housed Oakland's best families in the 90's. Some of these homes were still high priced in 1926, but by 1933 had suffered a great decline in value. Now some for apartment houses. Many of the old, large homes have been converted into house-keeping units. New NAVAL BASE on Harbor lands near lower part of this area, should bring some added demand for property in this area. Also, the World's Fair in 1939, could bring appreciable increase in lot values for cheaper type apartment house sites.

15. Information for this form was obtained from CITY OF OAKLAND, BUILDING INSPECTOR'S OFFICE;
RALPH E. PENNIE; JAMES G. STAFFORD
Date 6-15-37 193

Building Inspector's Report

^{2(a)(b)} While I could not find specific racial/ethnic statistics on the population of West Oakland (using zip code 94607 as a proxy) before 2000, this information from the Census Bureau gives a sense of how the demographics of the community has changed.

long suffered from racist disregard for community interests, but it has not done so without fighting back. The



Boarded-up house on Pine near 8th Street, West Oakland

headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, one of the first unions to represent African American rail workers, was at 5th and Woods Street. The original building was destroyed in the construction of the West Oakland Post Office complex. We can still see “Freedom House” on the corner of 8th and Chester Street. This was the West Coast headquarters of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the organization led by Marcus Garvey whose vision of a Pan-African movement was based on the economic empowerment for all people of African ancestry. The NAACP also had an active branch in West Oakland, at times joining forces with the UNIA. The Port of Oakland was home to the longshoremen who played a major role in Oakland’s general strike of 1946. Members of the Black Panther Party lived in West Oakland and had one of their first headquarters on Peralta Street. The church on the corner of West and 27th Streets was the site of its Breakfast for Children Program (it was called St. Augustine’s Church at the time, but is now St. Andrew’s Church). Many Panther rallies were held at DeFremery Park on Adeline and 18th Streets. Today, community activists continue to protest new plans for “revitalization” that do little to improve the lived conditions of West Oakland residents.

Oakland Population by Race/Ethnicity 1940-2014

	1940	1960	1980	2000	2010	2014
African American	2.80%	22.80%	47.00%	35.10%	27.30%	25.60%
Asian American	1.30%	3.20%	8.30%	15.60%	16.80%	17.10%
Latino	3.70%	6.50%	9.50%	21.90%	25.40%	25.90%
White	90.30%	67.10%	29.10%	23.50%	25.90%	26.50%
American Indian	n/a	0.30%	0.80%	0.70%	0.80%	0.80%
Other	1.90%	0.20%	5.30%	3.20%	3.80%	4.10%
Total Population	302,163	367,548	339,337	399,484	390,724	402,339

source: <http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/cities/Oakland50.htm>



Directions

Take San Pablo Avenue from Berkeley to Oakland.
Turn right on to 34th Street
Left on Chestnut Street (first intersection)
Left on 28th Street
Right on Myrtle Street
Right on 26th Street (to complete the circle of the
McClymonds campus)
Left on Linden Street
Right on West Grand Avenue
Left on Adeline Street
Right on 7th Street
Right on Mandela Parkway
Left on 8th Street
Right on Pine Street
Right on 12 Street
Slow down to peer into Zephyr Drive
Turn left on Woods Street
Stop at Wood and 16th Streets to look at the old train
station and new construction in the area
Turn right on 17th Street
Right on Peralta Street
Left on 14th Street
Left on Mandela Parkway

To see the American Steel sculpture, turn right on 18th,
left on Poplar. The sculpture is in the open lot between
and 20th Street on Poplar Street. Turn left on 20th
Street to return to Mandela Parkway. Turn right on
Mandela Parkway to continue north.
(Consider stopping at the Brown Sugar Kitchen, 2534
Mandela Parkway)

Take Mandela Parkway back to Emeryville/Berkeley
Turn left on Horton Street
Right on 40th Street
Left on San Pablo Avenue or if you prefer continue
straight turning Left on Market (becomes
Sacramento), MLK or Telegraph to get back to
Berkeley



16th Street Station and new construction as seen from Frontage Road, West Oakland



Annette Bernhardt

documenting PROTESTS



Annette Bernhardt is director of the Low-Wage Work Program at the UC Berkeley Labor Center, as well as a senior researcher at the UC Berkeley Institute for Research on Labor and Employment. She recently was visiting professor in the UC Berkeley sociology department, as well as a fellow at the Roosevelt Institute. A leading scholar of low-wage work, Dr. Bernhardt has helped develop and analyze innovative policy responses to economic restructuring in the United States. She was one of the principal investigators of the landmark study *Broken Laws, Unprotected Workers*, which documented high rates of minimum wage, overtime, and other workplace violations in the low-wage labor market. Dr. Bernhardt's most recent book is the co-edited *The Gloves-Off Economy: Workplace Standards at the Bottom of America's Labor Market*. She received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago in 1993.

Occupy Protest

New York City, November 17, 2011



The largest Occupy protest to this point (known as #N17) started with a day of teach-ins throughout the city's subway system. Activists gathered at major subway stations, boarded trains, told their individual stories, and recruited marchers for what would turn out to be the seminal event of the movement, featuring the projection of "We are the 99%" on the side of the Verizon building.



- * LAID OFF 3 TIMES
SINCE 2009
- * INJURED IN 2010
ON A TEMP JOB
- * DENIED WORKERS
COMPENSATION
- * DENIED MEDICAL
TREATMENT
- * NO HEALTHCARE
- * UI ENDS NEXT
MONTH



Immigrant Rights March

Washington, D.C., April 10, 2013



In the spring of 2013, the U.S. Senate was in the process of drafting comprehensive immigration reform legislation. Activists saw the possibility of reform for the first time in many years and called for marches nationwide, with tens of thousands traveling from across the country to the capitol.

Fast Food Strikes

Bronx, NY, July 29, 2013 (and Oakland)



The Fight for \$15 movement started in New York City, developing the strike model that would form the basis of nation-wide strikes in dozens of cities over the next two years. In a strike, community members, labor leaders, politicians, and faith-based groups take over a McDonald's store, read and deliver a letter with the movement's demands (a \$15 wage and union), and chant encouragement for one or more workers to come out from behind the counter and leave with the protestors (Workers, like the one above right from an Oakland strike, sign up ahead of time). The next day the delegation "walks back" the worker to his or her job, in order to prevent retaliation.



People's Climate March

New York, Sept 21, 2014



People's Climate March, New York City, September 21, 2014. The largest climate march in history (close to half-a-million participants) took over Midtown Manhattan for an entire day. It was the culmination of a week of workshops, teach-ins and actions in advance of the UN Climate Summit several days later. The march was endorsed by over 1,500 organizations, covering a wide range of constituents from across the globe and foregrounding indigenous rights groups most impacted by climate change.



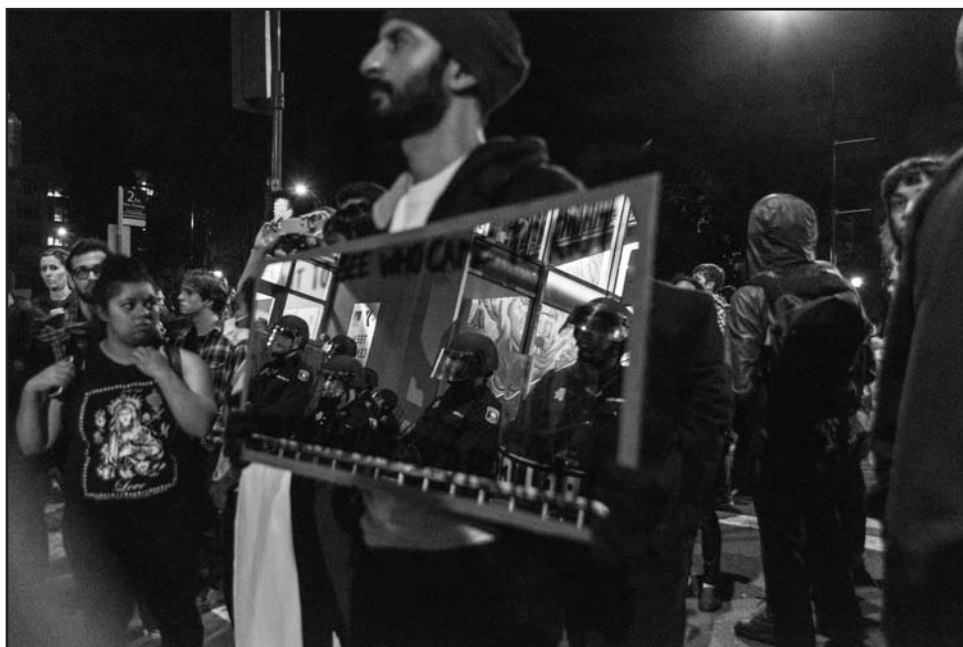
Black Lives Matter Protests

Berkeley, CA, December 7 and 8, 2014



In response to the police killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Berkeley saw three nights of demonstrations and marches that triggered a heavy police response, including SWAT teams in riot gear, tear gassing, and arrests. At one point on the night of December 7, students responded by sitting down en masse at the intersection of Telegraph and Channing.

This protestor (below) carried a mirror with him all three nights throughout the many hours of marching, placing himself at the barricades in front of riot police to force them to see themselves.



Black Lives Matter Protest

Oakland, CA, December 13, 2014



East Bay protests culminated in this large daytime march from Oscar Grant Plaza to the steps of the Alameda County Courthouse.



The Big Question

Martín Sanchez-Jánkowsi and the Ethnography of Poverty



Born into rural poverty in Sonora, Mexico, later raised in inner-city Detroit, Martín Sánchez-Jankowski joined Berkeley Sociology's faculty 32 years ago. He has always embodied much of what makes Berkeley and the Sociology Department great. Just after finishing his undergraduate degree in history and political science, Martín worked as a teacher at a junior high school and later a high school near the working-class neighborhood where he grew up. One day, a student in his class, Jerome, acted up and Martín instructed

him bluntly to sit down and shut up. Jerome continued to challenge his young teacher:

Jerome: "Why"

Martín: "So you can learn something."

"Why?"

"So you can go to college."

"Why?"

"Well, so you can be somebody."

"Like what?"

"Well, you can be a number of things."

"Well you went to college didn't you? You're from here?"

"Yeah."

"And you studied really hard?"

"Yeah."

"And you had to pay a lot of money?"

"Well, I didn't really because I got some scholarships and did sports."

"OK, so you did all that just to come back here and catch hell from us? Why would I want to do that?"

After work, Martín went home and shared this story with his

roommate who had also grown up in inner-city Detroit, and they both laughed about it. But then Martín got serious and said, "This is kind of depressing, we did all this work to get out of this neighborhood and now we're right back in it." His roommate agreed. Martín realized he needed to do something and decided to go to graduate school.

Later, he worked as a research assistant to help pay for his Ph.D. program at MIT. Martín was working on theoretical math simulations for a study directed by a professor who was responsible for a large project examining poverty in Mexico. At the time, Martín was interested more in the mathematical methodology part of the study than in its substantive topic. The data coming out of Mexico was not matching the math models for some reason, so this professor asked Martín to check the math for errors. He couldn't find any, so the professor asked Martín to go to Mexico both because he could speak Spanish, and, more importantly, he could understand the math. The experience made him reflect that there were a lot of people capable of doing the math modeling but far fewer who were capable and willing to spend time living in poor areas with the hardships they would be presented with, and realized that's where he could make the greatest contribution.

The third lesson that would drive his research career occurred over lunch with the eminent political scientist Harold Lasswell. Lasswell suggested to Martín that if he wanted to answer the big question that he was interested in, he had to plan each of his research projects out so that when they were completed, at the end of his career, he could write a book telling us what he had learned. Martín took this advice to heart and has structured his work in such a way that all of his studies are "different slices" of a grand narrative about the sociology of poor communities: political socialization of minority youth (*City Bound: Urban Life and*

Political Attitudes among Chicano Youth, 1986); why gangs emerge and persist in poor neighborhoods (*Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society*, 1991); dynamics of social change and persistence of low-income neighborhoods and communities (*Cracks in the Pavement: Social Change and Resilience in Poor Neighborhoods*, 2008); social conflict in low-income areas (*Burning Dislike: Ethnic Violence in High Schools*, 2016); problems with education in schools serving low-income families (book in progress); the illegal economy in impoverished neighborhoods (book in progress); and,

finally, he's now working on indigenous poverty and social change.



Martín's first book, *City Bound: Urban Life and Political Attitudes Among Chicano Youth* (1986) came out a year after he had left the University of New Mexico to pursue a post-doctoral opportunity at Berkeley. While it revealed a seed of his later research prowess it also showed that his research design still needed some maturing. It was a comparative, four-year longitudinal study tracking changes in the political attitudes of Chicano high schoolers as they entered adulthood. This work reveals how a single minority's political socialization in the US was less dependent upon common cultural

attributes of its members than on the differences they experienced within the local socio-political contexts they found themselves in. In other words, the larger San Antonio, Los Angeles, and Albuquerque communities produced divergent political cultures for Chicano youth to navigate in order to realize the American Dream.

The next "slice" of his grand study tapped into his experience in a way that no other work could, and would prove a seminal point in his career. He had transitioned to ethnographic work that relied on the method of participatory-observation and the messy complications that are interwoven within it. In *Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society* (1991), Martín took "a journey back

into (his) youth, where the actors were different, but the stage and play were quite similar." The study lasted nearly 10 and a half years, ultimately involving 37 gangs in three different cities.

"When I started to study gangs in 1977, the East Coast and the West Coast were really two separate experiences and part of that had to do with the difficulty of communication between the two," recalls Martín. Contact with the gangs was negotiated through interlocutors in the community who dealt with the gangs on a regular basis but he used knowledge as a hook. He went to New York first and explained honestly that he wanted to write a book about them. "And of course, like any human they wanted to be acknowledged, too. They thought that would be interesting." But they still weren't sure. Martín explained that he was doing a comparative study with Los Angeles gangs and he'd tell them what was going on with those gangs on the West Coast. This was the hook that convinced them to let him study gangs in New York. Then he used the same argument with gangs in LA. "Now," he said, this approach wouldn't work because media and communications have informed each about the other, and some on each coast are even in the same gang, but back in 1977 that was not the case."

"As part of our mutual understanding" with the gangs, "it was agreed that I did not have to participate in any activity (including taking drugs) that was illegal," he recalled. He was, however, subject to two forms of tests to ensure he was not an informant for the various law enforcement agencies. The first was to expose him to criminal activities over a period of time and watch to see if any of their members were arrested. This generally went smoothly, however, on one occasion a gang member informed on three other members to the police, and to protect himself, identified Martín as the snitch to the gang. Martín was beat up as a result. Sometime later, the truth was discovered though, and gang leaders apologized to him and granted Martín permission to study them.

The second test was to determine how tough he was. He wrote in *Islands*:

Gang members wanted to know whether I had the courage to stay and fight if we were all jumped by a rival gang, and whether I could handle myself and not jeopardize their flanks. In this test, it was considered acceptable to fight and lose, but it was unacceptable to

fight and lose, but it was unacceptable to refuse to fight. This test sometimes doubled as part of my initiation rite.

Fortunately the weapons of choice when Martín was studying gangs were primarily chains, brass knuckles, and knives, not guns. This too, of course, would change over the time of the study.

He has told the following story before, but it's worth retelling. He was with two members of a Bronx gang one evening during the study. The two gang members were wearing jean jackets with the sleeves cutoff and the gang's name emblazoned on their backs. They were about to enter a subway station in Brooklyn when a group of 20 or so members of another gang saw them. The opposing gang members started walking fast towards Martín and the two others, and then the pace turned to a trot. There was no way Martín and the two gang members could have outrun the larger gang. When they found they were surrounded, Martín and the two others formed a "Roman square," standing back-to-back to defend themselves as best they could for as long as they could. They were now 3-4 feet apart and one of the members of the larger gang started swinging a chain while another pulled out a steel rod and swung it hitting the two gang members. Suddenly a police car drove up and the larger, rival gang dispersed.

The police officer then got out of his car, walked over to Martín and the two gang members and pulled out his billy club. He asked the first gang member, "Who are you?" and "What happened?" The gang member replied simply that he knew nothing. So the police officer continues, "Ah, so you don't know?" before he raps the man on the back of the head hard with his billy club. "Did that help you?" But the gang member could barely speak after suffering the blow. Then police officer went to the second gang member and repeated the interaction complete with the blow to the back of the head. When it's Martín's time, he told the officer, "I'm a professor at Wellesley College in Massachusetts." "So you're a professor at Wellesley College?," the officer starts to say, regarding Martín's remark as insolence, "Yeah, and I'm a professor at Columbia," and slammed the billy club against the back of his head.

They eventually got onto the train heading back to the Bronx via Manhattan only to see the other gang members on the same train. They went from car to car to get away and finally

decided to split up and go their separate ways, agreeing to meet up the following day in the Bronx. Martín decided to get off at Union Square because a college buddy lived there. His friend was married, had a wife who worked as a therapist, and they put him up in their loft. Sometime in the middle of the night she received a frantic call from one of her clients who was in a panic about who he was and where he was in life. Still riled up from the earlier activity, with his head pounding from the blow of the billy club, Martín was wide awake and thought how ironic it was that these two worlds with their crises could meet in this apartment without either of them knowing each other.

Certainly all fieldwork is not the same, but these stories suggest that in at least extreme cases, fieldwork requires a certain sort of sensibility, and according to Martín:

It depends what the situation is. A lot of "ethnographers" do not immerse themselves in the life of the people they are studying, but simply conduct interviews in the physical and social space their respondents live in. So they don't experience the hardships related to social and physical environment of their subjects. You know even the really well known anthropologists brought along their comforts to their research sites.

Some researchers bring the family in tow when they conduct fieldwork, particularly if they do so overseas, but this won't work for certain projects like studying gangs. Participatory-observation as a method, can be problematic for these reasons.

Alice Goffman began work on her dissertation, which was later developed into the book, *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City* (2014), as an undergraduate and eventually spent six years on her participatory-observation study. In 2011, she won the American Sociological Association's Dissertation Award. Controversy soon followed and has been discussed in academic and non-academic circles including The New York Times, The Washington Post, the New Republic, and Slate. The biggest controversy surrounds her participation in criminal activity. Alice wrote how one night, after one of her informants was killed, she drove a car for another informant who sat "in the passenger seat, his hand on his Glock as he directed me around the area" looking for any of the rival gang members.

I simply wanted him to pay for what he'd done, for what

taken away from us. Looking back, I'm glad I learned what it feels like to want a man to die, not simply to understand the desire for vengeance in others, but to feel it in my bones, at an emotional level eclipsing my own reason or sense of right and wrong.

Martín is unequivocal, she lost her perspective as a researcher and went "native". He questions the training she received or did not, and emphasizes to his students that if there's an ethical or moral question that might arise in doing the research, you must ask yourself, how far will you go? He believes this aids students in negotiating the compact that exists between researchers and informants.

Martín was in the middle of putting together a special issue for the Journal of Ethnography on new and innovative ethnographic methods when we first met to discuss this article. This led him to bring up a new trend amongst ethnographers to use the real names of informants and locations that in past practice have been hidden. Goffman took the conventional steps to protect the identities of her informants, including using pseudonyms for places and people. The problem with her research design, according to Martín, was that the number of her informants was too small, 5-10 people, by Martín's estimate. "It's such a small number that people could probably tell who she interacted with and that's one big ethical problem."

Nancy Scheper-Hughes, a medical and sociocultural anthropologist at Berkeley, proposed identifying informants back in 2000 in response to the controversy over her award winning work, *Saints, Scholars, and Schizophrenics* (1979), based on a year's field work in a small Irish village in Kerry. A year after her work was published, a journalist from the Irish Times located the village, even though Scheper-Hughes had changed the names of the village and her informants in her work. The revelations did emotional harm to Scheper-Hughes' informants because the focus of her work was not to valorize this rural village community but to explore and discuss the community's social-psychological problems in a way that arguably exaggerated the existence of problems including sexual deviancies such as incest. The experience has taught Scheper-Hughes that "the practice" of trying to hide informants' identities "makes rogues of us all--too free with our pens, with the government of our tongues, and with our loose translations and interpretations of village life." The Hippocratic oath--to do no harm to your informants, Scheper-Hughes argues, demands nothing less

(see *Sci Eng Ethics*, 2009m, 15: 135-160 and *Ethnography*, 2000, Vol 1(1): 117-140). We all have blemishes, Martín counters, and blemishes will be revealed in ethnographic studies, but if informants know their identities will be revealed, the information informants withhold will do irreparable harm to research.

Some scholarly differences can simply be ones of perspective. Michael Burawoy and Martín are friends, but have a longstanding disagreement rooted in the philosophic orientations of their research. Martin frames the debate in this way:

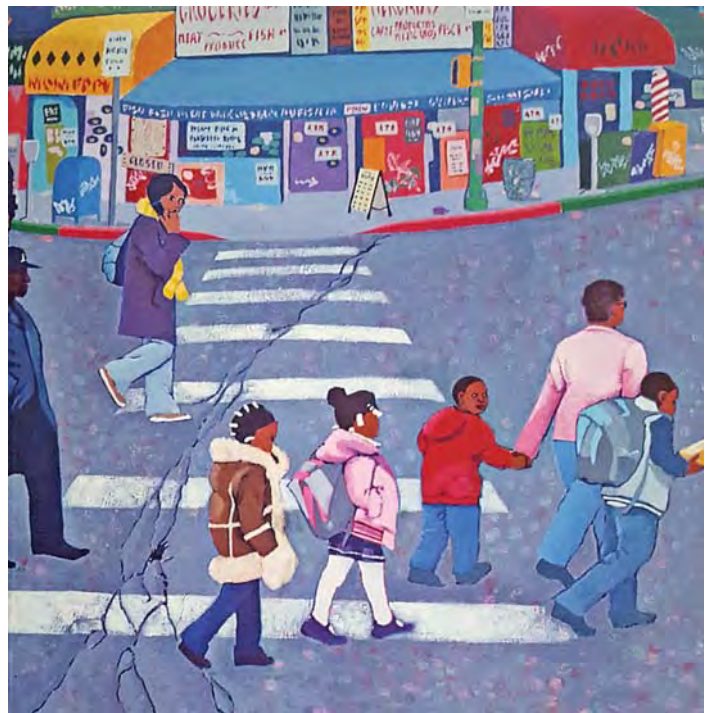
Michael has always been influenced by history, and, of course, who could doubt that history is important. He's interested in how things change over different historical periods of time, documenting these changes, and what's caused these changes. But I've been primarily interested in what's remained the same, and why I've been concerned with that is you get a better feel for what we might call social laws that are existing independent of time and circumstances. This helps in the prediction of behavior in different times. Now, I'm not uninterested in social change because the only way you can find something that's stable over time is to see some change. So I've been interested in it sort of as a comparative point rather than as the sole focal point.

As a scholar, Martín is not without his own critics. In Chapter three of *Islands*, Martín tries to dispel several misconceptions about gangs and their members. He argues that members behave rationally when given the choice to join and leave gangs. That members are generally quite intelligent and "capable of developing and executing creative enterprises"; are not lazy and lacking in initiative; and not wholly resistant to social programs, but rather to "programs that attempt to control their behavior and offer" them "little in return." Finally, in addressing gang violence, Martín maintains that they are not clinically sadistic. Martin counters that when he has served as an expert witness, both prosecutors and defenders had *Islands* on their shelves.

Malcolm Klein, a sociologist who studied crime and gangs for over 38 years, argued that Martin is "far more accepting of his gang members' perceptions and memories than most would be. He is clearly 'on their side'; community crackdowns on gang violence and drug sales show 'the community's complicity in these police actions.'"

After *Islands*, Martín studied poor neighborhoods by focusing on public housing, mom-and-pop stores, hair shops, gangs, and schools. In the preface to the award-winning book that followed, *Cracks in the Pavement*, he draws a comparison between the complex social order that a childhood exploration of ant life hidden beyond the cracks in a pavement revealed: "Cracks allow us to see things hidden from causal view that is likely to lead to misunderstandings, but yet also provide "an opportunity to view something heretofore unknown or unobservable."

In his newest book, which was published in May 2016, *Burning Dislike*, Martín has returned to the same type of informants he studied in his first book, this time examining how ethnic violence in high school works. In preparing for



the study, he discovered California schools had the largest problem with this sort of violence and that the overwhelming majority of conflicts were between Latinos and African Americans. He choose 6 schools in Los Angeles and Oakland as his sample for a comparative study and devised ways to observe the students so as not to interfere with their actions while gathering data. He also utilized field notes from a separate research project involving two high schools with ethnic violence conducted 26 years earlier in Boston as part of the data set for the book. Martin discovered that "ethnic conflict in schools is likely to occur when the ethnic demography of a school is disrupted by significant numbers of newcomers." Contrary to predominant theories,

he found wide variety in the development of violence, yet also that it may “have its origins in the existing conflict of the local community.” Martín also found that incumbent residents were more likely to be the victimizers while newcomers were likely to be the victims.

So what slice does Martín need in order to provide us with a comprehensive answer to the big question? His latest study sponsored by the World Bank has taken him to four remote, rural settings to study the Fijians living in the outer islands of their country, the Naga in Northeast India, and two Native American groups. Martín’s project is part of a much larger study of 400 groups, examining how to increase economic opportunities for indigenous peoples but not at the expense of their traditional culture. After the mid-point of the study, researchers based in one location are required to go to somebody else’s site. For Martín, this meant traveling to a remote part of the Amazon to join two Brazilian anthropologists: one had spent his career studying two related Indian villages, while the other, his former student, had recently completed his dissertation based on a study of the group Martín was to spend the better part of six months with, a village of roughly 40 Amazonian Indians. At the same time that Martín had joined these two researchers, a third Brazilian researcher had left the Amazon site to go to one of Martín’s study sites, the one in India. While at the site in the Amazon, Martín and the younger researcher were hosted by a family in their thatched house.

Following the practice of the villagers, Martín and the other researcher slept in hammocks because sleeping directly on the ground could be dangerous. Martín was envious of the younger, Brazilian researcher’s hammock because it was more stable. Whereas Martín’s hammock was tied to a post by one large cord, his had four finger cords that came down and went into one. Whenever Martín moved, he was in danger of flipping over. The young research was empathetic to Martín’s plight but only to an extent, “Well, next time you come you can bring one like mine,” he told Martín.

Waking up one morning, the Brazilian researcher says, “Martín, something is really hurting me on my back. What the hell is biting me on my back around my shoulder blade here?” Martín took a look and told him there were small hairs sticking out of his back and redness. He suggested Martín call the other Brazilian researcher who came and recognized it immediately as a tarantula’s mark, and said that while the bite is not poisonous, bacteria urticating hairs can

can cause gangrene and kill you in as little as 2-3 hours if you don’t stop the infection. He had experienced the same attack and called the chief who sent two men off into the jungle. They returned a short while later with a piece of sugar cane for the young researcher to bite on and some sticks that they lit to burn the attack site on his back. After this incident Martín started to see other members of the tribe with scars similar to the one that the young researcher was left with. He no longer felt envious that his hammock was less stable than the young researcher’s as this is what probably saved him from being attacked by the tarantula.

(Credit: art by Eileen Hout for two of Martín’s book covers).

My Journey

From Student to Applied Sociologist in the Veterans Health Administration

Catherine Barry

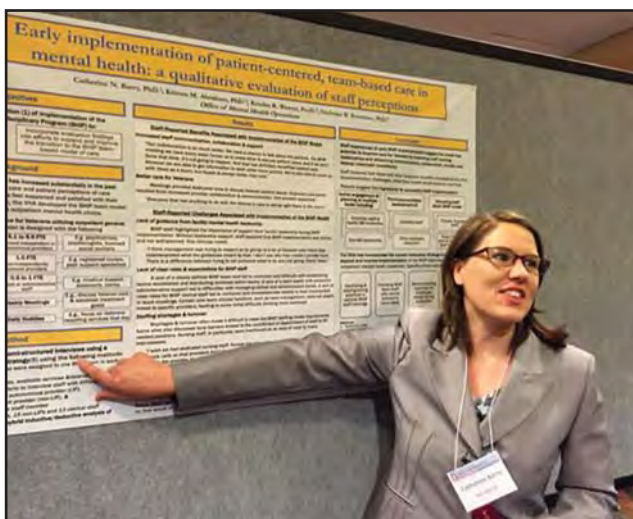
My hands were sweaty when I added my signatures and the date, August 26, 2013, to the document. It was my first big break after graduating with my PhD in May 2013. I was locking myself into a 13-month contract with the Veterans Health Administration (VA). I also felt excited; the work was a step forward for me and it provided opportunities for professional growth. After holding a few research assistantships in nonprofit, government, and policy-institute settings during graduate school, I realized I would be happiest in an applied research career. I was energized by the fast pace and more immediate impact of applied work. So this job felt right; I would engage in applied research, and my work would center on military veterans, who were the focus of my dissertation and a group with whom I have close personal connections, including through my father, aunt, two brothers and others.

That said, before I stumbled upon the consulting position, I was not aware that the VA hired sociologists or other social scientists. I thought only public health researchers, medical doctors and psychologists actively pursued research there. Actually, the VA employs quite a few anthropologists and, in the past few years, it has increasingly recognized the importance and value of qualitative and mixed-methods research, so the demand in the VA for qualitative researchers is growing.

I found the VA consulting opportunity through a combination of hustling and nail-biting. During my final semester, I doubled down on networking and pursuing non-academic job opportunities. I set up many informational interviews in person and by phone. I had a couple dozen conversations to learn about various industries and people's experiences in applied research.

By June, one of these informal conversations turned into a short-term consulting gig with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in San Francisco. I also secured a small consulting gig with a tiny healthcare startup. At the end of June, I learned about the VA contract opportunity in a six-degrees of separation scenario: I was ultimately connected with a sociologist working at the VA who chatted with me about the contract opportunity in the VA Office of Mental Health Operations, and the rest, as they say, is history.

As a consultant, the VA tasked me with examining program
(Continued on page 53)





Berkeley in the 60s

Sociology Lecturer–Former NKVD Agent

Imagine it's early 1969 for a moment. When you turn on the FM radio, you're likely to hear recent releases like Marvin Gaye's I Heard it Through the Grapevine, the Beatles' Hey Jude, and the Doors' Hello, I Love You. Richard Nixon has just become president and Ronald Reagan is California's governor. Later in the year, Reagan would call in the National Guard to squash student protests in Berkeley, and Nixon would both secretly initiate bombing in Cambodia and institute the draft in order to man the Vietnam War. It was also a time when the fear of the Soviet Union and a nuclear war was palpable enough that some people decided to build bomb shelters in their backyards, and all school children were regularly drilled to hide under their desks in the event of a nuclear attack, no matter the efficacy of such survival strategies. (Remember we are in Vietnam due to the fear of the Domino Theory--that letting one country fall to communism will lead to its neighbors falling in succes-

On 13 February, The Daily Californian's headline informed the Campus in large, bold letters: "Former Russian Agent Teaching Sociology Here." The article was based on information provided in part by a student organization, the Independent Socialist Club. A few days later, Sociology faculty members Wolfram Eberhard and Kingsley Davis sent a letter to Acting Chair Herbert Blumer, copying the Dean and Chancellor, calling for an investigation into the "serious accusations against" Mr. Zborowski, a part-time lecturer.

Born in the Ukraine in 1908, Mark Zborowski's family is believed to have immigrated to Poland around the time of the Russian Revolution. In 1928, Zborowski moved to Paris where he studied at the Sorbonne. Roughly ten years later, Zborowski dropped out of medical school and was working as a busboy in Grenoble, according to one source, when he was recruited by the NKVD (the Soviet Union's equivalent to both the CIA and FBI) and was assigned to infiltrate Russian Trotskyite groups in France. The Independent Socialist Club claims that Ramón Mercader, Leon Trotsky's assassin, and Jack Soble, another NKVD agent, admitted that the OGPU (Joint State Political Directorate, effectively

the secret police, which was under the umbrella of the NKVD) was responsible for the assassination of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, indirectly implicating Zborowski.

During a US Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security hearing in 1956, Zborowski testified that he had been assigned to deliver Sedov to Soviet assassins in 1938, but said he did not. He did, however, arrange for an ambulance to transport Sedov, who had appendicitis, to a private clinic run by Russian émigrés, likely a front for more NKVD agents. Sedov appeared to recover, but died a short while later officially of peritonitis. The National Security Agency has copies of communications between Zborowski and Moscow from 1944 and 1945 when he went by the codenames TULIP and KANT, though Russian émigrés in France and the US knew him as Etienne (note: the Soviet Union was our ally at this time in the fight against Nazi Germany). In her book, *Our Own People: A Memoir of "Ignace Reiss"* (Oxford University Press: 1969), Elisabeth Poretsky states that Zborowski admitted to her in 1955, just before the senate hearings, that he had been an NKVD agent for "more than twenty years": and when she asked if he played a role in the

assassination of her husband, Ignace Reiss, by the NKVD in Switzerland in 1937, he gave a “wry” smile and “shrug of the shoulders” in tacit acknowledgement. He is also suspected of being involved in other NKVD assassinations of dissidents: Andrés Nin in Spain in the same year and Walter Krivitsky in Washington, D.C. in 1941. He was sentenced in 1962 to 4 years in prison for perjury based on the evidence provided in these communications, which contradicted elements of his testimony before the senate subcommittee. Shortly after he was released from prison, he began working at Mount Zion Hospital in San Francisco (where he continued to be employed during his time teaching at Berkeley and beyond).

The fact that Zborowski was only imprisoned for perjury, and not spying, suggests that American officials were not really concerned with his activities, recognizing they were no threat to US interests. Rather he was a part of Russian Communists internecine war pitting the power of the Stalinist regime against dissident Trotskyites and other defectors. Chair Blumer reviewed Zborowski’s academic qualifications and queried Professor John Clausen, who had recommended Zborowski be hired. Clausen had been forthcoming in his initial recommendation to Blumer’s predecessor, who had hired Zborowski:

I have known Mark Zborowski for more than fifteen years and regard him as a superb teacher and sensitive researcher. He came to this country just after World War II, if I recall correctly, and was at the time sponsored by Margaret Mead [Meade wrote an

introduction to *Life is with People, the Culture of the Shtetl* which he co-authored with Elizabeth Herzog (Shocken: 1952)]. Much of his early research was done on grants from NIMH and Russell Sage. It developed that Zborowski had, at one time, been a communist agent in Europe, though I do not believe there is any evidence that he served in this capacity in the United States. Nevertheless, he was hounded for a while and imprisoned.

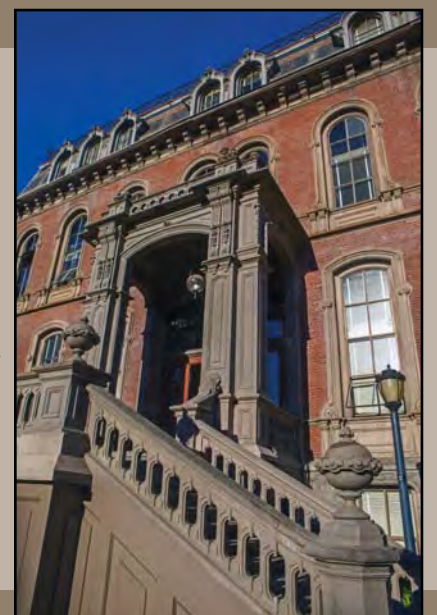
Responding to Blumer’s inquiry after the Daily Californian story was published, Clausen added in part:

It did not seem to me that [Zborowski’s work as an agent for the NKVD] was in any way relevant to his teaching a course in medical sociology. I think that it is quite clear that since World War II he has been uninvolved in political matters.... It never occurred to me that the New Left would pick up the mantel of Joe McCarthy in this way.

Blumer concluded: “In the light of what I have written above, indicating no irregularity or deficiency on the part of my predecessor in fulfilling his obligations in the appointment of Dr. Zborowski and in the absence of evidence to show that Dr. Zborowski has failed to meet the conditions of employment of the University, I see no grounds or warrant for instituting the investigation that you request.” And so the affair of the former NKVD agent who served as a Berkeley Sociology professor ended.

A 1956 Shell Street Map of East Bay cities shows Telegraph Avenue, and parallel to it from the south, Union Street extending from Bancroft all the way up to Sather Gate. At that time, the Sociology Department along with Economics, Political Science, and Business Administration had large rooms in South Hall (built 1873), probably the rooms located at the north and south ends of the hallways, which were affectionately referred to as “bull pens,” where faculty would hold their student office hours. Sociology’s bull pen was on the second floor. Some faculty offices, including Frederick Teggart’s before he retired in 1940, were located on the fourth floor of Wheeler Hall (built in 1917 and named for Benjamin Ide Wheeler, UC President from 1899-1919). Sociology moved to Barrows Hall (named for David Prescott Barrows, UC President from 1919-23) after it was built in 1964.

(sources: Edward Strong, Clark Kerr, Neil Smelser, Aaron Cicourel, and David Nasatir)



Mentoring to Connect Students to Berkeley's Largesse

Liz Milagro Collazo's parents broke up when she was 8 years old. She had spent most of her young life in Puerto Rico surrounded by her father's extended family, but, after the break up, her mother took Liz and her three younger sisters to Bakersfield, where her mother's brother lived. Liz was fluent in Spanish but had little exposure to English, so to catch up with her classmates, she had to take supplemental English classes until she finished grade school.

Liz's mom, who is Dominican, had been an exceptional student in the Dominican Republic where she earned a bachelor's degree in Business Administration. Although her degree was not valued in the same way it would have been if she had received it in the US, she raised her four girls while managing a restaurant and encouraged them to excel in school. When it came time to consider college, Liz applied to a couple of private schools out of state, but mostly public universities in California. She also applied for numerous local and national scholarships. Her mother's encouragement combined with her own personal ambition and hard work paid off. She had several options, but her top three choices were the University of Virginia, where she was offered a Fulbright scholarship, UCLA, and Berkeley. She chose Berkeley after praying with her pastor for guidance.

Natasha Anderson had lived all her life in Frazier Park, a small mountain community in Kern County. Unlike Liz's mom, Natasha's parents didn't particularly push her to excel in school. Her older brother had average grades and Natasha didn't feel particularly motivated until she was in junior high school and her two best friends' accomplishments pushed her to strive for more. By the time she finished high school,

she graduated third out of a class of about 80.

Instead of coming directly to Berkeley from high school, Natasha decided to go to Santa Monica City College before transferring. "My attitude going into Santa Monica was about moving out of my house," she recalls. But Santa Monica provided a useful transition from her high school of 300 students to a bigger environment. Her first transition was from having the same teacher in a subject matter for all four years of high school to having different teachers for different community college classes. She also had one particularly caring professor who spent a lot of time guiding her.

After finishing at Santa Monica City College, Natasha took a break from school for a semester and enrolled at Berkeley in the spring. The valedictorian from Natasha's high school class had come directly to Berkeley, but found it so difficult, he had to take a break from school to refocus. Competition at Santa Monica hadn't been as difficult as she knew it would be at Berkeley: "It was about doing your best to get somewhere, but now I'm here I take things more seriously and have put more pressure on myself." Her community college experience taught her to seek out resources, and she frequently contacted one of the Sociology Department's undergraduate advisers, who told her about the Berkeley Connect program.

The Berkeley experience for freshmen like Liz or transfer students like Natasha can be daunting. Large lectures classes are not a selling point for the university nor for the Sociology Department, which often has 11 courses with

enrollments of 150 students or more each semester. This is part of what comes with a public university enrolling over 25,000 undergraduates. Yet, with only a 17.3% acceptance rate and world-renowned programs led by the world's top scholars (a glance at this page only scratches the surface: <http://www.berkeley.edu/about/bythenumbers>), these two factors help explain why new students can feel intimidated and lost. In a perfect world, everyone would have a mentor to help them navigate the largesse of Berkeley.



Berkeley Connect grew out of a program initiated by the English Department. Having grown up in a conservative, lily-white suburb in New York, Berkeley offered an alternative to Peter Chernin. The English Department was, and is, like Sociology, the best. So instead of attending an Ivy League school where Chernin's classmates would have come from backgrounds much like his own, he valued the enriching experience of studying literature at Berkeley. After starting his postgraduate life in the publishing world, he moved into television and film, eventually becoming president of Fox Broadcasting Company and president and CEO of News Corporation and Fox Broadcasting Group before retiring in 2009 to start up his own media, entertainment, and technology business, the Chernin Group. Chernin never forgot his experience at Berkeley, but realized that the university can sometimes make students feel anonymous and overwhelmed. Over the years he pondered what he could do to help students gain a stronger sense of community, particularly in relation to their academic life; the idea for a mentoring program arose out of ongoing conversations with his former English professor Don McQuade.

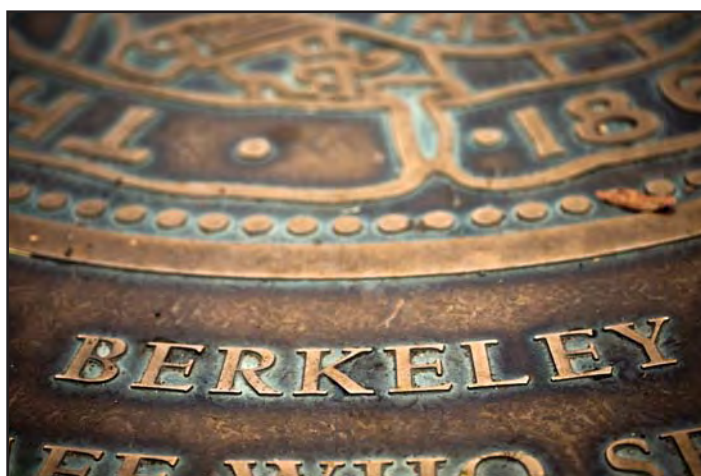
In fall 2010, he helped create the Chernin Mentoring Program in the English Department. After three years, the program was so successful it was expanded to other departments. At that time, Prof. Kim Voss successfully applied to bring into the Sociology Department.

To understand why Kim was interested in bringing the mentoring program to Sociology, we should start with a writing project she initiated and shepherded as Department Chair. "Sociology is a major that has a high proportion of immigrant and first-generation college students," she noted, adding, "We had many faculty meetings where writing deficiencies were lamented," particularly amongst transfer students. But it is no secret that the amount of critical reading required in college is a great leap from high school generally, and reading comprehension is integral to effective writing. So, she thought, "Let's do something about it. I feel strong that it's an abdication of our responsibility not to address the problem."

By the time she had introduced writing guides for students as well as instructors of Sociology, Kim's twin sons entered college: one attend UC Berkeley and the other attended a private liberal arts college where he had four separate advisors. She recognized an opportunity for Sociology Department students with Berkeley Connect, particularly given the demographics of the department, to combine resources of a great research university with those of a smaller liberal arts college. Kim's interest in getting Sociology involved in the Berkeley Connect program was informed by her experiences as a teacher, an administrator, and a mother of college students with vastly different experiences.

Berkeley's student population is overwhelmingly white and Asian (73 percent). While the Sociology Department also has a majority of white and Asian students (53 percent), it's underrepresented minorities make up 38 percent of the department's undergraduate student population, compared with 17 percent for the campus as a whole (2012-13 academic year). While it is difficult to break out need-based aid from overall aid figures, a large proportion of need-based aid comes from Pell Grants and Sociology undergraduates are recipients of Pell Grants at a rate of 45 percent compared to 35 percent for the campus.

Despite her success before attending Berkeley, Liz found the



transition to college and the rigor it entailed difficult. In high school, she could write papers at the last minute because they didn't require research, just summarizing what her teachers had said.

Natasha has an astigmatism which was caught late. She knew she had a problem because when she read the strain would make her sleepy. So Natasha got a late start in reading and even though she was successful in high school, she had to work extra hard. She was also behind in English when she went to Santa Monica, where she had to take "catch up" English courses. When she arrived at Berkeley, Natasha also took John Kaiser's writing and reading seminar for Sociology which uses the material Kim helped produce. "I enjoy that writing class," she explains, "because I can feel that working on papers now is much more second nature because we already do it so much." She also enrolled in Berkeley Connect in Sociology.

Berkeley Connect in Sociology follows the structure established in the English Department. Experienced graduate student instructors (GSIs) apply for one-year fellowships to mentor undergraduate students who enroll in a one-unit course pass/fail. The graduate fellows are paid a stipend and fees and receive their own mentoring from faculty. There are several faculty members who work with graduate fellows every year.

Students enroll in Berkeley Connect from a range of majors, but the majority are or intend to be Sociology majors. Each section usually has 15 to 18 students and has no assigned text or articles, just discussions, both one-on-one and in small groups. There are also introductions to some of the university's resources, panel discussions, and a special lecture by one or multiple faculty members.

While the aim and structure of Berkeley Connect to provide intellectual mentoring to undergraduates is well-meaning, ultimately, the success of the program is dependent on graduate fellows like Katherine Maich and Ben Shestakofsky. Ben attended a small, private liberal arts college with less than 3000 undergraduates in the Northeast. Kate, who attended a medium-sized research university in the

Midwest, offered insight into why she thinks the program works:

What I felt there and what I see in this program is that students feel like someone has an interest in them as an individual. And they can relate to us because we are also still students—that's something we share--and yet we are in a more advanced position in a particular way. We care about them beyond their last essay.

Nearly all of Kate's classes where she was an undergraduate were small, with between 15 and 25 students, and she only had one class with a graduate student instructor. Teaching was perhaps more important than it can seem at Berkeley, where tenure-track faculty are evaluated overwhelmingly on quality and quantity of their research. As a senior, for example, she recalls living with fellow students in a house off campus and inviting their favorite 6 professors over for a large meal on a Friday night.



It's as if Kate and Ben are paying it forward in their commitment to their students. Mentoring happens to be the favorite part of Ben's job: "Helping people turn a vague interest into an actionable project, that to me is really rewarding and exciting." It's not a simply a job to him, it's a calling: "When they

aren't giving me any interest or passion from themselves—it makes me feel like I'm just here to check a box." Kate's passion is similar: "I had a session that people were really not into and I was upset for two weeks."

Ben realizes you can't replicate the exact feeling of a small liberal-arts school like he attended, but he is able to use his experiences from that different environment as a mentor:

A lot of the Berkeley Connect participants are first-generation college students or come from immigrant families, so they don't necessarily have as much cultural capital as others to navigate a large, bureaucratic institution like UC Berkeley. Part of what we're doing is trying to spread some of the information



Katherine Maich and Ben Shestakofsky

that maybe my parents, or one of my college professors who had 20 students instead of 200, would have given me. These are the sorts of things we can diffuse to a broader group of people.

Kate feels that the structure of Berkeley Connect is vital to the success of the program. There are mandatory one-on-one meetings between the mentor and each mentee at the beginning and the end of the semester. She thinks it helps create an openness. She has used her Berkeley Connect sections to talk about the challenge of reading and writing at Berkeley with her students. Natasha would use the one-on-one time with Ben to talk about her papers and academic interests. She found his life experience helpful and effective in lessening her worries. He made her feel more comfortable, steering her thoughts away from the intense competition she experienced at Berkeley. Kate would also introduce the challenges of writing to small groups: “We all talked about what was most difficult for us when we sat down to tackle writing a draft or final version of a paper and then also brainstormed about how we get around that, from using internet blocking software, or finding a quiet place to read, or listening to a song that helps us focus. Kind of a sharing of not only the troubles but also the strategies.”

Sometimes the issues students bring to the mentoring

program go well beyond just reading and writing. They often feel overwhelmed and need help prioritizing tasks and managing their time, particularly if they are working outside of school or commuting. Working through these issues both provides a challenge to the fellows that they would not normally experience as Graduate Student Instructors and will help inform their teaching when they become academics.

A GSI can always fall back on the text, but Berkeley Connect Fellows can't. Discussion can be a lot more open-ended. Here are examples of the approaches Ben has taken:

When you're working with such a broad group of students, you have to try to find the shared things that we all have in common and redirect the conversation toward those things. Sometimes there's this expansive discussion going in all sorts of interesting and different directions, but that can also be challenging. For instance, if the topic is sociological and you have some students who have been sociology majors for years and some who are just starting, or are in a different major, then you end up with people who are in different places, and you have to think, "What can I do to get the students who already know a lot to take on the role of teaching the students who are new to sociology?"

Kate, too, struggled with the fact that there was no common text used in discussions. Then she realized that instead what they shared in common was their experience as students. Because mentoring can open up so many doors into the personal lives of mentees, they also need to know their own limitations.

Ben has found that many students, whether they transferred from community college or not, suffer from impostor syndrome: feeling that although they are at Berkeley, they got in by mistake somehow. It's difficult to find a sense of community in large lecture courses that might otherwise help make the transition easier. Students develop misconceptions about their classmates: "This person must have everything going for them," Ben explains, illustrating the sensibility. Then addresses the realities:

They may come from very different backgrounds. They may have had the advantage of not working through school. Whatever it is, I try to remind them about the dangers of comparison. I encourage students to reframe their challenges as learning opportunities: "Didn't you come here to learn? This is great! The only way to learn is by failing or stretching yourself beyond your comfort zone."

Both Ben and Kate bring sociology lessons to bear in addressing students' concerns. Kate talks with her students to understand their struggles as not just something personal, but as a collective problem. Ben expands on how he teaches his students to deal with the problem: "How can we treat it as a challenge we can learn from rather than an insurmountable obstacle. The challenge is an opportunity for growth." He often finds himself referring to a book by Carol Dweck, *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success* where the lesson is to "look at challenges as opportunities for growth rather than big, intimidating failures."

Sociology faculty member Cristina Mora shared with Liz's class that her high school and first years at Berkeley were difficult for her. "It kind of made me feel like, okay," a successful Berkeley faculty member "didn't have it all together... and they are now really great!"

Ben thinks it's important to normalize failure. Ironically, this is the same sort of lesson Peter Chernin lives by: "You only learn from failure, you don't learn anything from success. Mentoring sometimes leads to specific, personal examples of failure." Ben told his students that while he earned good grades in college, he was terrified of speaking in public. He even dropped out of two courses when he found out that class participation was a big part of the grade. "I look back on that now that I have had to speak in public a lot. I've become comfortable with it only after practicing and struggling a lot. I wish someone had pushed me to do the things that were uncomfortable, pushed me to do the things I felt I was failing at, because the only way to get better is to practice and practice, to be comfortable with discomfort and to see over time that you are getting to a better place."

The issues graduating seniors face are unique, yet offer another source of anxiety. "It's kind of like this unwritten code that a lot of people don't know yet," Kate says about the etiquette of dealing with professors in a similar vein to what Ben was saying earlier when he spoke about spreading cultural capital. She spent a section just talking about how to send an email to a professor. "How do you ask for a recommendation letter?" adds Ben.

For others, who are finishing a lifetime as a student, questions surround taking their first steps outside of academia. Again, "there's so much anxiety about this stuff," notes Ben who recognizes that finding any kind of job can be difficult, adding:

A lot of students just kind of simmer in anxiety and don't necessarily think about what moves they can make to advance themselves, whether it's building a career network or something else. In my experience, it's been really useful to show students what career resources are available. Just viewing the career center's website with them: introducing them to the concept of informational interviewing and showing them tip sheets, or showing them how the alumni database works, where they can search for people to connect





with. But also in one-on-one meetings, telling students: “You can do this. What’s the first step? Let’s think about what you can do, instead of just worrying about what you’re not doing.” There are some students who really benefit from this and tell me: “I thought all this stuff would be useless, but then you showed it to me and I actually looked at it, and it turns out they had everything I needed at the career center website.”

One of Kate's students told her: "Just as soon as I get into graduate school, then I can relax." So Kate took the opportunity to demystify what graduate school was like by sharing some peer reviewer comments she received for a "revise and resubmit" while trying to get an article published by a journal. When she took summary paragraphs and shared them with her students, they were shocked. She recalls the general response in the room: "You spent a year doing this research and they said this?!" Kate explained it was just part of the process.

After sharing her “revise and resubmit” experience with her students, one of them was applying for an internship in San Francisco. After he received his first rejection, he wrote to Kate and said that the experience she shared helped make it be not so bad. Later he was accepted for a position. Kate also had a student whom she helped sign up for an externship program in Seattle working for a union that paired the student up with a Berkeley alum. Afterwards, the student was hired to work for a union in Oakland.

Berkeley Connect helps make the University more approachable while giving undergraduate students a sense of belonging as they are mentored through challenges. It's ironic, in a way, that the weakness of the system helped engender a program with the generosity of one successful alumni, the dedication of an academic, and the passion of graduate fellows. These people working as a community within a community make the experiences of Berkeley undergraduates more rewarding.

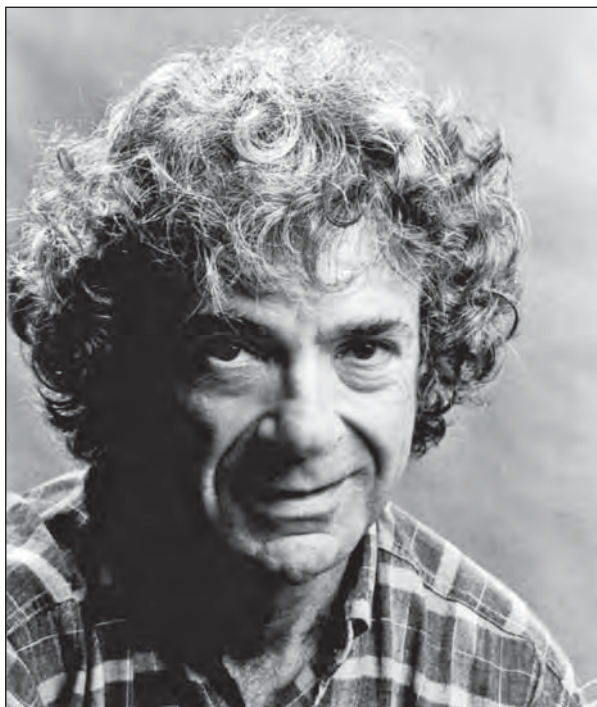
Here's a link to an article with an hour long discussion with Peter Chernin <http://communicationleadership.usc.edu/news/chernin-shares-details-of-comc/>

Remembering Bob Blauner

1929-2016

I have received sad news: the passing of Robert Blauner on October 20 at the age of 87. Bob – as he always insisted on being called – was a Berkeley graduate student in the 1950s, receiving his PhD in 1962. He became a faculty member in our department in 1964. He had a distinguished career.

He was the author of such classic studies as *Alienation and Freedom* (1964), partly informed by his own experiences as a worker for 5 years at International Harvester in Emeryville – a book that prefigured the subsequent rise of Marxist studies of the labor process; *Racial Oppression in America* (1972) that deepened and popularized the idea of internal colonialism – a critical contribution to the transformation of race studies in the 1970s – that was updated and expanded in 2001 anticipating the discussion that has erupted nationally today; *Black Lives, White Lives* (1989) which portrayed race relations through and after the civil rights era based on extended interviews with blacks and whites between 1968 and 1986; *Our Mothers' Spirits* (1997), a compassionate collection of men's writings grieving the loss of their mothers; *Resisting McCarthyism* (2009) which focused on the brave Berkeley faculty who refused to sign the Loyalty Oath, and on the politics that set the stage for the Free Speech Movement.



Bob was a man of integrity and principle in practice as well as in theory. His promotion to Full Professor was long delayed because of his outspoken criticism of the McCone Commission that investigated the Watts rebellion of 1965. Bob had been a member of the Commission's research team,

but then resigned in opposition to its law and order approach, prompting him to write his (in)famous article, "Whitewash over Watts". In 1978 he incurred the wrath of his colleagues when he accused one of them of sexual harassment – a term that barely existed at the time. The case became one of the early milestones in the movement against sexual violence. He was ahead of his times in other ways too. With Troy Duster he began Affirmative Action in the Department, actively recruiting students from the South. And for 20 years, starting in 1975, he taught a course on men's lives, trying to grasp the

other side of the gender revolution.

Bob retired in 1993 to spend the next 23 years doing what he always enjoyed, following baseball, playing chess and poker, above all writing his memoirs, and living a life devoted to his wife, the filmmaker, Karina Epperlein. He died of a kidney disease which had afflicted him for several years.

–Michael Burawoy, October, 2016.

My Life as a Sociologist by Bob Blauner

I returned to graduate sociology at Berkeley after five years working in factories where I had been a total failure at revolutionizing the working class. I say return because I spent one semester in 1951 in the department. Then I had absolutely no interest in sociology, because as a communist (Stalinist variety) I had all the answers already and I was in school only for a deferment to keep me out of the Korean War. Reinhard Bendix was not at all impressed with my term paper arguing that Soviet workers were not alienated because they owned the means of production. So that in early 1956 I was afraid that C grade would prevent my getting back into the department. I asked my friend Tom Shibutani if he could help, and maybe he did.

Shibutani had been my main M.A. advisor at Chicago for a 1950 thesis on the social psychology of personal names. But because of my years as a worker and a communist I was now more interested in industrial and social psychology. It was almost as if the new chair, Herbert Blumer, had built a department tailor-made to my needs, which was to make sense of my experiences, and to answer questions about the politics of the working class (Selig Perlman), the similarities and differences between socialism, communism, and capitalism (Schumpeter), why revolutionary parties and movements ossify (Michels), and the appeal, for someone like myself, of ideologies and utopias (Mannheim). Not only did I have great teachers like Kornhauser, Lipset, Selznick, and Bendix (whom I never dared ask if he remembered me), but we had a fantastic cohort, as other bio writers have attested to. My best pal was the late Bob Alford, who had worked at International Harvester with me: other recent local proletarians included machinist Lloyd Street and railroad switchman John Spier, and from Detroit's auto plants, Bill Friedland. At the Institute for Industrial Relations, where I TA'd for Marty Lipset, we had a chess rivalry that included fellow grad students Amitai Etzioni, Guenther Roth, Pat McGillivray – perhaps the most erudite and knowledgeable of all of us – and Fred Goldner; a few years later my friends in grad school became Bill and Dorothy Smith. (Dorothy's bio is available, but not Bill's, who after a series of teaching jobs, including one at the University of Pittsburgh, gave it all up to become a plumber before dying from cancer in 1986).

The comradeship and solidarity in graduate school was unbelievable - I've not yet mentioned Harry Nishio, Ernest

Landauer, Art Stinchcombe, Gayle Ness, Walt Phillips, my good friend Ken Walker, and dozens of others I learned from – in fact it was so good that I wasn't prepared for what I would meet when I began teaching. First at S. F. State, then at Chicago, finally at UCB, my fellow assistant professors were almost the opposite of my grad school peers: closed off, ultra-competitive, or perhaps just afraid that you'd steal their ideas.

My dissertation on factory workers was informed by my industrial experiences, but didn't draw directly on them. But *Alienation and Freedom* made my career. It got me a job at Chicago which permitted me to be hired back at UCB – the first Ph.D. to return since Ken Bock. It also got me tenure at Berkeley. I am indebted to Selznick, who made me rewrite a draft on the sociology of industries into a more theoretical version.

During the year that I did my M.A. at Chicago Blumer had been like a father figure for me. Though mostly from a distance as I sat in his seminars and marveled at everything about the man. That 15 years later the secretaries at Berkeley would be mixing up our mail is something I never would have dreamed of. It was great to see the Blumer renaissance in the 1960s, for after a period when he had been marginalized, the New Left grad students took to his theories and he gained a new following. But it was too late for Shibutani, who like Blumer himself, was not really respected by the very political and industrial sociologists who were my mentors, and who had been – most unfairly in my view – denied tenure.

Sometimes I've regretted that I only stayed one year at S.F. State, because I loved San Francisco, and also, in large part because of pressure from my second wife who hated Chicago, I left my alma mater after only one year. Another regret is that I flitted around in terms of research and writing, from workers to the sociology of death to Black-white relations. Each time I changed fields I had to learn a whole new literature. I would have had a less "disorderly career" (Wilensky) had I just stayed in the area of work, and then as I got inspired by the civil rights movement, studied race relations in the context of the factory.

Had I stayed in Chicago, where the department and the city was much more conservative than Berkeley, it's quite likely that neither my sociological writing nor my personal

politics, would have become as radical as they did in the late 60s. I would probably have stayed in Freudian psychoanalysis rather than going through those four years of primal therapy in the '70s, an experience that was life transforming. It led to four years of no writing or research, followed by the decision to work on experiential projects (like *Black Lives, White Lives*) rather than theoretical ones. And it was the motivation for a change in my teaching style from the lecture format to discussion and an emphasis on personal experience. I am proud of the fact that I was one of the first to offer a course on men's lives, which I taught from 1975 through 1995.

Retiring in 1993 was my best career move ever. Even though teaching got easier over the years, it was never natural for me in the way writing is. As a retiree at UCB you get a cheap parking permit and all the time you want to write. Like Bennett Berger, my writing is 90% non-sociological these days and 90% unpublished. Exceptions are a collection of essays on race (*Still the Big News*, Temple 2002) and an anthology of men's writing on the death and lives of mother (*Our Mothers' Spirits*, Harper Perennial, 1995). I'm quite excited about my current project, a memoir of growing up in Chicago in the 1930s and 40s that is part social history, part family history and coming of age story, with a lot of baseball (the Chicago Cubs) thrown in.

May, 2003

(From Berkeley Alumni Site: <http://sociology.berkeley.edu/alumni>)



From Paul Rabinow: In a low stakes monetary game of poker among aging lefties of various stripes, the highlight was always the epic confrontations between Bob and his old and dear friend, Hardy Frye! Like a veteran pitcher, Hardy would take his time, delay, feint and fake, re-look at his cards--while Bob fumed. The friendship was palpable.

Raka Ray: I met Bob right after he retired. He lived and worked in difficult times for the department, and was pretty alienated when I met him. Yet I hope we never forget what he stood for: That he stood up and called out sexual harassment when few did (in 1978) and that he thought about US race relations in terms of internal colonialism shows the extent to which Bob stood for integrity, imagination and intellect. I am proud to be in a department that he worked in and shaped so many generations of students.

Deborah Gerson: Bob Blauner was my committee chair when I filed my dissertation in 1996. As a graduate student and a single mother, I was frantic to finish, which Bob enabled me to do with little drama. It's post Berkeley that I got to truly value his work. As a part-time faculty member at SF State I read and taught *Black Lives, White Lives* and was moved by the depth and humanism in his interviews. Bob understood, and wrote and theorized intersectionality, before it was a code word. He had a sweetness and kindness that is rare in academia. May his work and his memory serve as models for future sociologists.

Dana Takagi: Michael, as you no doubt know, Bob was one of the reasons I decided on graduate studies. I strayed from my math major to take a class from him, American Society. Herb Holman, then graduate student but since passed away, was my TA. Bob, always a little quirky spent the first lecture teaching us different ways of reading the NYT. In that big Dwinelle lecture hall, he held forth. He'd brought the paper to class, started on the front page, and discussed the pros and cons of reading all of the front page, explaining the difference between stories above and below the fold, versus reading one story, say the lead on the front page and turning directly to page 14-16 to finish that story. I immediately decided Bob was a nut, enrolled in the class, and vowed to read the NYT every day (which I still do).

When I went to visit him as a senior (still a math major), I was nervous about asking him to write a letter of rec on my behalf for the Berkeley grad program. He scowled. And, he grimaced. In his inimitable way, for a grouch, he said, "no no no, you don't want to do this. Look at me, I'm not so happy about it all....." He went on for some time during which I redoubled my resolve about graduate work. While I did not work with him during graduate school (he was on to other pursuits even though he was still a professor), I have very fond memories of him. I always thought of him and Matza as two unique intellects, of a certain generation of left thinkers.

I was very pleased to read that he called out the Title IX complaint. He was fearless in that way. I recall that period clearly.... I took a class from the harasser in question and recalled much talk about it among my peers. As you probably know, among those peers – who formed WOASH (Women Organized Against Sexual Harassment) – are women now at the top of the field, and they still sometimes gather at the ASA to discuss not the old case but the more

general problem of discrimination against women, in all forms, in the discipline.

Peter Evans: Bob Blauner's publications and political commitment made him a titan of progressive sociology, but he should also be remembered as one of the most endearing sociologists to inhabit Barrows Hall. He would not, of course, have liked the term "endearing" — too sentimental. Nonetheless, he was thoroughly likable despite being unwilling to back down from what he believed in and quite an unusual person in a business where big egos so often get in the way of thinking and institution building. He knew the value of his work and enjoyed doing it, but self-aggrandizement was never his game.

I didn't know Bob well but he was still an important part of sociology at Berkeley for me. His retirement party — complete with a string quartet — was one of the most memorable occasions of my early years at Berkeley — an affair full of good feeling but also laced by some speakers with hard edged reminiscences of the political conflicts of earlier decades. I also remember his 70th birthday, held in Tilden Park, where Bob and his friends got sore muscles and various aches and pains by playing baseball, while I, having never had any aptitude, was safe on the sidelines. But, most of all, I will remember his sharp and impish sense of humor often poised to strike as you passed him in the hall of the 4th floor of Barrows. It is always reassuring to see sociology married to sympathetic human sensibility and, in the time we shared in Barrows Hall, Bob exemplified that for me.

Guenther Roth: Thanks for your moving obituary of Bob Blauner. In the fifties we were good friends in Graduate School. As he has written in his autobiography, we were part of a close group, having fierce chess battles at the old Institute of Industrial Relations — he mentions Amitai Etzioni, Pat McGillivray, Fred Goldner, myself — when we worked under Bendix, Lipset and others. We often played chess on the lawn around the Institute, and I remember his resolute moves on the board. But Bob also mentions the "unbelievable comradeship and solidarity" of our group. We prepared together for the five days of written qualifying exams. The faculty did not like this, but could not do anything about it. Working together through the 75 required books, assembled unsystematically by the faculty, broadened our knowledge beyond our own burgeoning interests. Even more importantly, we learned how to do research from looking over the shoulders of our mentors in the Institute. It

was a lucky constellation for becoming a sociologist in an era of great expectations.

Mary Anna C. Colwell: Thanks for sending the news about Bob. I was an average, underprepared grad student in the very divided department in the late 1970s and was truly an outsider among the very bright graduates from Harvard, Yale, etc. who took Marxist analysis as gospel. I struggled through, put together a dissertation committee (*Philanthropic Foundations and Public Policy*) because of personal connections, and Bob was chair of my orals committee. Afterwards he hosted a small party to celebrate and that may have been the first time I felt like I belonged. He was genuinely kind and I greatly appreciated that.

Jeffrey Prager: I'm sad to hear the news about Bob. I was his student 1969-1977 when he was deeply involved with research that culminated in *Racial Oppression in America*. I was in sporadic contact with him after that, usually when, early on, he came to visit his mother in Los Angeles and, later, at UCLA when he was speaking on various of his new projects. I remember his taking great interest in my psychoanalytic training while he was working on his book of essays on mothers. He had a very close relationship to his mother. He would come often to visit Los Angeles, where she lived, and grieved greatly when she died. The last time I spent extended time with him was when he visited archives held at the UCLA library. He was in the midst of his research on McCarthyism in the University of California.

Early on in my graduate career I became one of his research assistants, "coding" the in-depth interviews he had collected on racial attitudes and experiences by both white and black respondents. I was the junior member of the team, joining the project after all of the interviews were completed. But I was quickly introduced to a research team that straddled the academic and political world, and that brought into Berkeley sociology many people at least as strongly committed to political activism and social change as they were to academic sociology. Hardy Frye and David Wellman were the seasoned veterans on the project, having already developed close relationships with Bob. I felt extremely fortunate to be able to become a part of this team.

Bob was a very funny guy though not usually a happy one. He always straddled at least two worlds at once, always with a pretty light touch. He ever remained the working class labor organizer who, a bit uncomfortably one imagines, found

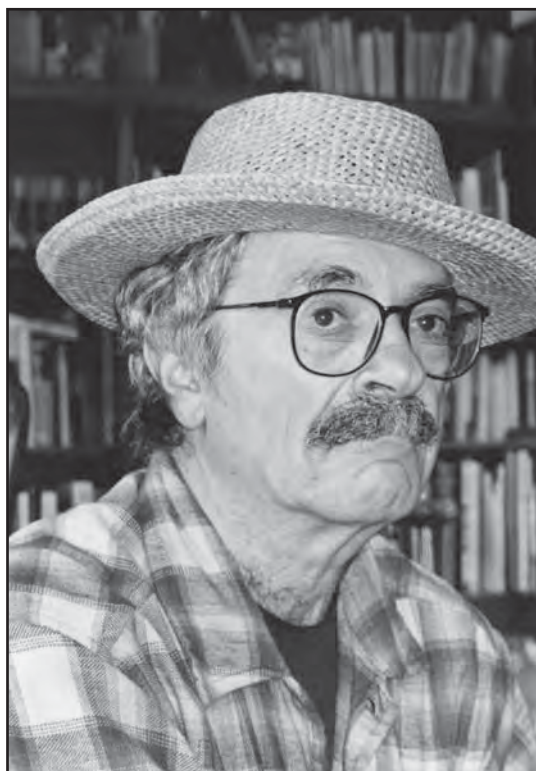
himself in the academic setting. His early interest in alienation, I think, was no accident. Whatever world he was in, he never felt entirely a part of it and estrangement from the norm was his way of being in the world. This may have improved after his retirement but I do remember his infatuation for a time with primal scream therapy. He always needed to be elsewhere at the same time. When he arrived for my oral exams in 1974, he walked in with a radio with its electric cord wrapped around it. He asked if it would be possible for us to listen to the Watergate hearings during the exam. The more staid members of the committee prevailed!

Throughout his career at Berkeley, Bob prided himself on being down-to-earth. He exemplified the politically engaged sociologist whose audience extended beyond the academy. This was a point of pride for him. *Racial Oppression in America* was masterful for its clear, direct writing and its bold explication of a controversial thesis. Both his writings and his being were incitements to make personal and political contact with others – inside and outside the academy – and to never allow academic scholarship to lose its fundamentally moral bearing. He has remained an inspiration for me. My first publication appeared in *The Berkeley Journal of Sociology* in 1973 on "White Skin Privilege". Now, some 43 years later, I just completed an article for publication entitled "Do Black Lives Matter? American Resistance to Reparative Justice and its Fateful Consequences".

Bob of course will be missed but, for me and scores of others, he made a lasting impression.

Marcel Paret: I met Bob Blauner in 2006 during the planning for the annual BJS (*Berkeley Journal of Sociology*) conference. It was the 50th anniversary of BJS, and the theme for the conference was Power. Alongside Troy Duster and David Wellman, Bob was part of a panel on the topic of "Power and Insurgency: Communist and Anti-Racist Struggles in the University of California." He presented on the work that would eventually become *Resisting*

McCarthyism. In one of our email exchanges devoted to planning the panel, he promised to "tell amusing stories" about David Barrows, of Barrows Hall, among others. I think he did, in the end. But I was a bit star struck. I had come across Bob's work on internal colonialism in my reading around issues of race and class, and thought that he was onto something important. In my letter inviting Bob to present, I expressed appreciation for his involvement in social justice movements, his critical research on race and work, and how he had shaped Berkeley sociology. Bob reminded me that his first article was published in BJS, in 1958, and noted his surprise that I was familiar with his work. He thought that



Berkeley sociology had moved on to a different kind of sociology. I don't know if he was right about that or not (in my case he was certainly wrong). But it reflected a deeper humbleness that was evident to me when we finally met in person. Bob was kind and generous, and I feel lucky to have met him.

Eloise Dunlap: I am very saddened to hear of the passing of Dr. Robert Blauner. He was my life vest while studying at Berkeley. I do not have the words to express what he meant to me. It is due to him that I am able to enjoy a 30 year career as a research scientist writing NIH grants and acquiring funding. Dr. Blauner truly cared for his students and spent time helping us to understand concepts.

There was no limit to his efforts to be of help to his students. I will always remember him with love and fond memories.

Faruk Birttek. It is very sad to hear of the passing of Bob Blauner. More than fifty years ago he was gracious to let me – as an undergraduate – into his graduate seminar. He was a most enthusiastic, bright lecturer, and at the end of the term he spent much time discussing my paper. We later became friends, although only running into each other infrequently due to geographical distances. His book, *Alienation and Freedom*, was a break-through at the time, in the midst of a lot of talk about alienation with no substance other than Marx's. He was a person with great politics, very big heart and brilliant head. I am sad, Berkeley will miss him. I especially miss him as I write from the other side of the globe

with a lot of hell around.

David Nasatir: Bob was a good friend for a long time. One bit of arcana that may have been overlooked is Bob's identity as a "Quiz Kid". You may not recall this radio program from the 1940's, but Bob was a "contestant" on the show of October 8, 1941 along with Gerard Darrow, Ruth Fisher, Emily Israel and Van Dyke Tiers. Always a smart guy!

Magali Sarfatti Larson: I am deeply saddened by these news. I can see Bob Blauner's face in front of my eyes, hear his comments about jury selection, remember the conversations in his office, the discussions about *Alienation and Freedom* and especially about the United States and the Sixties. Bob was in so many ways the symbol of what we believed. I could not take a course with him during my time at Berkeley, because he did not give graduate seminars during that time, but I asked him to be on my dissertation committee, even though I was not doing research on something of direct interest to him. But then, everything was of interest to him and, for me, having a reason to talk with him was a privilege. He dignified our discipline and our calling. His life was a paragon of intellectual and political integrity. We will not forget him.

Douglas Davidson: I have fond memories of Bob. He along with Troy Duster, and a collective of fellow Third World Liberation Front supporters in the graduate student population were vital to my ability to navigate the often tumultuous waters of doctoral studies at Berkeley. He influenced my life and work in more ways than I can illuminate in this message. His contributions were immense and he will be sorely missed. Please pass my condolences to his family and close departmental associates and colleagues. Peace – *Douglas Davidson, former student and mentee*

Teresa Arendell: Thank you for the notification of Bob's death. I entered the UCB graduate program in 1979. Bob seemed to recognize that I had a passion for learning but no cultural capital, coming from an impoverished level of the working class (and being a mother of a young child). I finished the PhD program in large measure because of the support, intellectual challenges, and kindnesses of Herb Blumer, Arlie Hochschild, and Bob Blauner. Bob's analyses of class and racial, and later of gender, stratification and oppression were formative in my becoming a sociologist.

Paul Joseph: Bob played a major part of my graduate studies

at Berkeley. This was in the early 1970s, his book *Racial Oppression* in America had just come out, and the department was continually caught up in many of the national and Bay Area developments occurring at the time. Bob's work, particularly his discussion of internal colonialism, played a central role in these discussions. I know that many of my peers were influenced by his views, and inspired by his presentation of what sociology could be. We became and remained friends. He played softball in the Friday afternoon game behind Barrows Hall. We played tennis together and I joined him and other faculty in a monthly poker game. Bob was very personable and approachable; he served as a most valuable mentor to a young person navigating the entry points of the sociological profession. We had a meal together whenever I visited and I followed the progression of his interests through his other books on race, masculinity, and eventually the loyalty oath. I especially remember his voice: strong, resonant, and populist. When Bob spoke, democracy seemed to carry in its timbre.

Mike Messner: It saddens me to hear of Bob's death, and I want to share a couple of thoughts. Though I'd already known him by reputation for several years, I first met Bob at the department orientation for new grad students in the Fall of 1979. Several professors and continuing grad students addressed our incoming cohort. Most speakers spun self-congratulatory platitudes about the greatness of the Berkeley sociology department, so it really impressed me that when Bob spoke, he encouraged us to try to construct balanced lives while in grad school by exploring the beautiful Bay Area and spending time in the lovely parks in the area. I realized immediately that this was my kind of person: I wanted to work with Bob Blauner. And I wasn't disappointed. Bob was a helpful mentor with my work, and I learned a lot by working as his assistant for three years in his large undergraduate course on men's lives. Some say that this was the first such course taught in the nation. Whether it was or not, it was hugely successful. Quite simply, Bob was the best large-group discussion facilitator I have ever seen. The discussions in his class were remarkable because Bob set the tone and created a safe space for expressions of painful personal experiences such as rape, or coming out; or he created an illuminating framework for discussions of seemingly mundane topics like men's friendships. As a facilitator, Bob had the ability to interweave various strands of a group discussion and then present it back to the group in the form of an analytical question. After working to emulate

this style of teaching, with some limited success, I now conclude that Bob had a true gift for this sort of teaching. His many students and TAs were blessed by his sharing of this gift.

I was happy to re-connect with Bob a few years ago. We were both writing memoirs and it was a joy to share our works in progress with each other. When Bob's *Resisting McCarthyism* was published in 2009, I was organizing the Pacific Sociological Association meetings in Oakland, and I was very proud to organize an author-meets-critics session that drew a nice group of admirers.

Juan Olivarez: I was one of those minorities to benefit from Affirmative Action. I was admitted in 1971 and earned my PhD in 1991. From 1988 to 1991 Bob formed a group of students to assist them with the completion of their PhD. I was one of them. I am very sad to learn of his passing. He was a great friend to Chicanos and all students. I was honored to know him personally and professionally. He cared about me as a person and as a student. I have to say that he was my favorite professor. May he Rest in Peace. He will surely missed and appreciated by his students.

Susan Takata: I was so saddened by the passing of Bob Blauner. I was at Cal between 1975 and finally obtaining my PhD in sociology in 1983. I took several of his grad courses including the early beginnings of a gender course that you mentioned below. To date, when I teach "Race, Crime, Law," I mention Bob's book, *Racial Oppression in America*. When I first met Bob, he had this gruff exterior but as I got to know him, he was actually a very nice guy, and a very caring teacher. After receiving my Ph.D., I got hired here at UW Parkside in sociology in 1984, and in 1997, I became the founding mother of the Department of Criminal Justice, one of the largest majors on campus. I kept in touch with Bob. We exchanged Christmas cards each year. I will miss Bob. He truly cared about his students.

Lois Benjamin: For forty-nine years, I have known Bob as my professor, advisor, colleague, and friend. In September 1967, I first met Bob when I enrolled in his Race Relations class. As one of the first two African American women to be admitted to the graduate program in the Department of Sociology (1967), I was immediately drawn to his integrity and sensitivity to others, his openness to myriads of ways of knowing and understanding, and to his critical, pedagogic approach on racial/cultural politics and power. His lectures

and the attendant discourses were animated and civil. A brilliant scholar, Bob was at the leading edge of academics who challenged the conventional analysis and wisdom of race relations in United States in the late sixties. His fresh, penetrating writings and lectures were influential in shifting the focus in race relations from prejudice and discrimination to institutional racism. Additionally, he was instrumental in deepening the analysis of the construct of internal colonialism. In his Race Relations class, I wrote a research paper on the impact of racism on black male/female relations. Bob encouraged me to use the work as a basis for my dissertation. At that point, he became my academic advisor and mentor. Later, he chaired my dissertation committee. Bob always wrote in a clear, elegant style and he encouraged his students to write likewise and to shun turgid academic prose. He would say, "My goal is not to turn out another Talcott Parsons."

After receiving my doctorate, Bob and I remained in contact throughout the years. As colleagues and friends, we shared, critiqued and supported one another's articles and works in progress, as well as championed each other during promises and perils of our professional and personal lives. I have been fortunate to have many magnificent educators who have impacted my life; however, as I stated upon Bob's retirement in 1993, he, along with my third-grade teacher, had the most profound influence in my educational journey and life path.

Michael Kimmel: When I arrived at Berkeley in 1974, Bob Blauner had already influenced me twice. I'd read *Alienation and Freedom* (a book title that I'm sure most of us wish we'd thought of!) as an undergrad and was moved by the way Bob described these workers' lives with such empathy. But the article, "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt" blew my mind when I read it in my first year at another grad school. Here was the analysis that I thought I was looking for - that applied the analysis of our imperialist adventures in Vietnam to the maintenance of an internal colony here at home. When I finally met him, I was struck by the combination of his humility and his enthusiasm. He listened to people, cared about them, and was astonishingly self-effacing about his own stature in the field. My research took me towards others in the department (and in the history department), and my dissertation about 17th century French tax policy had less than nothing to do with Bob's move towards gender and masculinity studies. His interest was only secondarily academic, spurred by years of analysis and serious soul searching. And the way that Bob

fused the personal and the analytic in both his teaching and his research was the third, and most significant way, he influenced me. He became a friend and a mentor, especially after I had begun my career. Who else would call himself a proud Mama's Boy? Mike Messner and I dedicated the most recent edition of *Men's Lives* to Bob. I'll miss him.

Michael Lerner: Bob Blauner was an amazingly wonderful human being, as you know Karina. He wrote for Tikkun and my friendship with him goes back to the 60s when he was one of the most reliable faculty people we students could count on when the administration would attempt to squelch our activism. I felt he never got the recognition he deserved, particularly for his work against racism

Rivka Polatnick: As a sociology graduate student in the '70s and early '80's, I had the pleasure to take courses with Bob and was delighted by his combination of scholarly excellence, political and moral commitments, engaging teaching style, and humanism and kindness. When it came time to choose a dissertation chair for my study of late '60s Black and White Women's Liberation pioneers, my mentor Arlie Hochschild was on leave and not taking on any new dissertations. I was very happy to have the fine alternative of asking Bob to be my chair, and he responded with enthusiasm. He guided me through the process with skill and warmth, and I am indebted to him. He was very helpful in writing me letters of recommendation, and my own teaching incorporated his scholarly work and pedagogical style. I will remember him with great respect and fondness.

Nicole Biggart: I was a graduate student who knew Bob in the late 1970's and until I graduated in 1981. Bob did not like the formality of a classroom but when it came time to talk about ideas that he cared about the passion came through and there was no better teacher. One issue that really hurt him deeply was the criticism he faced as a white man who had dared to write about race in America. He was caught in a political conundrum and allowed us to talk about this personally painful issue as a way to help us to learn and to sharpen our understanding as sociologists. I always appreciated his generosity of spirit.

Charles Garvin: Bob and I first became friends when I moved into his apartment building when we were ten years old. I was one month younger than him. I remember many things – enough to write a book. Bob was on the Quiz Kid program on radio once and I remember him saying in

response to a discussion of money that it can't buy love. He was an avid sports fan and played tennis I think. He was editor of our high school paper and also class valedictorian. He immediately went to University of Chicago after high school where I joined him two years later. We became roommates a year later along with others who each became famous in their own ways; Aaron Asher on book editing, Leo Treitler in music and Dan Joseph in engineering and physics, and I may add myself in social work. Bob and Dan married early and the two couples went to France to live for a while to escape the McCarthy period. When they returned and as part of their political commitment they went to work in factories for a while which fed into Bob's studies of worker alienation when he left factory work and reentered academe. We have been in touch ever after: first, when he was a sociology student at Chicago and later, when he went to Berkeley although others can say more about those years.

Colin Samson: Bob was one of my teachers. He made a deep impression on how I think about the world and about myself. He taught me about oral history; its techniques and its importance as a vehicle for affirmation of people who are so often ignored and dismissed. His classes were open, convivial and he was always generous to everyone. Bob built a community out of our class, enabling us to learn from each other, from him and from the many sources he opened up to us. The lives of people were always personal and political, and as students he helped us see that scholarship was political. How could it be anything else? I will always remember Bob as a person who made me think "I want to be like you". If I have inside me only a small amount of what he showed, I will have succeeded at something. May he rest in Peace.

Richard Apostle: My sincere condolences. Bob could spot a plebe in need at great distance, and very kindly invited me over for occasional chess games during bad patches. Along with another faculty member, he was very much responsible for my navigating a system which remained a puzzle to me for decades. Also, I very much appreciate the opportunity to come and visit you both a few years back. It meant a lot to be in your graceful presence.

Robert Kapsis: It was the early 1970s during a session of his graduate seminar on race when Bob eloquently defended me against the wrath of Black Nationalist graduate students who were horrified that a white liberal graduate student (born and raised on Chicago's North Side) would have the

audacity to pitch the idea of doing a dissertation about the black community of Richmond California. Thanks in no small measure to Bob's encouragement, I wrote the dissertation and published a series of scholarly articles based on the research. My interest and curiosity about the black experience continues to this day. In 2011 I published a book length study on legendary African-American film director Charles Burnett (1944-) to coincide with the opening at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) of the first complete retrospective of Burnett's work, which I conceived and co-organized. Thanks Bob.

Larry Rosenthal: I came late to knowing Bob. There were some meals together, together with Karina. Always lovely. Bob had a characteristic — or so it seemed to me — fluctuation between taciturn and suddenly funny. He sent me some autobiographical writings. They were profound and moving. I answered him at some length. There was now a bond between us. We saw something of ourselves in one another.

I got invited to his poker game. It was a table full of basically sweet and aging men. But, as poker will have it, an individual trait became exaggerated. One developed a poker persona. And Bob's persona? While the poker players have long been on to this, it might come as a surprise those who were not at the table. Bob was the banker. Always the banker. He insisted on it. He brought the chips. He counted them out. Collected our greenbacks. An accountant's seriousness about it — even though we were still playing in 2015 for stakes that were low, low end already in 1975. You get cleaned out? Bob will sell you more chips. At the end, cashing in the chips, meticulous, almost fussy, about the final quarters coming true. Was this a pole away from the labor organizer and the theorist of alienation? Somehow it never seemed that way.



will have to decide whether you want to go on the job market your first year or spend the year focusing on getting papers out for review before applying for academic jobs in your second year on the postdoc. There is always the stress that if you do not find an academic job within the two years you lose institutional affiliation and get stuck in a holding pattern for several years.

- **Book Publishing Pressures**---Once you land a postdoc and are applying for jobs there is also an expectation that you will be moving along with your book project, especially if you are a qualitative scholar. This puts an enormous amount of pressure on you to get everything in order to meet with publishers and get the book out for review so that you can meet that expectation on the job market. This is not something one has to worry as much about being on the job market as an ABD (all but dissertation).
- **Lost time**--- Professionally, you will have to go through the painstaking paperwork process for your institutional affiliation. You will also have to spend time getting to know the institutional culture of the new place. You will lose a lot of time just getting to know all of your new colleagues to avoid feeling isolated as a postdoc. Personally, you will lose at least a few weeks if not a few months uprooting and re-rooting yourself. The process of moving, finding housing, settling down, etc. can be time consuming and emotionally draining.

There is no perfect “next step” for academics after their arduous doctoral process. Even postdoctoral fellowships have their pros and cons, and in the long run, each person’s path will yield different and unpredictable results. Regardless, postdocs are still viable choices for scholars interested in going further and pursuing worthwhile academic paths ahead. Good luck on your journey.

*Kimberly Kay Hoang received her Ph.D. from Berkeley Sociology in 2011, was a Postdoctoral Fellow at Rice University from 2011-2013, Assistant Professor at Boston College 2013-2015, and is now an Assistant Professor at the University of Chicago. Her book, *Dealing in Desire*, has been awarded six Distinguished Book Awards from the American Sociological Association, National Women Studies Association, and the Society for the Study of Social Problems. Professor Hoang is also a 2016-2017 Fulbright Global Award Scholar and Social Science Research Council Fellow.*

As a consultant, the VA tasked me with examining program and patient outcomes of a newly implemented national mental health program that touches hundreds of thousands of veteran patients. I collaborated with internal VA stakeholders, which included frontline medical staff and hospital administrators, to learn what kind of information and analyses would generate valuable insights. I designed and carried out statistical and qualitative analyses. The leadership used evaluation findings to uncover program needs, highlight best practices and determine future program directions.

I completed my contract in 2014 and enjoyed my work so much that I applied and was accepted for full-time employment. My current work sits at a cross-section of program evaluation and grant-funded research. I’ve secured seed-grant funding to pursue a small qualitative project; the project will be used to inform a larger grant funding proposal to create and test a program improvement intervention. I’ve collaborated with others and published findings in mental-health oriented peer-reviewed journals. I’ve learned SQL so I can directly query mental health records housed among millions and millions of VA patient data. I learn every day, which I appreciate. Most of all, I enjoy generating insights that VA decision-makers use to improve mental health care programs for veterans.

New Books

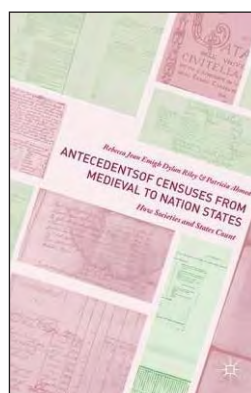
faculty, graduate students, & alumni



The Fall of the Turkish Model

Cihan Tuğal, Assoc. Professor, Berkeley Soc.
(Verso, 256 pages, \$29.95)

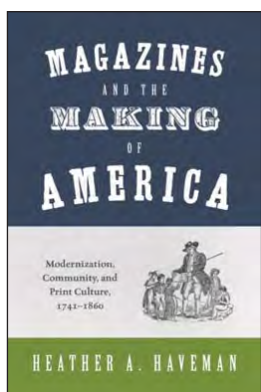
In this incisive analysis, Cihan Tuğal argues that the Turkish model (the Islamic marriage of neoliberalism and democracy) was a failure in its home country, and the dynamics of the Arab world made it a tough commodity to export. Tuğal's masterful explication of the demise of Islamic liberalism brings in Egypt and Tunisia, once seen as the most likely followers of the Turkish model, and provides a path-breaking examination of their regimes and Islamist movements, as well as paradigm-shifting accounts of Turkey and Iran.



Antecedents of Censuses from Medieval to Nation States

Dylan Riley, Prof. Berkeley Soc., Rebecca Jean Emigh, and Patricia Ahmed
(Palgrave Macmillan, 266 pages, \$105)

Antecedents of Censuses From Medieval to Nation States, the first of two volumes, examines the influence of social formations on censuses from the medieval period through current times.



Magazines and the Making of America

Heather Haveman, Professor, Berkeley Sociology, and Haas School of Business
(Princeton University Press, 432 pages, \$45)

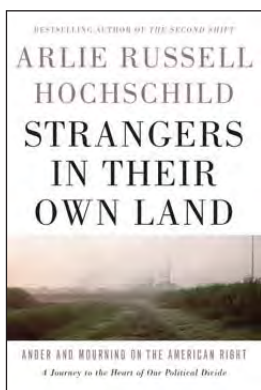
From the colonial era to the onset of the Civil War, *Magazines and the Making of America* looks at how magazines and the individuals, organizations, and circumstances they connected ushered America into the modern age. From their first appearance in 1741, magazines brought together like-minded people, wherever they were located and whatever interests they shared.



Burning Dislike

Martín Sánchez-Jankowski, Prof, Berkeley Soc.
(University of CA Press, 312 pages, \$65)

Through the use of two direct observational studies conducted twenty-six years apart, Martín Sánchez-Jankowski documents the process of ethnic school violence from start to finish. In addition to shedding light on what causes this type of violence and how it progresses over time, *Burning Dislike* provides strategic policy suggestions to address this troubling phenomenon.



Strangers in Their Own Land

Arlie Russell Hochschild, Professor Emeritus, Berkeley Sociology
(The New Press, 368 pages, \$26.95)

Strangers in Their Own Land goes beyond the commonplace liberal idea that many on the political right have been duped into voting against their interests. In the right-wing world she explores, Hochschild discovers powerful forces—fear of cultural eclipse, economic decline, perceived government betrayal—which override self-interest, as progressives see it, and help explain the emotional appeal of a candidate like Donald Trump.



Freegans: Diving into the Wealth of Food Waste

Alex Barnard, Graduate Student, Berkeley Soc.
(Univ. of Minnesota Press, 280 pages, \$24.95)

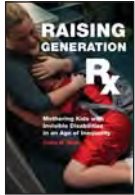
If capitalism is such an efficient system, why does 40 percent of all U.S. food production go to waste? *Freegans* is a close look at the people in this movement, who object to the overconsumption and environmental degradation on which they claim our economic order depends, and they register that dissent by opting out of it, recovering, redistributing, and consuming wasted goods, from dumpster-dived food to cast-off clothes and furniture.



The University Under Pressure. Volume 46 of Research in the Sociology of Organizations
edited by Elizabeth Popp Berman (PhD 2007, Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Albany, SUNY) and Catherine Paradeise
(Emerald Group Publishing, 513 pages, \$165)



Some men: Feminist allies and the movement to end violence against women
Michael Messner (PhD 1985, Professor of Sociology and Gender Studies at USC), Max A. Greenberg, and Tal Peretz
(Oxford University Press, 272 pages, \$24.95)



Raising Generation Rx
Linda Blum, PhD 1987
Associate Professor of Sociology at Northwestern University
(NYU Press, 320 pages, \$27)



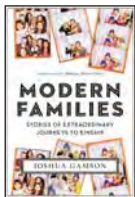
On Gender, Labor, and Inequality
Ruth Milkman, PhD 1981, Distinguished Professor of Sociology at The Graduate Center, CUNY
(University of Illinois Press, 344 pages, \$28)



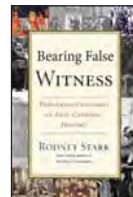
China on Strike: Narrative of Workers' Resistance
edited by Elie Friedman (PhD 2011, Assistant Professor of International and Comparative Labor at Cornell University), Hao Ren, and Zhongjin Li
(Haymarket Books, 300 pages, \$19.95)



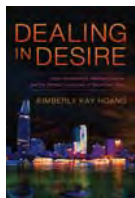
Media Technology and the Theory of Communication Effects
W. Russell Newman, PhD 1975, Professor of Media Technology at NYU
(Harvard University Press, 352 pages, \$49.95)



Modern Families: Stories of Extraordinary Journeys to Kinship
Josh Gamson, PhD 1992
Professor of Sociology at the University of San Francisco
(NYU Press, 240 pages, \$26.95)



Bearing False Witness
Rodney Stark, PhD 1971, Co-Director of the Studies of Religion and Distinguished Professor of Social Sciences at Baylor University
(Templeton Press, 256 pages, \$27.95)



Asian Ascendancy, Western Decline, and the Hidden Currencies of Global Sex Work
Kimberley Kay Hoang, PhD 2011
Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago



Reluctant Witnesses
Arlene Stein, PhD 1993, Professor of Sociology at Rutgers University
(Oxford University Press, 256 pages, \$29.95)



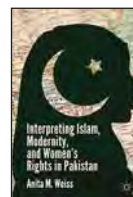
Reweaving Our Human Fabric: Working Together to Create a Nonviolent Future
Miki Kashtan, PhD 2000
An internationally known teacher and practitioner of Nonviolent Communication, consults at the Center for Efficient Collaboration, and blogs at *The Fearless Heart*.



Transformations of Warfare in the Contemporary World
John Torpey (PhD 1992, Presidential Professor of Sociology and History, and Director, Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies at The Graduate Center, CUNY), and David Jacobson
(Templeton University Press, 192 pages, \$28.95)



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Interpreting Islam, Modernity and Women's Rights in Pakistan
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