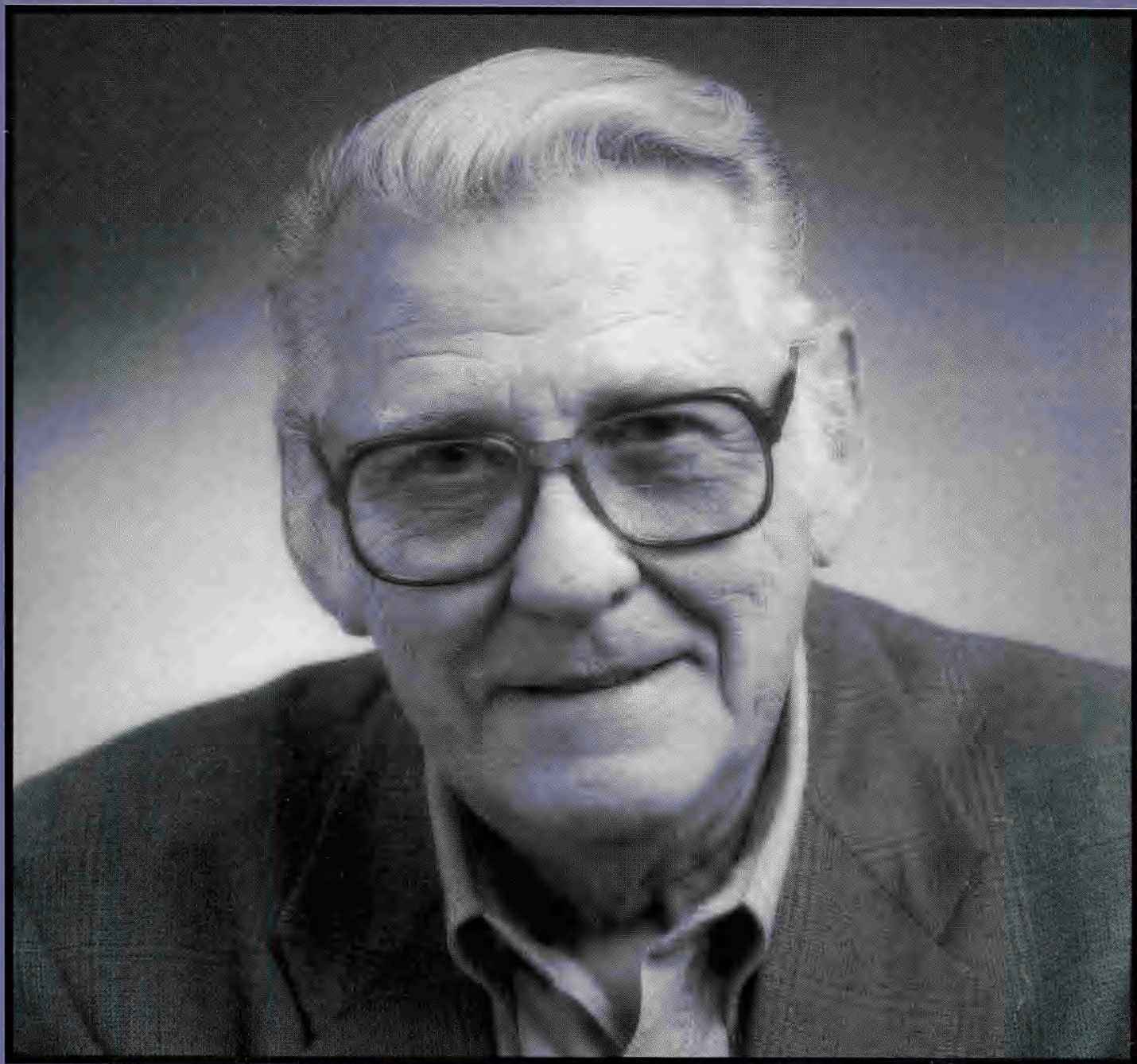


REFLECTIONS

NARRATIVES of PROFESSIONAL HELPING



Celebrating Richard A. Cloward

Volume 8, Number 1

Winter 2002

A Journal for the Helping Professions

REFLECTIONS

NARRATIVES OF PROFESSIONAL HELPING

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Jillian Jimenez

Regulating the Poor was published in 1971. I first encountered it during my graduate studies at the Florence Heller School for Advanced Studies in Social Policy during the decade of the 1970's. Had it not been published before I began my studies toward my Ph.D.s in Social Policy and in American History, I honestly cannot fathom what I would have learned during my years there. My entire outlook on social policy was directly informed by that book and by the work of David Gil, my advisor. Both Cloward and Gil were committed deconstructionists, before many of us on this side of the Atlantic knew what that meant. Gil taught me that change is always possible, that inequality was *arbitrary* as well as oppressive (others spoke only of the inevitable oppressions of capitalism). Gil gave me a vision of what reality *could* be. Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven finished the work of dismantling my false liberal consciousness by exposing the dirty secret at the heart of American social welfare policy that had been previously hidden by Whig versions of social welfare policy: the determined effort at social control that informed liberal policies in the twentieth century. Gil's utopian socialism demanded the fleshing out offered in the arguments of Cloward and Piven in *Regulating the Poor* and in their later work. Had I not come across them, I would have remained wistfully discontent, but thoroughly incompetent at both historical analysis and policy analysis. Fashioning a dissertation and later a book on the history of the treatment of the insane in colonial New England, I sat squarely on their collective vision of the uses of liberal policies and their inevitable devolution into mechanisms of social control.

I am very proud to offer *Reflections'* readers this issue celebrating Richard A. Cloward. I am happy to have this opportunity to acknowledge my intellectual debt to him and to Frances Fox Piven.

It is an opportunity others will envy.

HE WAS HERE: REMEMBERING CLOWARD'S CONTRIBUTION TO REFLECTIONS

Sonia Leib Abels

Sonia Leib Abels was the founding editor of Reflections.

Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven's "Declining Significance of Class," published in the first issue of *Reflections*, gave the journal a great start. As real time social justice activists, their community organizing and publication of numerous articles and books led to critical social change, bringing them national and international acclaim. Their organization, Human SERVE, established motor voter programs in various states that served as precedents for the Federal Motor Voter Registration legislation. In the *Reflections*' article (widely used in social welfare courses as a case record), they modestly describe witnessing the formal approval of the enactment of this Federal Legislation "Both of us got to stand behind President Clinton at the White House signing." (Not much boastfulness here.) The Sophia Smith Collection of Social Change identifies Frances Fox Piven among "Agents of Social Change" (along with Gloria Steinem and others). Their book, *Regulating the Poor*, was listed among the 40 notable books by the American Library Association.

Beyond that, they were the Tchaikovsky of romance, wonderful to watch and listen to; they gave hope to a social work committed to social justice. Together they threw into disarray the contra-dissent stream in the profession, the objectivists who wanted so much to be respected within the university as a "scientific discipline" and the status oriented therapists who hedged on the social work title. Cloward and Piven's stature, struggled accomplishments within the organizing, social, political, and scholarly communities are unquestionable; yet often there were petty, hurtful, and harmful slights. These are reflected by the undeserved

tenure and salary conflicts with some academic institutions. Perhaps their willingness to challenge the status quo in many dimensions led to bureaucratic institutional responses. It may be said of Cloward, as it was of John Maynard Keynes, there was something mythic and fabulous about him (Nassar, 2002).

Different from other scholarly journals, *Reflections* sought to publish personal/professional narratives of practice. It was essential to persuade potential subscribers that the journal was worth reading, and to publish narratives and the work of social work leaders whose ideas and work significantly altered the profession and society and gained recognition beyond social work. Cloward and Piven exemplified some of the authors we hoped would write narratives for the journal. Their book *Regulating the Poor* was read by students in social welfare courses all over the country. It was reviewed by the *New York Times* for its analysis of the history of popular protest movements. They organized Mobilization for Youth. President Clinton gave them the pens he used in signing the voting registration bill. Beyond the notoriety, Cloward and Piven fulfilled the purpose and the meaning of the social work profession.

Their narrative, initially presented at AASWG conference, superbly suited the first issue of this new journal. Alex Gitterman, then president of the organization, asked Cloward and Piven to allow *Reflections* to publish their presentation. (Alex had seen the first announcements we printed.) Their generosity enabled *Reflections* to make a significant and memorable debut.

We were also fortunate and pleased that

Harry Specht wrote a thoughtful and revealing autobiography for the same issue ("How I Didn't Become a Psychotherapist"). Their narrative opened that first issue and Specht's autobiography closed it. Other well-grounded narratives* in that first issue gave *Reflections* a superlative start and led to a word-of-mouth groundswell of subscriptions. We learned a lot about publishing and the generosity of many persons who offered assistance and purchased subscriptions. Readers' responses to Harry's brief autobiography led us to consider another purpose for the journal: to publish the personal/professional histories of the profession's leaders. *Reflections'* readers saw this need and offered their aid in doing oral histories. The first was an oral history of Mitch Ginsberg done by Joshua Miller, who subsequently did an oral history of Ann Hartman.

Fortuitously, I saw Richard at a Council on Social Work Education Meeting a few years ago. A handsome, powerful figure standing alone outside in the hotel's courtyard, he had just finished a presentation at a plenary meeting. After the usual greetings and my words of appreciation, I asked him to consider being interviewed by the journal for an oral history. The day was so sunny, and I was so excited about the possibility. Writing the introduction to this special issue sweeps me back to that time and I weep for our loss. Richard said yes. He was very clear that he wanted the interview to be of both him and Frances, and that the oral historian be a person familiar with their work – both their writings and organizing. We once had a conversation when he said that the profession had not recognized him for his community-organizing knowledge and capabilities. I gladly agreed to his sense-making conditions and bid him farewell. That's the last time I saw him.

Josh Miller agreed to do the history. As chair of the policy sequence at Smith, he certainly knew their work. Cloward was pleased, and agreed to have Josh do the interview. Josh's father (Professor Irving Miller) had taught with Cloward at Columbia for many years. A short time later, Josh called to say he was starting the interview process. Sadly, he told me that Richard was dying from lung cancer. Working in this stress-filled

context, Josh completed the interviews before Cloward died.

The newspapers and the Internet have been rightfully diligent in publishing remembrances of Cloward, and the indebtedness to him of the profession, community organization, and our democracy. As the founding editor of *Reflections*, I feel that this editorial and special issue is one small but heartfelt tribute. As the rest of us know, Richard Cloward's death reaches many different levels of meaning: for our society, the profession, all social workers, and Frances Fox Piven.

¹ Nassar, S. (January 30, 2002) Review of Skidelsky's biography of John Maynard Keynes *New York Times Book Review Section*, p.36.

* See p. 25 this issue

INTRODUCTION

Joshua Miller

This special issue of *Reflections* is dedicated to the life and work of Richard Cloward. Paul Abels and I, with the encouragement and support of Frances Fox Piven and Alex Gitterman, have edited a volume of tributes, reflections, essays, a narrative interview with Richard, and an essay written by Cloward and Piven published in the first issue of *Reflections*. We have also included a modified bibliography of Richard's publications and a selective list of his professional awards. And, of course, no tribute to Richard Cloward would be complete without an appeal for a contribution to a social justice fund, which can be found in the back of this issue.

Richard Cloward was a larger-than-life figure for many people, as described by many of the contributors, and certainly a major influence straddling the professions of social work and sociology. He was a scholar, theoretician, influential teacher, eloquent speaker, and always an activist. As he stated in his resume, "My organizing activities can be summed up thusly: to help poorer people gain access to safety-net benefits, and to help them get on the voter registration rolls as a way of defending their rights to these benefits."

Richard was born on Christmas Day in 1926 and died at age 74 on August 20, 2001. He grew up in Rochester, New York. After serving in the Navy during WWII, he completed a B.A. in Sociology at the University of Rochester. Richard entered the Ph.D. program in Sociology at Columbia University but decided that he was not interested in a strictly academic career and "wanted to do something more social," leading him to enroll in the Columbia University School of Social Work,

where he received his M.S.W. After graduating from social work school, he was recalled by the military during the Korean War and ended up working as a medical social worker at a prison in Harrisburg, PA. While in the prison he conducted a study of inmate culture, "...the results of which had a profound influence on my thinking for the rest of my life." This led him to completing his Ph.D. in sociology and collaborating with Robert Merton, resulting in the publication of his seminal article in the *American Sociological Review* in 1959 entitled "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior." He also co-authored a book with Lloyd Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. He was hired as a professor at Columbia University School of Social Work in 1954 where he taught for the rest of his career.

It is not possible to consider Richard Cloward's career separately from that of his wife and professional partner, Frances Fox Piven. They met at Mobilization for Youth in the early 1960's and have co-authored numerous articles and books, including two editions of *Regulating the Poor, The Politics of Turmoil, Poor Peoples Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail, The New Class War: Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State*, and two editions of *Why Americans don't Vote*. Cloward stated that they talk about their work all of the time: "We talk about what we read in the journals, books we've read, what we write, what we would like to write or should write. It is an overwhelming thing in our daily conversations... We don't occasionally come together to collaborate on something, we col-

laborate all the time.” Given this enduring partnership, we are privileged to have in this issue a reflective essay by Frances Fox Piven.

This special tribute issue of *Reflections* has contributions ranging from Herman Stein, Dean Emeritus at Case Western Reserve School of Social Work, who recommended Richard for his first teaching job at Columbia University School of Social Work and found that Cloward “started haltingly as a teacher,” to Shannon Flynn, who was in the last class that Richard taught and found him to be an “inspired and inspiring teacher.” Richard’s faculty colleague, Alex Gitterman, describes what it was like to work with Richard, evolving from Richard taking several years to learn his name to a deep and loving friendship. Many former students, such as Ken Grossinger and Marcia Cohen, were profoundly influenced by Richard and went on to become his colleagues as organizers and teachers. Labor organizer Bill Pastreich, like many in this issue, describes the profound influence that Cloward had on his thinking and his work, while Diane Dujon found that Richard “touched my life mostly through the written word.” Richard Cloward was an activist scholar, and there are many people – social workers, sociologists, political scientists, politicians, activists, organizers, welfare recipients, journalists, and many others – who had the experience that Cohen describes of Cloward “speaking my language, my truths, speaking to me.” Richard also endured what Gitterman has called his “inner demons,” which, according to Cohen, he was quite open about, and a number of contributors mention his shyness.

Yet all of Richard’s former students describe him as an impassioned, charismatic, brilliant, and “intellectually honest” speaker and lecturer. He was also an illuminating writer. Cloward and his publications garnered many awards (see list in this issue). *Delinquency and Opportunity* won the International Society of Criminology’s Dennis Carroll Award while *Regulating the Poor* received the C. Wright Mills Award from the Society for Social Problems. His writings also sparked commentary and controversy, leading to numerous books, articles, and published debates about his and Piven’s ideas. Cloward received life-

time achievement awards from the Council on Social Work Education, The National Association of Social Workers, the American Sociological Association, and the Association of Community Organization and Social Administration.

Lastly, I wanted to comment on my relationship with Richard. He was a friend and colleague of my father Irving Miller, who also taught at the Columbia University School of Social Work, and I have known him for most of my life. I was very influenced by his ideas and inspired by his passion and social and political commitments, particularly his readiness to roll up his sleeves and do what he talked about. Like many of the contributors to this special issue, I have many powerful memories of Richard. One that stands out for me is when I was 15 and lived in Yonkers, New York and needed a ride into the city. Richard picked me up in a silver sports car on Tuckahoe Road, and after exchanging hellos, we drove in complete silence to Manhattan. For a sullen teenager, it was a moment of unusual comfort and surprising pleasure, no obligation to make small talk, just two cool guys cruising the Henry Hudson Parkway, watching the city pass by.

MY REFLECTION

Frances Fox Piven

Richard was my lifelong collaborator and partner. He was also the great passion of my life, so his death leaves a huge absence at the center of my being. I cannot help but know, especially in the aftermath of 9/11 and the war in Afghanistan, that there have been many awful deaths. But each death is of a person concrete, particular, and unique. I speak of one such person.

Richard's moral beacon was his preoccupation with the social injustices that follow from extreme inequality. His concern was not only with material deprivation, with poverty, but also with the social exclusion that accompanies poverty, with the marginalization of people at the bottom of our society, and with the harsh indignities, the deprivation of respect, that follow from exclusion. Most important, Richard was convinced that the forces to overcome exclusion, to ameliorate poverty, and to reduce inequality could arise from the poor themselves as they came to recognize their own anger and to discover their capacities to make trouble for those in power.

These beliefs, together with Richard's unshakeable tenacity and the political engagement in which conviction and tenacity were combined, gave Richard a rich and full life, a wonderful life, a life passionately linked to comrades, a life rocked by the rhythms of effort, defeat, and victory, a life joined to the struggles and hopes of a larger community. And Richard knew that he had had a very good life. At the end of his illness, he often talked about it, savoring his memories of the past, and glowing as he reminisced.

What would Richard have said of the present and the future and the prospects for

social justice movements today? In just the past few months, the terrain on which we work has been transformed. We have become uncertain of our footing and wary of unpredictable political dangers. The United States, proclaiming victory in Afghanistan, now contemplates a far broader military campaign that is certain to lead to the deaths of thousands of innocents, and the smashing of the communities and livelihoods of many thousands more. Of course, we should try to curb the politics of terror wherever it arises, for it inevitably makes hostages of ordinary people. But this new political terrain has not been created by the menace of terrorism alone. Indeed, for a long time, American leaders were reluctant to shut off the finances of the terrorist networks because the bankers were against any limits on their dealings, just as our leaders are reluctant to shut off the arms trade because arms producers are against any limits on the trade that is turning the world into a powder keg. It is quite apparent that our politicians prefer a military build-up and the profits and political payoffs such a build-up generates.

Moreover, the war on terror has been accompanied by a surge of fanaticism in the United States. Our leaders work to generate a blind popular support by speaking a new and alarming language, by launching "Operation Infinite Justice," by talking of ridding the world of evil. America is good, its enemies are evil, and anyone who qualifies or suggests some nuance smacks of disloyalty. On the one hand, this sort of jingoism permits the continuing rape of our resources by the business interests that run our government, on the grounds, for example, that continuing environmental degrada-

tion contributes to the war on terrorism. On the other hand, it permits the stifling of democracy, partly by the outright withdrawal of civil liberties on the grounds of a national emergency, and partly by the mindless propaganda that associates all sorts of political dissidents with terrorist and lunatic cabals. There is irony here; unlike cabals, social movements tend to be inherently democratic. Indeed, the social movement is usually direct democracy in action, for the simple reason that movement leaders who fail to name issues that resonate with their constituency, or who fail to propose actions that make sense to their constituency, will soon find themselves without a following. One might wish as much could be said of many of our elected politicians. But the new patriotic fervor makes it easier to brand any dissent as disloyalty, and the danger is serious, because repressing social movements means stifling the main force for domestic reform in the United States.

Still, there are also glimmerings of possibility on the horizon. The new political terrain may encourage us to raise our sights, widen our perspective, so that we are more firmly aware of the global dimensions of our social justice causes. Richard's projects were oriented to alleviating American poverty, and his writing was about the role of politics and policy in generating and sustaining American poverty. Surely that was worthwhile. But recent events force attention to the global dimensions of human suffering and the role of American politics and policy in perpetuating that suffering. We are wiser for that understanding. And more than wisdom may be at stake. Perhaps the coming struggles for social justice will not be ours alone. Perhaps we will join our domestic causes to those of the masses of the poor and trampled who are already in motion across the globe.



THE DECLINING SIGNIFICANCE OF CLASS? THE CASE OF THE NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT OF 1993

**Richard Cloward, Ph.D., Professor, Columbia University School of Social Work,
and Frances Fox-Piven, Ph.D., Distinguished Professor of Political Science, Graduate School and University
Center, City University of New York.**

When it became clear after the 1980 election that Republicans and many Democrats would try to dismantle much of the welfare state, the authors tried to organize resistance among human service workers. This effort helped, a decade later, to bring about an outcome that could not have been further from their minds initially – the national Voter Registration Act of 1993.

This article first appeared in Volume 1, Issue 1 (1995) of *Reflections*.

We interpreted the attack on the welfare state as class aggression. Provoked by intensifying international competition, rising inflation, and declining profits in the closing years of the Vietnam War, business began exerting itself to raise profits and lower costs, especially labor costs. Part of this campaign was waged in the workplace: to break unions, to lower wages, and to restructure work from full-time to part-time without benefits. Part of it was waged in politics: to roll back costly health and safety, consumer and environmental regulations; to redistribute taxes downward; and to remilitarize as part of an escalating contest with the Soviet Union for domination of the Third World. Part of it was waged in the financial markets where elites turned to speculation, including looting industrial assets by loading up businesses with leveraged-buy-out debt, and in time they would loot the banking system.

Of particular concern to us, the income-protections provided by the welfare state came under attack. We were not altogether surprised. Although European and American theories of welfare state origins, development, and growth are evolutionary, we had a more cyclical view. We saw contraction, as well as expansion. The struggle to institutionalize the idea of social provision did not follow a simple linear progression; victories were often followed by defeats. To our minds, periods of expansion and contraction expressed shifts in the balance of power between people and their rulers. A social contract won by the poor, and broken at first chance by their rulers; a class compromise

won, and betrayed. What we saw were accommodations between the rich and poor forged and re-forged in a continuing process of conflict.

Above all else, we were struck by how closely the history of the origins and expansion of social provision were associated with popular upheaval. Dislocating economic changes produced spreading destitution, often followed by riots in agricultural districts or in city streets, and at a later historical stage when workers had won the franchise, by volatility at the polls. In the United States in the 1930s, with the economy in collapse, the Great Depression gave rise to the greatest movement of the unemployed in American history, and to an even greater wave of industrial strikes, all in the context of the convulsive realignment of the political parties in the 1932 election. As a result of shifts at the polls and tumult in the streets, the social welfare foundations of the New Deal were laid: federal emergency relief, pensions for the elderly, unemployment insurance and disability compensation, aid to the blind and to dependent children, and subsidies for public housing.

The expansion of the welfare state in the 1960s was also owed to tumult. Southern agricultural modernization after World War II, accompanied by catastrophic hardship and massive rural-to-urban displacement, gave rise to the postwar Black movement for civil and social welfare rights. By the 1960s, spreading civil disobedience in the South and civil disorder in the northern cities won Blacks the franchise and toppled the southern caste system. And

even as Blacks entered the Democratic Party, segregationist Whites deserted it, first for neopopulist electoral movements, and later for the Republican Party. Once again, in response to shifts at the polls and tumult in the streets, social welfare legislation gushed forth from the Congress under the banner of Great Society: Social Security benefits were raised; the Aid to Families and Dependent Children (AFDC) rolls quadrupled; nutritional programs such as food stamps and high protein diets for pregnant women were added; health programs, such as Medicare and Medicaid developed; a host of new housing programs were enacted, as were massive subsidies to public schools in high poverty districts; anti-poverty community action programs were funded which enabled poorer people to organize to press their interests, usually in concert with new legal services programs, and so forth. We were also struck by how little academic attention had been paid to the role of tumult. There would have been few victories in the 1930s and 1960s without labor strikes, unemployed marches, civil disobedience, and riots. Little of this was noticed by social welfare historians, who were taken more with the notion of elite benevolence. Moreover, victories were often won all at once: the main New Deal programs originated between 1933 and 1935 and the main Great Society programs between 1963 and 1965. The chance for victories, it appeared, coincided with the height of popular protest.

The question for us after 1980 was how far people could be pushed down before they resisted. Would mass protest break out? Among industrial workers? Among minorities? Among students? Or among human service workers and social program beneficiaries – the unemployed, welfare recipients, the disabled? There was much pessimism about that question, given the temper of the times. The rich were on the attack, but there was quiet among those being battered. It was a one-sided class war.

Still, no one can be sure when protest is possible. Organizers look for potential signs of discontent; they try to imagine ways of stirring people to action, see what happens, and go on from there, if only to another failed effort. That means organizers have an occupational bias

toward optimistic analyses and interpretations of the instigating potential of socioeconomic and political changes. And why not? Why shouldn't they be biased? One doesn't have to be a sociologist of knowledge to understand that factors of one kind or another – whether cultural, structural, or idiosyncratic – always tilt analyses in ways not determined by data. No analyst “rises above the mores” is how William Graham Sumner put the point. So why not deliberately adopt a bias which points toward political possibilities? It gives hope, and encourages people to act on their grievances.

It is also well to remember that mass unrest and protest are rarely anticipated. No one – not academics, nor pollsters, nor pundits – predicted the outbreak of the decade-long direct-action phase of the Southern civil rights movement, beginning with the 1955 bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. Since social theory is so abstract and ambiguous, with so little predictive power, there is good reason for organizers to keep testing the waters.

We in fact thought protest was possible in the 1980s. All the of the major classical traditions in explanation of political unrest gave reason to believe that people would fight back, since all of the socio-economic and cultural changes said to be predictive of protest appeared to be present. It was as if Durkheim were lurking behind the data, and Marx, and Weber, too. We thought there had been similar concatenations in the 1930s and 1960s. Durkheim could be seen in massive violations of economic expectations during the Great Depression, and again during the postwar modernizing process that eliminated most traditional agricultural work in the South where the Black labor force was centered, and still again in the new class war initiated by Reagan's election.

Marx's emphasis on “immiseration” echoed Durkheim in this respect, but he also emphasized the importance of solidarities among affected groups, the importance of socially-structured capacities by the aggrieved to organize. This line of thinking was resurrected and greatly advanced in the post-1960s period by analysts loosely grouped in the “resource mobilization” school, led by Charles Tilly. Those who are dispersed in

everyday life have little capacity for protest; those who are organized in everyday life may have much capacity. These collective capacities, in turn, vary with large-scale social changes which sometimes aggregate people, and sometimes desegregate them. Economic concentration during industrialization, reflected in a trend toward larger firm sizes, ultimately aggregated huge numbers of workers in mass production facilities, yielded them the capacity to organize – to unionize, to strike, and to form labor-based political parties. Agricultural modernization drove Blacks off the land in the American South, especially during and following World War II, concentrating them in the central cities when they constructed the institutional infrastructure, not least churches with mass memberships, which made large scale collective protest possible – boycotts, civil disobedience, and riots.

In like manner, the rise of health, welfare, and education institutions aggregated tens of millions of human service workers and beneficiaries. The welfare state concentrated the service labor force no less than factories concentrated by the industrial labor force. It brought service workers together in state bureaucracies or in state-subsidized agencies in the private sector. In turn, worker organizations formed, some of them membership organizations composed of teachers, social workers, public health workers, and day care workers, including unions. National organizations of agencies offering similar services also formed, whether of family service agencies, family planning agencies, or childcare agencies. Client organizations formed among the elderly, the disabled, the unemployed, welfare recipients, and others. By the usual measures of structural density and interconnectedness, the welfare state produced more interlaced organizations and associations than one could shake a stick at. It is the state, in short, that gives human service workers and beneficiaries the incentives and resources to mobilize. Like industrial workers and Blacks before them, we thought human service workers and beneficiaries also had large-scale collective capabilities; they too, could mobilize.

For us, it was Weber's lasting insight – that human behavior cannot be understood

except as a reflection of people's subjective interpretations of their world – that gave most reason for cautious optimism that protest would break out. We thought people had developed firmly held standards of economic justice, coupled with equally firm popular convictions about the responsibility of the state to enforce those standards. The idea of state social provision had thus become culturally embedded, and durable. In other words, the state had come to parallel the market as an arena of class conflict.

The fight-back potential of the welfare state loomed large in our thinking. Traditional left wing analyses root working-class power in the modes and relations of production – much emphasis on unions and union-based political parties, for example, as the vehicles by which labor rights and social welfare rights were won. But the social programs themselves represent a vast new complex of institutions – federal, state, and local, both public and voluntary – that bring various categories of citizens into regular interaction with the state, whether the unemployed, or single-mothers, or the elderly, or the staff who serve them. After all, the American welfare state, which developed later and was smaller than in European states, had nevertheless reached similar scale in the wake of the turbulent 1960s. Here were a new set of institutions, political institutions, funded by revenues representing a significant part of the gross national product, on which the well-being of tens of millions of people depended. These millions were not organized primarily at the point of production. They were organized at the point of politics. It is the state that defines them as social categories, entitles them, and enters into political relations with them. With the rise of the welfare state, in other words, we thought that the “modes and relations of production” had come to be paralleled by what we began calling the “modes and relations of politics.” In brief, we thought the welfare state itself would become the locus of resistance, the staging ground for protest.

Of course, elite propaganda in the post-1960s period emphasized that the economy was in the grip of transcendent market forces, immutable market forces, and global market

forces. People would just have to hunker down, make do with less (and ignore statistics showing that the rich were getting richer). Despite the skillfully articulated naturalistic rhetoric of globalization in which this neolaissez-faire ideology was framed, we thought that people would see through it, that they would understand how this doctrine masked the myriad ways state policy was being restructured to protect and promote the interests of the well-off during what was a time of economic decline. It seemed to us, in sum, that there was a good chance that people would recognize that elites were taking away their economic rights, not the Invisible Hand.

Since the sociological Gods of protest seemed all to be smiling, we predicted in 1982 in *The Nation* magazine that the United States was entering "A New Age of Protest" which could stave off the elite assault, and in the same year we published *The New Class War*, to say that human service workers could and should resist. We also tried our hand at organizing. We invented an organization called the Emergency Campaign to Save Human Services, recruited a graduating Columbia University School of Social Work student, Kenneth Grossinger, to staff it, and appealed to the New York City social welfare community to join in demonstrating against social program cuts. This effort was a disaster (although no fault of Ken's; he performed admirably, just as he is now performing admirably as a senior organizer for the Service Employees International Union). Few people showed up at demonstrations, and we had some bad luck. Painful as it is to recall, we'll give a single example.

When the National Conference of Christians and Jews announced that Reagan would be the recipient of its annual Humanitarian Award during a gala dinner in March 1992 at the hotel Hilton on Fifth Avenue at 57th Street in Manhattan, we thought we had been handed a golden opportunity for staging a protest demonstration, and we spread the word through social welfare networks. When we set a meeting with the police to work out arrangements for the demonstration, representative of the All People's Congress was present, since they had applied for a permit

to demonstrate on Fifth Avenue, (New York) directly in front of the hotel. We agreed to stage our picketing a block down the street.

The All People's Congress is a congeries of two-dozen sectarian groups on the extreme left, many identified with Third World revolutionary struggles, each with about 20 members, all of whom will assemble to demonstrate anywhere, anytime, within 24 hours of being summoned by a phone call. And they know how to put on one hell of a demonstration. Moreover, we had sort of forgotten how rough sectarians can play. We scheduled a press conference a few days before the event, and got in the press daybook. When we convened, there was no press. Someone had called the daybook early that morning to cancel our press conference. So there we were – academics, union leaders, social welfare executives, clergy, and one unidentified person whom we knew to be from All People's Congress who didn't seem in the least surprised by the lack of press – all of us in borrowed office space on 43rd Street across from the New York Times, and no reporters. People like Mitchell I. Ginsberg, Professor Emeritus and Dean, Columbia University School of Social Work, helped cover our humiliation by making brief speeches about the injustice of the social program cuts, and Reverend William Sloan Coffin of Riverside Church led us in a rendering of "We Shall Overcome."

When the scheduled night came, we were the ones who were overcome. The All People's Congress had a flatbed truck that stretched almost all the way across Fifth Avenue. They erected a scaffold on it to support a platform that gave the feeling, in the semi-darkness, that their speakers were suspended above the street, a heavenly host bearing Marxist tablets. And their sound equipment was so superb that their speakers' voices echoed down the Fifth Avenue canyons, drowning us out, although that mattered little. Our flatbed truck, rented in Brooklyn, was two hours late, having gotten snarled up on the way to Manhattan in the traffic jams in the wake of Reagan's cavalcade. By the time we got the sound system set up, most of our constituents, who were not numerous to begin with, had

wandered up the street to where the action was. After we got the sound set up, we discovered we were missing a ladder to mount the truck. So we hoisted the speakers up. As for attendance, the demonstration up the block drew three or four thousand, including many passersby; on our corner, there were at best 300. Putting aside our bad luck in staging this particular demonstration, we read its failure – and the poor attendance at several other demonstrations we staged, one of them on Wall Street jointly with the National People's Action (the housing activists) – to mean that human service workers were not ready to protest.

We were in a quandary. Then we had a fortuitous encounter. In June 1982, the Food Research Action Center (FRAC) convened a national meeting of grassroots organizers. FRAC is an outgrowth of the anti-poverty legal services program, specializing in promoting Food Stamps and related nutritional programs. Organizers gave reports on projects in different parts of the country to resist cuts in welfare state programs. Welfare rights organizing in one place, public housing tenant organizing in another place, and so on. The descriptions and discussions were spirited, but none of the projects struck us as having the potential for achieving the scale and power that would be required to turn back the assault on the welfare state.

But then, over lunch, Sanford Newman, a former anti-poverty legal services attorney, demonstrated how a new organization he had formed called Project Vote! was recruiting, training, and equipping volunteers with clipboards to register people to vote on the lines in unemployment and welfare offices, or on the lines at check-cashing facilities where vouchers were exchanged for Food Stamps, or on the lines at ghetto churches where federal surplus cheese was passed out. Because of the way these human service programs aggregated people on lines or in waiting rooms, the Project Vote strategy was far more efficient than traditional door-knocking drives, and was already being adopted by others in the voter registration community. Ken Grossinger subsequently rounded up a dozen Columbia University students who registered 1,800 people in four hours on federal surplus cheese

lines at a church in Harlem, and got a full-page picture and story in the New York Daily News.

Even so, we saw the limitation of Newman's strategy immediately: too few volunteer canvassers to create a major electoral impact. Roughly sixty million people, or forty percent of all eligible voters, were unregistered; two out of three of them resided in households with incomes below the median, so that many millions were social program beneficiaries. The problem was enlarged because people change residence so frequently, constantly replenishing the pool of unregistered voters. To our minds, a problem of such scale required a solution of commensurate scale.

We thought we saw the solution: mobilize the workers of the welfare state to register their clients. We were dazzled by the sheer magnitude of electoral mobilization from the bottom that seemed possible. The growth of the welfare state linked workers in their interviewing cubicles with the constituency to be mobilized: hundreds of thousands of workers, millions of unregistered clients, all connected through institutions in which they had common material interests. Doubling as voter registrars, human service workers could mobilize an electoral defense of the welfare state. We also thought it likely that human service workers could be persuaded to do it (an assumption that proved wrong).

Over the summer of 1982, we wrote a draft of a paper called "Toward a Class Based Realignment in American Politics: A Movement Strategy," which we presented for comment to a small group of top agency executives and social welfare academics in the fall. Richard, after a Chinese lunch, opened the meeting by reading from his fortune cookie: "The project you are starting will succeed." To some participants, that sounded like false prophecy, but others were encouraging, so we decided to roll the electoral dice. In early December we sent out a call for a series of meetings to plan a month-long mass voter registration campaign in June 1983 in New York City. As things turned out, it was a happening.

During the winter and spring, labor leaders and liberal Democratic politicians came to meeting after meeting, and so did both leading

social agency executives and rank and file social workers, day care workers, family planning workers, and settlement house workers. As word spread, people began to appear from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Grey Panthers, and the Student Public Interest Research Group. We planned a dual approach during the month of June: hundreds of volunteers would go into welfare and unemployment waiting rooms and sign people up on lines; and hundreds of social agencies would make voter registration services available at reception or intake desks. James Farmer, former director of the Congress of Racial Equality, delivered a rousing speech at the kickoff rally in the NYU Law School auditorium, and by the end of the month, 6,000 people had been registered. Of great interest to us 2,500 had been registered by staff voluntary agencies, just enough to give us hope that we might be right that human service workers could be motivated to register their clients.

In the summer of 1983, we went national, incorporating a new organization called Human Service Employees Registration and Voter Education, or Human SERVE. We obtained the necessary clearances from the Internal Revenue Service to raise tax-deductible funds specifically for voter registration. Hulbert James, and old friend from civil rights and welfare days, signed on as the first executive director. Foundations supplied financial support, staff were hired, and field offices were set up in a dozen key industrial states. And we recruited a board of directors from among the presidents and directors of national human service associations: Arthur Katz, Council on Social Work Education; John E. Hansan, National Association of Social Workers; Marion F. Langer, American Orthopsychiatric Association; Anthony Robbins, American Public Health Association, Sara-Alyce Wright, national YWCW; Linda Davidoff, national Planned Parenthood Federation; and George A. Brager, Dean of the Columbia School of Social Work (who let Human SERVE squat in two offices). They in turn ran stories and editorials in their newsletters about the legitimacy and importance of doing voter registration routinely in voluntary social

agencies, and they set up all sorts of speaking arrangements for us at national conferences and with their local chapters. The two of us personally telephoned every graduate dean of social work in the country, and many undergraduate directors, to describe the idea and to ask that they sponsor community wide meetings of faculty, students, and agency personnel.

And then we went on the campaign trail. On days we were not teaching, we ran around the country, madly, to any school of social work or public health or planned parenthood or social work chapter that would listen to us, sometimes speaking eight to ten times in three or four states over two or three days, all the while proclaiming that human service workers had it in their hands to change American politics, and to save the welfare state. "Make voter registration a community service offered by your agencies," we said. "Do it at reception desks, during intake, while you interview. Make it a routine, a regular procedure, all year around." Richard had a favorite peroration (Frances thought it was a little too much) that summed things up: "You can change politics without even leaving your offices. You can save the welfare state from where you sit, 9:00 to 5:00. You don't have to go to demonstrations, you don't have to sit-in, you don't have to get arrested, you don't have to go to jail. All you have to do is register your clients to vote!"

Our audiences often seemed dumbstruck. Sometimes they erupted as if here was something human service workers could do, hopefully with agency sanction, that might make a difference to the fate of the welfare state.

Alas. To make a long story short, after many meetings and speeches, little happened.

Agencies probably registered three or four hundred thousand, not three or four hundred million. The failure of the social agency campaign jolted us (Richard especially; Frances had been more skeptical from the outset). Major streams of theory suggested that it would work. Social agency workers, including those with MSWs, were part of a new service sector proletariat – low paid and little honored, their lot not so different than that of industrial workers before the New Deal and mass

unionization. They had every rational reason to fight back. With the women's movement gaining strength in this period, it was also acutely disappointing that women social workers paid no heed, defending neither themselves nor the women and children whom they served. It was their livelihood that was under attack, and the worth of the service roles which women have always performed.

Academic ways of thinking about the origins of insurgent behavior left us unprepared for the fact that there was no protest. Indeed, no large scale protests over declining economic conditions emerged among any major constituencies during the entire decade of the 1980s, nor even in the long recession beginning in 1990. What was on to make of that? Useless Durkheim? Useless Marx? Useless Weber? Don't count on intensified deprivations; don't count on social capacities; don't count on people's social ideas. Well, who knows? The question of when people do or do not protest is still unsettled.

Following our failure to mobilize the voluntary sector in 1984, we would have closed Human SERVE, except that we were already working on another idea about how to get welfare state beneficiaries registered to vote. The recessionary 1982 midterm elections made us think of it. Facing unemployment higher than anytime since the Great Depression, blue-collar and minority people swamped the polls, enlarging the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives by another twenty-six votes, and electing Democratic governors in New Mexico, Ohio, New York, and Texas.

Pundits read the returns as meaning that the 1984 presidential election outcome would likely be determined by an upsurge of what the Congressional Quarterly called "have-not" voters. Republicans were alarmed. Conservative analysts warned that the Democrats would exploit their advantage by mounting registration drives among the less-well-off, and that the Republicans had better start registering millions of upscale citizens or they would be trampled at the polls by the rabble. It was an incredible moment: analysts and activists everywhere were beginning to say that voter registration was the key to Reagan's fate, to the future of American

politics. What all the furor meant to us is that the one-sided class war could become two-sided at least at the polls.

In this atmosphere, we kept thinking about those new Democratic governors: Anaya in New Mexico (the first Hispanic governor); Celeste in Ohio (formerly with the Peace Corps); Cuomo in New York (who got huge Black and Hispanic pluralities); and White in Texas (where Hispanic turnout was up sharply, all of it was going to the Democrats). We thought they had an incentive to expand the electorate from the bottom – among welfare recipients, the unemployed, the working poor on the Food Stamp rolls, and among assorted have-not groups. The question was how?

Could the governors do anything to make voter registration easier, more available? At first glance, it didn't appear so. State constitutions vest legislatures with control over voter registration arrangements, and legislatures are dominated by rural and suburban representatives who are not sympathetic to the sorts of people who show up on the lines in welfare and unemployment agencies. Since voter registration arrangements are the gateway to the voting booth, we could not imagine that the typical legislature would authorize employees in agencies serving the poor and minorities, as part of their regular duties, to register people. "There are no Republicans on the welfare lines," one high Republican official announced. Voter registration arrangements have always been an important reflection of party competition: the more cumbersome and intimidating the procedures, the less competitive the party that depends mainly on votes from the lower half of the class structure. To compete more effectively, in other words, Democrats in the big industrial states needed a way of circumventing legislatures.

We thought we saw what they could do. They could issue executive orders – gubernatorial executive orders, county executive orders, mayoral orders – directing that citizens be registered to vote during the intake/application process in various state, county and municipal agencies. State welfare and unemployment agencies interested us most because they reach large numbers of those

who are less likely to be registered. We consulted with Arthur Eisenberg at the New York Civil Liberties Union, and concluded that executive orders might well survive the inevitable court challenges by state Republican parties. The courts might hold that governors, county executives and mayors were simply making access to voter registration widely available to citizens, that such executive action did not infringe on legislative prerogatives, and that no state constitutional conflicts over the 'separation of powers' were raised.

Who better to initiate this idea than the four new Democratic governors? Human SERVE state organizers set about forming statewide coalitions of unions, civil rights groups, religious, social welfare, and voting rights activists to pressure the governors. To make a long story short, all four issued orders, with much fanfare in the press. And then the political fireworks began.

It was like the 4th of July. The first order was issued in Texas in March 1984; the other three states acted by the beginning of summer. The media quickly filled with predictions that the outcome of the 1984 election might be determined by voter registration in welfare and unemployment offices. In the outcry, Anaya was shot down both by the Republicans and by the conservative wing of his own party (which he had bested at the polls), and he cancelled the order. State Republican parties sued in New York and Ohio (but the courts ruled that there was no separation of powers problem, as we had hoped). The Michigan legislature passed a bill explicitly prohibiting state agencies from cooperating with Human SERVE. The Reagan administration threatened to cut off federal grants-in-aid, on the ground that the Hatch Act would be violated if human service workers registered citizens in the course of their regular duties, and got into a rhetorical shooting match with Celeste, Cuomo, and White. Congress, fearful that the national publicity generated by the conflict between the Reagan administration and governors might make it appear that politicians don't want people to vote, passed a ballot-waving resolution praising democracy and urging every citizen to go to the polls, and the Reagan administration withdrew its threat to

the governors.

The executive orders were too late to have any effect on the election. But Human SERVE couldn't have bought the publicity at any price. All of a sudden, voting rights activists were debating the merits of something called "agency-based" voter registration, and politicians in both parties and at different levels of government were exchanging political epithets over it. It certainly helped our fundraising (which has averaged about \$500,000 annually during the life of this project, mostly in grants from foundations.)

This initial success gave us reason to think that traditional ideas in political science about competition as the force that drives parties to expand the electorate should inform our efforts after 1984. We could exploit the rising criticism – for example, by Jess Jackson's Rainbow Coalition – that the Democratic Party was too oriented toward the suburban vote, and not enough oriented toward expanding its social base by reaching down in the class structure. Consequently, we adopted an agency-based executive order" strategy, and Human SERVE field staff worked to spread the idea and form supporting coalitions in the states.

The strategy didn't work out very well, although not for lack of executive orders.

Orders got issued, dozens of them, a few even by liberal Republicans – some by governors, some by mayors, including Black mayors, including by Black mayors in Atlanta, Birmingham, and Los Angeles. But one could wrap fish with these orders, for all the people they got registered. Public officials staged signing ceremonies with a great flourish: they draped themselves in the Flag; they delivered speeches sounding like the Founding Fathers. And all the while, cameras rolled. But then they didn't follow through to implementation. All rhetoric, no registration. Another disappointment.

So much for party competition. Our experience in dozens of states proved how weak it is.

We would summarize its usefulness as a guiding principle in organizing this way: Republicans are adamantly opposed to any reforms that would raise turnout rates at the bottom. Democrats, for their part, are

lukewarm toward such reforms. New York, where we spent more time and money than in any other state, is a case in point. It is the center of the foundation world, the center of the media, the center (we thought) of political liberalism. We were certain that Governor Cuomo, and Mayor Dinkins after he was elected in New York City in 1989, would implement human service registration. Between 1986-88, our funding proposals had a prominent section predicting a voter registration paradise in "SHOWCASE NEW YORK." Year by year, Louise Altman, the second of Human SERVE's two associate directors and New York organizer did what legislative organizers do. She organized statewide coalitions and importuned the Governor, who issued a second and better executive order, with the appropriate press announcements, this time in 1988, but he again failed to implement it. She staged public forums and arranged testimony, and rebutted opponents of reform at official hearings. She worked with the media to expose New York's archaic election practices ("as bad as in Mississippi"), and helped prepare law suits to expose them. Hard work, year after year, and to very little avail. The Senate Republicans did not want multitudes of poorer people registered to vote, especially those in New York City.

In any event, it became apparent by 1987 or 1988 that we needed legislation, not executive orders, legislation that could be enforced by the threat of litigation. We turned to this task with trepidation, fearing that legislatures would pass "motor voter" programs but not programs to register people in welfare and unemployment agencies. When Human SERVE started out in 1983, several states already had operating motor voter systems; the earliest of them had been started in Michigan in 1976 by Richard Austin, the first Black elected Secretary of State in the country. But at first we had no interest in motor voter; data from the U.S. Department of Transportation showed that the constituencies which were underregistered – poorer people and minorities – were also less likely to be on the drivers license rolls: big-city dwellers were less likely, and inner-city minority women were least likely. Human SERVE asked its contacts in the New

York City Human Resources Administration to conduct a drivers license survey in several public welfare waiting rooms. In the Schermerhorn Center (Brooklyn), which sees 600 clients daily, 500 adults were questioned: only eleven reported having drivers' licenses. In the Waverly Center (Manhattan, New York, New York), which sees 900 clients daily, 700 were questioned: 8 said they were licensed.

In any case, Human SERVE staff began haunting the conferences of governors, secretaries of state, county officials, mayors, and Black legislators, distributing literature and inveigling themselves onto panels where they talked up voter registration reform. Then it was back to their offices and to the telephones to follow up with the contacts made. Human SERVE spent \$50,000 a year on travel and telephones. And, of course, statewide coalitions were formed to pressure legislatures.

After four or five years of working the legislative halls all over the country, we had fantastic success, at least with motor voter. By 1989, some 30 states had started some sort of motor voter system. But no matter how much we talked about fairness to non-drivers who tended to be poor, to be minorities, and to be women, we could not get legislatures to include welfare and unemployment agencies in their voter registration reform bills. Only one state did, and that was thanks to the legislative organizing work of a Carleton College political science professor and grassroots organizer named Paul Wellstone who formed a Human SERVE chapter in Minnesota (and went on to win election to the U.S. Senate in 1990, a chamber over which he presided on the day the final federal bill was passed in May 1993). Overall, we had won a reform that we didn't care about, and lost the one we did care about.

First Human SERVE failed to get social program beneficiaries registered through the voluntary sector; then it failed to get them registered with executive orders; and it failed again with state legislation. The only chance left was Congress. By this curious process, we became advocates of national voter reform. We couldn't have imagined that back in 1982 and 1983. Nor could we have imagined then that national reform would succeed 10 years later. And we certainly would not have

thought that motor voter programs, which we initially spurned, would turn out to be the key to getting human service beneficiaries registered to vote.

Federal legislation of any kind seemed like a long shot indeed. Chances were that Congress would do nothing, or would at best pass motor voter legislation without human service agencies; and even if, by some fortuitous combination of circumstances, it turned out to be possible to find 60 votes to break Republican filibusters in the Senate so that a comprehensive bill could be passed, Bush, elected in 1988, would wield the veto pen. In any case, the key question was whether Congressional Democrats wanted to expand their political base from below and would fight for a comprehensive bill, as their counterparts in the states had not. It was party competition theories to the test again.

Ironically, motor voter programs were key to the passage of National Voter Registration Act. They constituted a precedent – that enrolling the electorate is a legitimate state function, and the way to do it is through a spectrum of government agencies. The civil rights struggle and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (including subsequent amendments), by outlawing literacy tests and other practices, stopped government from preventing people from registering. Human SERVE argued that a new principle was emerging: that government should have an affirmative obligation to enroll the eligible electorate, and that making voter registration an integral part of application processes in state agencies was the way to do it. The fact that there were so many motor voter programs by the late 1980s made that claim credible. It robbed Congressional opponents of objections on states rights' grounds, since federal legislation would simply nationalize an innovation that had become widespread among the states. More and more, we used motor voter as the case in point to argue for a federal bill. Our studies showed that motor voter was cheap – \$0.25 per registrant in most states; it would be just as cheap in other agencies. It was fraud-free, since getting drivers licenses requires proof of identity, residence and age, and it would be doubly fraud-free in human service agencies

where people must document their identity, age, sex, occupation, family status, and much else about who they are before benefits are granted.

Consequently, we made the case to a coalition of national civil rights, civic, labor, social welfare, disability, and religious organizations that they should push Congress to support a comprehensive motor voter/agency-based voter registration reform bill. To make another long story short, it was this coalition that negotiated a bill with the Democratic Congressional leadership, and that helped carry the bill to final passage. The key issue, especially in the Senate, was whether human service agencies (AFDC, Food Stamps, Medicaid, WIC, and unemployment) should be included in the motor voter bill. This was almost entirely a partisan issue, since social program recipients, being heavily minorities, could be expected to vote more Democratic than Republican. It was thus touch and go whether human services agencies would be included. The civil rights groups were key. They made plain that they wanted human service agencies included; without pressure from the civil rights community, key southern Democrats would not have supported human service agency registration. The civil rights groups were also crucial in persuading three liberal Senate Republicans to join 57 Democrats to shut off filibusters. The first three cloture motions, in 1990 and 1991, failed to muster 60 votes. However, 60 votes were cast to override a filibuster in 1992, and an inclusive bill went to President Bush who vetoed it – on the eve of Independence Day when everyone was preparing cookouts. A year later, in the Spring of 1993, an inclusive bill survived another filibuster by exactly 60 votes, this time after 11 days, and by then there was a Democrat in the White House to sign it.

Both of us got to stand behind President Clinton at the White House signing. When he shook our hands, he gave us two of the 18 pens he had used. As we stepped off the platform toward the audience, we gave one to Human SERVE's associate director, Jo-Ann Chasnow, whose considerable organizing efforts at the state and federal levels were no small reason why there was a federal bill to



WHITE HOUSE SIGNING OF THE NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT, MAY 20, 1993

sign and celebrate at all. A year later, the National Association of Secretaries of State, at their annual conference, made an award to Human SERVE for its work on reform, but it was also Jo-Anne whom they intended to honor. They said that “she is a tireless worker in the vineyard of Democracy,” and “She deserves to hold the award and smile at the ceremony with a feeling of satisfaction and achievement.”

If properly implemented by the states, registration levels will be more than 60 percent. The large majority will be registered in drivers’ license agencies, and the rest in human service agencies.

The main defect of the federal legislation is that it permits looser administrative

arrangements for registering voters in human service agencies than in driver agencies. The NVRA language pertaining to drivers license agencies virtually forces them to use what Human SERVE had for years been advocating for all relevant state agencies: single/combined forms, the top part to get or renew a drivers’ license, or to apply for human service benefits, and the bottom part to register to vote. The language governing human service agencies is more permissive, and could lead to less routinized voter registration procedures; a lot of people could be missed. Looser federal language means, politically, that the fight for a routinized system of voter registration in the United States has been shifted back again to

state legislators, and to AFDC, Food Stamp, Medicaid, and WIC administrators. This does not necessarily mean, however, that there will be another endless, endless, fight over voter registration arrangements. It does not necessarily mean that it will be a replay of a century-long political struggle in the states in which representatives of rural and small town dwellers, this time joined by suburban representatives, try again to design registration arrangements that will keep voting lower in the cities, the locale earlier in the 20th century of the immigrant industrial working class and now largely of minorities who make up much of the service working class.

This time around, the voter registration fight at the state level will be played out within much narrower political parameters, parameters set by the NVRA on the one side and by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 on the other. In a sense, state officials are in a vise. The NVRA requires that states establish new voter registration arrangements; if they design arrangements in human service agencies that are much looser than in drivers' license agencies, then they can be charged with racial discrimination under the Voting Rights Act.

Louise Altman worked to tighten the vise in New York. After the NVRA passed, there was some danger the New York State Legislature would not act by the deadline, or that they would write strong driver language and weak human service language, thus creating a racially discriminatory system. Louise remobilized the statewide coalition, and she raised the threat that legal defense organizations would file voting rights suits. The Community Service Society of New York (whose general counsel, Jaun Cartegena, serves as board president of Human Serve) made this threat real to legislators by actually filing notice of a suit. And Louise got the New York City bar association to issue a letter strongly implying that New York State had no legal grounds to resist implementing the NVRA. The Republicans, in short, could be made to look responsible for deliberately obstructing the rights of minorities.

The night before the legislature adjourned, the Senate Republicans finally capitulated and adopted the model legislative language

advocated by Human SERVE, including single/combined forms all around. Several days later, the New York Times said editorially (7/6/94) that one of the "few noteworthy accomplishments" of the legislative session was "a voter registration bill significantly better than the one required by the new federal law." And if implementation goes as well, especially by the state department of social services, it will indeed be SHOWCASE NEW YORK!

Perhaps it is too optimistic to conclude that state officials are in a vise, but that is the assumption which Human SERVE is making, at this writing. By the time this article is published, a conference organized by Human SERVE of litigating organizations in the civil liberties and civil rights community will have met to plan suits and threaten state officials in recalcitrant States.

Still, if there is a dominant impression we have after beating the voter registration bushes for more than a decade, it is that barely anyone thinks universal registration will in fact matter. Few academic electoral analysts do, few analysts in the media, few leaders in civil rights, or in good government organizations, or in business and labor. The night of the Presidential signing, the big news on television was that Bill and Hillary tied up the Los Angeles runway in Air Force One getting customized haircuts.

To be sure, Republicans opposed the bill, and filibustered it time and time again, suggesting that party competition was at work. But one could make too much of that. It was mainly social program beneficiaries that Republicans worried about. Otherwise it was a time of party dealignment, of voter volatility. Older voter allegiances were breaking down, making it hard to know from one election to the next how various groups would vote. In the wake of civil rights victories in the 1960s, the once Democratic South has been giving the Republican Party some 70 percent of all White votes, including about half of the votes of poorer Whites. These southern Whites delivered the Senate to the Republicans in 1980, but they gave it back to the Democrats in 1986. Similar backing and filling could be seen among many northern blue-collar workers. This was also true of youth. The young had been supporting Republicans in this period, and some

Republicans in the House thought the motor voter bill might be a good thing because it could literally double registration levels among those 21 and under, few of whom are registered but most of whom drive. Consequently, when a bill that made motor voter mandatory (but left human service agency registration optional) came to vote in March 1990, sixty-one Republicans broke ranks to join 218 Democrats to vote for it. They were mainly younger Republicans lured by the prospect that the youth vote might become the key to their own electoral fortunes, and they were led by their party whip, Newt Gingrich. Not surprisingly, Republican support for the bill caused head-scratching among Democrats, who wondered if Republicans knew something they didn't. But as the 1990 recession deepened, and lasted, polls showed that the youth vote was unstable, and might tilt toward the Democrats in 1992 (as it did).

Clearly, party realignment had much to do with winning registration reform. The uncertainties resulting from voter volatility made it difficult to predict the impact of liberalized registration, suggesting that neither party would be much helped or hurt, except that Democrats would probably get some marginal benefit from increased registration among minorities, who are the predominant users of human services. But even the conflict over human service agencies was nothing more than a dim echo of the long struggle by Blacks to win the Voting Rights Act in 1965, which had involved a stream of civil rights protests throughout the South, and the eruption of riots among southern Whites and northern Blacks. Everyone understood what enfranchising southern Blacks meant: it would transform southern politics. It meant the end of Democratic domination in that region, and the beginning of vigorous two-party competition. But no one thought that the National Voter Registration Act would change politics. Most significant, there was no opposition from corporate America, even though motor voter could register the whole working class. (Can one imagine an automobile worker who doesn't drive?) If the business community had thought for one minute that this bill was going to imperil the Republican Party, they would have mobilized to defeat it. But

there were no expressions of concern in business publications. No concern at all. Not any. That meant reform could succeed more from a lack of opposition than from support. So the Democratic majority leader, George Mitchell, scheduled the bill for one cloture vote after another, and helped keep his members in line for a straight party vote. Two cheers for party competition! And a third cheer for party dealignment! Or perhaps it should be the other way around. One cheer for party competition, and two for dealignment.

Since so many more White working-class voters were supporting the Republican Party in this period, our preoccupation with voter registration reform was constantly challenged by critics, supporters, colleagues, and friends. It was as if class had been expunged as a force in history, at least at the polls. Under these circumstances, the question was, why were we bothering to promote registration reform?

Staff discussions at Human SERVE were filled with gallows humor. When Reagan reached all the way down to the \$12,500 household income voter in marshalling support for his 1984 landslide victory, we knew Human SERVE in a small way shared responsibility. Our volunteers had registered thousands in unemployment offices with incomes higher than that! We joked around the office that Human SERVE was like the English Colonel who dealt with morale problems among his troops who were languishing in a Japanese prison camp by putting them to work building a railroad bridge on the River Kwai, even though that would aid the enemy. It was a mighty fine bridge, and Human SERVE ran a mighty fine registration campaign.

And then there was the way Richard ducked out on implementation planning meetings, once the federal bill was passed and signed. Frances got alarmed that Richard was assuming that the implementation process would go smoothly, almost automatically; she thought the Republicans in state legislatures together with conservative Democrats would try to obstruct voter registration in human service agencies. The staff was also alarmed. In order to make it harder for state officials to delay or obstruct implementation, Human SERVE staff had begun, even before the

federal bill passed, to make field studies of processing systems in the relevant government agencies in a sample of 12 states, as the basis for a technical manual showing public officials how to incorporate voter registration, depending on whether particular agencies still do most of their paper processing by hand, or partly by computer, or whether they have fully computer interactive systems. State officials, to their astonishment, got copies of the manual in the mail just a few weeks after the bill passed, and it has been a smash hit. The Federal Elections Commission subsequently issued its own manual – having had ours in hand as a model – and ours is better. That's because Human SERVE made it a practice to learn about agency procedures, whether in human service agencies or DMVs, and because Human SERVE learned a great deal over the last ten years about the details and absurdities of state registration systems – giving us a good feel for how to incorporate voter registration in the application process for other services. Human SERVE staff are currently giving technical advice to all kinds of state officials – legislators, elections officials, associations of diver agency directors, human services department heads, and so on.

Finally, Richard explained why he had been hanging back. He confessed that he really didn't want to see implementation succeed, because the full registration of the less-well-off might supply incontrovertible evidence in future elections that we were wrong, and the critics right, that class no longer mattered in voting.

We quickly add, however, that we never thought class much mattered at the polls either, and we didn't think so when we undertook this project. We've always thought that it takes protest movements to galvanize voters around class issues. Protest movements have the capacity to communicate visions of the world that are alternatives to ruling-class propaganda, and thus to politicize voters.

Think of the politicizing effect on working-class families throughout the country when news reached them of the 1937 sit-down strike in Flint. General Motors company guards, reinforced by police using tear gas and guns, tried to keep the Women's Emergency

Brigades from delivering food and medicine to the strikers who had occupied the plant for a month. More than 1,000 workers from surrounding towns – among them a young man named Walter Reuther from the Kelsey-Hayes plant in Detroit – circled the plant in support. And circling them in turn were national guardsmen, ordered to duty by the Governor, howitzers drawn up, ready to fire. As a court-ordered deadline to evacuate the plant neared, the strikers sent out this message to the Governor:

"We have carried on a stay-in strike for over a month in order to make General Motors Corporation obey the law and engage in collective bargaining...Unarmed as we are, the introduction of militia, sheriffs, or police with murderous weapons will mean a bloodbath of unarmed workers...We have decided to stay in the plant. We have no illusions about the sacrifices which this decision will entail. We fully expect that if a violent effort is made to oust us, many of us will be killed, and we take this means of making it known to our wives, to our children, to the people of Michigan, that if this result follows from the attempt to eject us, you, the Governor, are the one who must be held responsible for our deaths."

Or think how Afro-Americans and their liberal White allies throughout the country must have reacted to the news from Birmingham, Alabama in the spring of 1963. This was the Birmingham spring of mounted police and the snapping teeth of guard dogs, of cattle-prodders and rib-cage-crushing high-power water hoses, and of mass arrests. It was also the the spring of mounting criticism of Martin Luther King and the nonviolent movement for resorting to direct action tactics, criticisms made not least by prominent Black clergy. King's "Letter From a Birmingham Jail," addressed to these Black clergy, set out the political and moral justification of direct action by oppressed people.

"You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham.

But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the conditions that brought the demonstration into being. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the White power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

One day, the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman in Montgomery, Alabama who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity: "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be young high school and college students, courageously and non-violently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience sake."

In short, votes and protest reinforce one another; taken together, the combination sometimes gives subordinate groups a measure of power.

At the present time, protests by the women's movement are having a politicizing effect on the attitudes of millions of women, with the result that a gender gap in voting has developed. Having won the franchise in 1920, women voted like men for sixty years. But the divergence in 1980 foreshadowed an arresting possibility that a new mass constituency would emerge to defend the welfare state, a new group claiming rights, just as industrial workers in the 1930s and Blacks in the 1960s demanded labor and civil rights, and social welfare entitlement, and successively forced the Democratic party to champion their causes. In the process, these clamoring groups disrupted, reorganized, and reoriented the Democratic Party. That has been the fate of

the Democratic Party in the 20th century – to be constantly disrupted by insurgent masses of people. Women could easily become the next disruptive force. And the growing influence of the Christian Right in the Republican Party could actually help the process by leading many women (and their male allies) to defect to the Democratic Party, perhaps creating a new and progressive dominant national coalition. Class realignment in the 1930s, racial realignment in the 1960s, and now possibly a gender realignment. Therein lies the hope for the welfare state.

Beginning in 1982, Frances wrote articles and gave speeches before social work, public health, family planning and kindred audiences, emphasizing that the convergence of two unprecedented trends could transform American politics. One was the rapidly worsening economic condition of women, and the other their growing political independence, activism, and turnout at the polls. And she added that three out of four middle-class women who work were employed in human service occupations, and that three out of four beneficiaries were women or their children. The welfare state, in other words, is a set of institutions where women serve women. When Human SERVE tried to mobilize voluntary agency workers to register their clients in the 1983-84 period, our literature emphasized that women registering women is a way to build electoral defense of women's institutions (and it still is). In sum, it is clear that the attack on the welfare state is part of a new class war, and part of a new race war. It is also part of a gender war, a war against women, and it is getting worse.

There was turbulence in the 1930s and again in the 1960s. There will be again, perhaps this time among women. And since protest will once more politicize people, it could matter a great deal that access to the franchise will, for the first time in history, be unencumbered. That's what we all hope. Time will tell.

A Closing Note on Organizing and Writing

We have always found it very useful to write and publish in the course of organizing.

Publications enable organizers to explain their ideas, to win converts, and to obtain

resources. If the organizing project is a longer-term one, publications can be used to update progress, to explain shifts in strategy, and to maintain support. In the event that some professionals, faculty or students might want to study the Human SERVE organizing project from the perspective of our writing, we conclude with relevant publications.

Pre-1982

We first tried to highlight tumult as an important, perhaps crucial, feature of the struggle for social provision in a series of articles in the 1960s devoted to analyzing the organizing strategies used in civil rights, rent strikes, and welfare rights. (These articles were subsequently collected and republished as a book under the title, *The Politics of Turmoil*, (Pantheon, 1974). In the same period, we wrote *Regulating the Poor* (Pantheon, 1971) which analyzed the long history of interaction of popular protest in the United States to the winning of labor and civil rights, and to the winning of social welfare entitlement.

1982

The New Class War, (Pantheon). Discusses institutional changes over the course of the 19th and early 20th century which helped give rise to the popular belief that government should intervene in economic arrangements to guarantee minimal economic well being.

"Economic Demands, Political Rights," *Democracy*, Summer.

"The New Age of Protest," *The Nation*, April 17. Predicts protest in response to Reagan's attack on the welfare state.

1983

"The American Road to Democratic Socialism," *Democracy*, Summer.

"Toward a Class-based Realignment of American politics: A Movement Strategy," *Social Policy*, Winter. The first statement of the voter registration strategy.

1984

Piven, "Women and the State: ideology, Power and the Welfare State." In Alice Rossi, editor, *Gender and Life Course*. New York: Aldine (this was the Presidential volume

consisting of the best papers selected from the 1982 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association.) This article discusses the emergence of women as a political force. In this same connection, see also Barbara Ehrenreich and Frances Fox Piven, "The Feminization of Poverty," *Dissent*, Spring.

1985

A two-part article on Human SERVE's experience in the period before the 1984 election: "Trying to Break Down the Barriers," and "How to Get out the Vote in 1988," *The Nation*, November 2 and November 23.

"Prospects for Voter Registration Reform: A Report on the Experiences of the Human SERVE Campaign," *PS: Political Science and Politics* (Quarterly Journal of the American Political Science Association), Summer. Expanded edition of *The New Class War*, Pantheon, with a closing chapter saying why the welfare state might fight back.

1988

"New Prospects for Voter Registration Reform." *Social Policy*, Winter.

"National Voter Registration Reform: How it Might Be Won." *PS: Political Science and Politics* (Quarterly Journal of the American Political Science Association), September.

Why Americans Don't Vote, Pantheon. A historical review of voter registration arrangements in the United States, framed by an analysis of the political purposes they served, including the way they deprived the United States of class-based political parties that developed in European countries.

1989

"Government Statistics and Conflicting Explanations of Nonvoting," *PS: Political Science and Politics* (Quarterly Journal of the American Political Science Association), September. Shows that voter registration barriers are more important in keeping voting down among poorer and minority people than is commonly thought, thus justifying national reform.

REFLECTIONS:

NARRATIVES OF PROFESSIONAL HELPING

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CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

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WHERE THIS ARTICLE ORIGINALLY APPEARED

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RICHARD A. CLOWARD: REFLECTIONS BY A CLOSE FRIEND

Alex Gitterman

Alex Gitterman was a long time colleague of Richard and Frances. He taught with Cloward at Columbia University. He is currently on the faculty at the University of Connecticut. Alex was active in organizing the Memorial Service for Richard and most helpful in the compilation of this issue.

Most social workers knew and will remember Richard as a brilliant scholar. He is probably the most widely read social work scholar in the profession. His books are sold in colleges and also in commercial bookstores throughout the world. Richard and his co-author (and wife) Frances Piven's contributions to contemporary issues in American society include:

Why Americans Don't Vote

The Mean Season

The New Class War

Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State and Its Consequences

Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail

The Politics of Turmoil: Essays on Poverty, Race and the Urban Crisis

Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare

These are not ordinary books. Richard and Frances' books have shaped sociological inquiry, political debate, and social welfare programs. They are classics that endure the test of time. *Regulating the Poor*, for example, was first published in 1971, translated into Italian and German, and received the C. Wright Mills Award. Updated to include the decades of the 70's, 80's, and 90's, the book has sold well over one million copies.

Most social workers also knew and will remember Richard as a social activist and program developer. What distinguishes Richard from almost all other scholars was his social activism, his unflinching commitment to the poor and the oppressed. His scholarship informed

and was informed by his experiences on the front lines – whether organizing for welfare rights or voter registration. He cared and understood; then he mobilized and empowered. He made a significant and lasting contribution to poor people's lives. He embodies the spirit of Jane Addams and the other settlement pioneers. Richard and Frances were a two-person settlement house. When poor people were denied their entitlement, the Cloward/Piven settlement house mobilized them into a welfare rights movement. When poor people were disenfranchised from the political process, the Cloward/Piven settlement house mobilized a national voter registration drive. Richard devoted his career to fight against social injustice – to trouble the comfortable and to comfort the troubled. He was our social conscience, our collective voices crying out against social injustices and for social reform.

For scholarly and activist contributions, Richard (and Frances) received honorary doctorates and numerous awards: the Council on Social Work Education's Significant Life Time Achievement Award (2001); the National Association of Social Worker's Life Time Achievement Award (1999); first recipients of the Political Sociology division of the American Sociological Association's Lifetime Achievement Award (1995); and more recently, the Distinguished Career Award in Practice of Sociology, American Sociological Association. They also won the Society for the Study of Social Problems prestigious Lee/Founders Award (1991) for distinguished contributions to the study of solutions of social problems.

Some social workers had Richard as a

teacher. In the classroom, Richard inspired almost five generations of social work students to broaden their socio-cultural, policy, and political perspectives. When other senior colleagues searched for ways to minimize their teaching workload, year after year Richard steadfastly taught six to seven courses. Why? Because he cared about educating social work students and was deeply committed to broadening their theoretical lenses. When students completed a course with Richard, they were transformed – they were different and the world they lived in became different. A clear and more sophisticated perspective replaced narrowness of vision and naiveté. His teaching brilliance was recognized when he received two teaching awards at the School as well as the Herman Stein Award for Excellence (Mandell School of Social Work, Case Western Reserve University).

Only a few of us have had the privilege of being Richard's close colleague and close friend. I am deeply grateful to have been Richard's colleague at Columbia University School of Social Work from 1966 to 2000 (when I left for the University of Connecticut School of Social Work) and his very close friend for the last 30 years. I held Richard in the highest professional and personal regard. While Richard had a distinct public persona, it was not easy to get to know the private side of Richard. I would like to share a few things about the personal side of Richard.

Richard was raised by a social activist mother and a minister father. By the time Richard applied to the University of Rochester, he was already determined to make a difference in people's lives. In his college application, he requested assignment to interracial housing. He roomed with an African-American freshman by the name of Mark Battle (who later became a prominent social worker). Before long, Richard and Mark, along with another student, developed an interracial day camp and shortly thereafter founded a settlement house known as Hubbell House.

A year after graduating from college, Richard completed his formal social work education in 1950. His first job was as a group work supervisor in a settlement house. Then, after a three year stint as a chief psychiatric

social worker in an army prison, Richard earned his doctoral degree in sociology from Columbia in 1958. In 1954, at Lloyd Ohlins' suggestion, Herman Stein recruited Richard to the faculty. Richard was committed to broadening the primarily psychoanalytic educational focus of the School by introducing socio/cultural aspects of social work practice. Richard chose to teach in a school of social work rather than in a sociology department because of the profession's commitment to the integration of theory, research and practice.

I first met Richard when I was a college junior at Rutgers University in 1958. Richard was a guest speaker in a criminology course. He sat on the desk, loosened his tie, and spoke for two hours without a single note. He spoke with passion about delinquency. The class was enthralled. When he completed his lecture, I jumped up from my seat and started applauding. My classmates followed suit. Finally, we heard a scholarly academic who had passion, who applied abstractions to the real problems of people, who had soul. What an unbelievable role model!

I never suspected on that memorable day that one day I would become his junior colleague at Columbia. In the Fall of 1966, as a newly hired faculty member, I mobilized my courage and introduced myself to Richard as the college junior at Rutgers University who led the standing ovation. Richard remembered the class; he was cordial, but seemed distant. At that moment I, like many others, mistook his shyness for aloofness. I could not imagine that such a polished speaker who spoke with the passion of a preacher and the elegance of a poet could be interpersonally shy. And yet Richard was, at times, painfully shy!

After I reintroduced myself to Richard, it took him several years to remember my name. Generations of junior faculty who followed have experienced a similar fate. Richard was not into idle social chatter. If you had something significant to discuss, he remembered you. I guess for several years I didn't have anything significant to say.

My family moved from the city to the suburbs in 1971, and I discovered that Richard and I lived just two blocks from one another. We began to drive to work together, and he

finally learned my name (it is significant that he remembered the name of my attractive wife from just one meeting). Richard and I began to forge a special friendship. And we became closer over the next 30 years. I grew to love Richard as if he were my older brother. In our years of friendship, these are a few things I learned about Richard.

First and foremost, Richard was in love with Frances. He spoke about her with the deepest affection and respect. He loved everything about her – her intellectual brilliance, her vision, her social activism, her beauty, her sexuality, her gardening, her gourmet cooking, and most of all, her companionship. His love for her was fully deserved as she was always there for him, including the bad times and the illness.

Second, Richard loved his children and his grandchildren. He was proud of his children's accomplishments: a public health social worker, a computer expert, a veterinarian. He also grieved the death of one of his sons. Richard did not always know how to express his emotions. Yet, when they had trouble, his pain was obvious. Richard's style was to keep his feelings to himself.

Third, Richard had a tough time fighting his inner demons. He had a tough exterior, but beyond the gruff facade was a deeply sensitive and compassionate man. He took friends' and poor people's troubles onto his shoulders and suffered for and with them. He felt so deeply that he looked for ways to numb the pain in ways that at times seemed self-destructive. Yet, Richard always bounced back and was proud of his resilience. Lung cancer dared to get him, but during that battle he held on to his dignity, his intellect, his hair, and his striking good looks.

Fourth, Richard had a wonderful sense of humor which he reserved for only his closest associates. It was wonderful to see Richard laugh. It was therapeutic to see Richard laugh. When Richard was a social work student, he was placed in a settlement house and his field instructor was Robert Vinter. They developed a very close friendship. Robert went on to become an accomplished social work academic. When he was the Dean of the University of Michigan's School of Social

Work, Richard wrote him the following playful letter in the winter of 1971:

Dear Robert,

As the years pass, I have increasingly come to see that such tranquility as I enjoy owes much to the fact that I see you so infrequently. But now, as fate would have it, I find it necessary to risk that tranquility by putting myself in touch with you. The reason, Lord knows, is not of my doing, but on behalf of a young man who, in his innocence, wishes to attend your program. The matter causes me much regret, for I fear for his future should you decide to admit him. However, having done what I could do to discourage his application, I now have no choice but to honor his wishes and press his cause, for he is a most able and talented person, and one whom I greatly admire. Moreover, he is Puerto Rican and it is time you had something besides mid-western WASPS in your program. I think often of your wife, and of her travails. Sincerely, Richard.

What wit, what beautiful use of language.

Fifth, from his experiences as a social worker in the army, Richard developed tremendous respect for direct social work practice. At Columbia he became a courageous champion for maintaining its historical centrality at the School. He was pained by the outcome of the struggle and how he was treated over the last 15 years by the School.

Each time Richard gave my son, a public policy instructor, a newly published book, he inscribed the phrase: "Keep fighting." That is his message to all of us – to keep fighting against social injustice; to continue the struggle with passion and skill. Without Richard the struggle for a more just society will be much lonelier. I miss our conversations. I miss his keen political analysis. I miss our "boys talk." I deeply miss his friendship.

Hanging on the wall of a colleague's desk there is a saying which reads: "We live as long as we are remembered." If this is true, Richard still has a very, very long life left to live.

REMARKS ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE LIFE OF RICHARD A. CLOWARD

Herman D. Stein

Herman D. Stein is a University Professor and Professor Emeritus at Case Western Reserve University. He has also served as Dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences at CWRU, and invited Cloward to speak there five times. They taught together at Columbia University, wrote a book together, and remained very close friends through the years.

*In a letter accompanying his "remarks," he wrote the editor (Paul Abels) the following: "Cloward's intellectual honesty was apparent from the first. No one was ever in doubt where he stood on any issue in which he had an interest...Richard Cloward was a towering figure in the field, proud to call himself a social worker, as well as a sociologist. He was a unique combination of scholar and activist. I am glad you are giving him proper recognition in **Reflections**."*

I regret very much not being able to be with you. I wanted to be at the memorial service and on the program for several reasons:

First, I played a significant role in the early part of his career.

Second, I was his friend.

Third, we produced a book together.

Fourth, I was still his friend.

Fifth, to pay homage to his unique stature in the field of social welfare and social policy.

I was at the Columbia school of Social Work for many years in several roles, but my greatest contribution was to invite Richard Cloward to the faculty in 1954. A course had been introduced on social science and social welfare emphasizing elements for practice. It became very popular and this required additional help, so I searched for a colleague. It was not easy, but when I met Dick Cloward at Lloyd Olin's suggestion, the search ended. It was not so much that he had his Ph.D. in sociology, as well as an M.S.W., and had published a significant paper. What appealed to me was his honesty and modesty, as well as high intelligence. Despite his doubts to begin with about teaching, he quickly became a very successful and popular teacher. He once referred to me as being his mentor, and I was — for about two weeks.

If I had any doubts about whether he could hold his own in faculty gamesmanship, they were gone when I introduced him to a regular poker game, where he played a consistently cool and frequently winning hand and could not be bluffed.

After some time, we produced a book that took some two years of Sunday morning meetings in the basement of my home,

reviewing some 40 years of writings, in order to select ideas we thought relevant for the interests and work of practitioners. Dick, of course, chose ideas to introduce dealing with class and power.

I was director of the school's research center when Cloward launched the Mobilization for Youth project, which changed from a delinquency prevention study to a highly contentious war on poverty program with political repercussions.

I left Columbia in 1964 for a deanship at what was then Western Reserve University, but managed to be in touch frequently. Five times I brought him to the University. Once was during our fiftieth anniversary program, where we had such luminaries as Gunnar Myrdal and Michael Harrington, among other speakers. In his incisive commentary on Harrington's paper, Dick argued against social planning as a cure for poverty or injustice. Cloward claimed that the poor cannot protect themselves against planning methodology and bureaucracy. Their problem, he maintained, was political, and it required a political solution.

With his brilliant colleague and collaborator, Professor Francis Piven, he became an advocate and activist for the poor, rather than an academic commentator, and the force behind a successful voting rights movement that serves the interest of the poor. At the close of his career, he is recognized as a giant figure on American Sociology and social welfare, both in intellect and practical achievement, an inspiration to generations to come.

I salute my old colleague, Richard A. Cloward, for his great achievements, and thank him for the privilege of calling him friend.

REMARKS FOR THE RICHARD A. CLOWARD MEMORIAL

Terry Mizrahi

Terry Mizrahi is a Professor at Hunter College School of Social Work, and the President of the National Association of Social Workers

I was first his student, young and googly eyed, with a crush on that handsome and brilliant professor. (Years later I learned how many other women who met him felt the same way!) But I only remember talking to him for the first time a few years later. I took the first adult education course open to the public on the poverty program that he gave in the late 60's at the New School. It was sold out and would be any time he lectured. As a new organizer working on the LES of Manhattan, I needed to put my work into a larger context and wanted the words of wisdom from this "guru" as many of us had fashioned him. Imagine my surprise meeting him in the elevator that first evening. After introducing myself before his lecture (not sure he remembered me), he engaged me in probing and provocative questions about my work and then asked naively, "Tell me Terry, why are so many people taking this course?" That sums it up in a nutshell—his personality, his caring, his modesty, and his desire to make everyone better critical thinkers and more effective "doers." He really believed in and lived out the principle of "praxis."

When the Association for Community Organization and Social Administration (ACOSA) honored him for that lifetime achievement, he expressed his appreciation by telling our gathering that there was nothing more gratifying to him than to be honored by his social work peers. What was even more important to him was the fact that those present were a new generation of professional social workers who were teaching, doing research, and participating in community, political, and professional social change activities. And then

came what he told me was his most coveted award, the career lifetime achievement presented by the National Association of Social Workers in 1999. I am proud to say that I had a hand in that, and also in his receiving an honorary doctorate from Hunter College.

He created the Barr Grosser Lecture series in the early 1990's to honor the life and works of two social work colleagues, and he asked me to join. That's when I became his colleague and close friend. We shared many good times and bad times together, but he continued, as he did more than 30 years ago, to be interested in my career, my writing and research, and my professional leadership. I will miss his insights and his ability to listen. I will miss his words of wisdom and his ability to stand corrected. He was as quiet a cheerleader as he was a vocal but caring critic.

In reading his obituary in the *New York Times*, I could not help but notice that the author called him "a social activist and sociologist," but omitted the fact that he was a social worker. He told me many times over the years that that fact was the reason he stayed his entire professional life as professor at Columbia University School of Social Work. It was only toward the end of his life that he received the recognition he deserved from the social work profession that he both identified and struggled with.

During the Passover seder ceremony, we repeat a phrase "Dayanu," meaning "it would have been sufficient" (for any one of the events that God did, let alone how many he did). When we think of how this social worker influenced at least three social movements we should say Dayanu:

1) The Anti-Poverty movement. With Lloyd Ohlin he wrote *Delinquency and Opportunity* (1960) and then helped put it into practice by helping to establish Mobilization for Youth, which in turn became the model for the federal anti-poverty community action programs in the 1960s. Dayanu!

2) The Poor People's and Welfare Rights Movements. He and Frances Fox Piven wrote articles on welfare rights in the 1960s that provided a rationale for a new struggle by poor women for greater justice, and they participated in forming the National Welfare Rights Organization; then, they published *Regulating the Poor* (1971) in which they described and analyzed the history of struggles by poor men and women against poor relief and welfare systems. Dayanu!

3) The Expansion of the Franchise and the Electoral Mobilization of Poor People. Following Reagan's election in 1980, Cloward and Piven wrote *The New Class War* (1982) and *The Mean Season* (1987) to warn that the growing attack on the welfare state should be taken seriously because it was based on fundamental changes in power relations in American society. They proposed an action strategy for the profession, namely to register millions of clients to vote at reception desks in day care, family, planning, and other social agencies in the hope of building an electoral defense of the welfare state.

They formed an organization in 1983 called Human SERVE to promote this strategy, and wrote *Why American's Don't Vote* (1988) to provide the intellectual and historical rationale for the strategy. The Human SERVE project eventually led to the National Voter Registration Reform Act of 1993. Cloward and Piven were invited to stand behind President Clinton in the White House when he signed the Act, and the National Association of Secretaries of State gave Human SERVE a special award for its "contribution to democracy." Dayanu!

REFLECTIONS ON RICHARD A. CLOWARD

Diane Dujon

The author currently works at the College of Public and Community Service, University of Massachusetts, Boston, and fights for economic justice as a member of S.E.I.U., Local 509, and the National Welfare Rights Union.

When I enrolled in the College of Public and Community Service (CPCS) at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, it was one of the most fortuitous events of my life. CPCS was founded in 1973 by a group of community activists and academics whose vision (shaped by the events of the '60s) called for a college designed for adult learners that would combine academics with activism, leading to social change. The curriculum centers on experiential learning, recognizing that learning takes place in many arenas, of which the classroom is only one. Students are taught how to document the learning they receive while working on their jobs, in their communities, and in their homes. It is even possible to design new learning experiences that meet the requirements, which are competency-based. Students are encouraged to take ownership of their learning by becoming "self-directed learners," which appealed to my rebellious, independent nature.

One of my first classes was Organizing for Basic Human Needs, which was designed for welfare recipients and human service providers. Since I was on welfare, I was interested in creating social change for women in poverty. Within the first month, those of us on welfare researched reading materials that would help us strategize and develop an analysis. One of the first books we chose was *Poor People's Movements* by Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. This wonderful book, which described the rise of the Labor, Civil Rights, and Welfare Rights movements and how they practiced "structured protest," was inspirational and changed my life profoundly. I exercised my right as a "self-

directed learner" and contacted Francis Fox Piven at Boston University to get some pointers on organizing welfare recipients and UMass. She graciously accepted an invitation to meet with us, and we interviewed her extensively about some of the theories, methods, and risks of organizing.

I worked with several other recipient students and established ARMS, the welfare rights student organization on the UMass Boston campus. We have been organizing to build a movement to abolish poverty ever since—both locally, and nationally.

Richard Cloward was a remarkable man who touched my life, mostly through the written word. As a welfare recipient threatened with proposed policy changes that would require me to leave school to take a minimum wage job, I was spurred to action after reading several books by Richard and Frances. Their books gave us hope that we could make changes. We learned what services and programs we were eligible for and how to access them. We facilitated workshops to educate others living in poverty about their rights. We conducted surveys and held focus groups to help us prioritize the issues that we needed to work on. We represented clients on the Boards of numerous provider agencies. When we learned that legal services were under attack by the Reagan administration, we set about learning everything the lawyers knew so that we could provide advocacy for one another. We got involved in the political process, helping to defeat the Republican governor who had proposed workfare. But most of all, we followed Richard Cloward's advice and spearheaded several direct action campaigns-

rallies, protest marches, guerilla theater, and civil disobedience. We knew we were doing the right thing when we read in the *Boston Globe* that we were “gadflies in the Governor’s hide!”

National conferences, meetings, and protest rallies became a way of life as we began to build alliances with other like-minded people and groups. Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven were often at the conferences, enriching the discussion with their wealth of experience, thoughtful strategies, and sage advice. Many times, I did not even realize that Richard was present because he was a very quiet man, only speaking when his voice or expertise was needed. Yet, any time he spoke, I was always aware of his immense presence. He had a deep personal conviction for justice for the poor and neglected of our society and possessed a warm, witty sense of humor. When I think of Richard Cloward, I am reminded of the movie title, *Run Silent, Run Deep*.

In the mid-90s, I was invited to speak at a conference at Smith College. Richard was also on the panel. It was the first time I heard him speak for more than five minutes. He spoke about Human SERVE and his philosophy for helping the disenfranchised to claim their right to vote by making voter registration more convenient. I was reminded of one of the earliest lessons he taught me when I read his books: just because you are eligible for a benefit or service does not mean you will get it. In fact, you usually have to demand it and fight for it. His casual down-to-earth manner and humorous anecdotes kept the students’ rapt attention. He spoke as a friend, explaining how the students should use their education to become change agents for social justice, a theory he demonstrated through his life’s work.

After the forum, Richard and I went for a short walk around the campus. I tried to convey my utmost respect for his work and told him how his work had impacted my life. I knew he had been criticized for encouraging agitation, and I wanted him to know that I agreed with his methods. It was right to inform poor women that they were eligible for welfare benefits and should confront the government to get the resources they needed to take care

of their families. In my opinion, welfare rights activists simply taught the government how to count! People were encouraged to claim benefits and services they needed, forcing the government to include them in the statistics. They gave voice to the people who motivated others to come forward, building a movement and igniting the spark of change.

Richard and Frances witnessed, documented, and participated in achieving progressive social change through broad-based movements. In the intervening years, much of that change has been reversed because there is so little mass defiance. If we are to progress as a country, we must build upon the successes of the past by organizing the people who are most affected and allowing them to speak and act for themselves without fear. We must stay active and vigilant, watching out for others and practicing true solidarity. We must use Richard Cloward’s life as a template for justice.

REFLECTIONS ON RICHARD A. CLOWARD

Ken Grossinger

Ken Grossinger, M.S.W., was Richard Cloward's student and a long time friend. He works at the AFL-CIO.

I am not sure whether Richard Cloward took me under his wing of his own volition, or if I was so persistent in my determination that he had no alternative. In 1980, after a four-year hiatus from undergraduate school, I entered the Columbia University School of Social Work (CUSSW). I had all but resigned myself to doing some combination of law and social work in order to make a living, or perhaps I would earn a Ph.D. and teach. I assumed politics, my first love, would have to become an avocation.

Then, as today, if one is not exposed to political careers through family or friends, or as part of a social movement, there is no obvious way to become familiar with and learn about job opportunities in community organizing, philanthropy, labor, or other public interest work. That was my situation—until I met Richard Cloward.

Richard recognized the fire in my belly. He nurtured my intellectual curiosity, helping to shape my ideas about poverty, race, class, and social movements. And he helped legitimize my way of thinking about the world and my political relationship to it.

Richard introduced me to class conflict in concrete ways, through organizing campaigns and by challenging elite ideas that derided the poor. He introduced me to intellectuals and to organizers in community, labor, and social welfare advocacy organizations. In large part, Richard Cloward is the reason I've worked over the last 20 years as a community and labor organizer and, now at the AFL-CIO, on campaigns for social and economic justice.

Our 21-year relationship took many forms. Student-teacher, employee-employer, friend

and mentor. As Richard's student, I was struck instantly by his enormous intellect and scholarship. In the classroom, he spoke with dry humor, sharp insight and passion, and always with a thought provoking style. He possessed a sweeping knowledge of history and delivered a bravura performance for his students.

Before entering CUSSW, I worked at a residential treatment home for delinquent youth. One day, I was describing my experiences at the home to Richard, talking to him about delinquency and arguing that society wrongfully defined deviant behavior as a psychological dysfunction when it actually expressed something more. The next day he brought me *Medicalization of Deviance*, a book that exactly captured the points I tried to articulate. It was sometime later that I learned Richard co-authored *Delinquency and Opportunity* (1960) with Lloyd Ohlin, the landmark book that provided the intellectual underpinnings for progressive work with gang related problems.

Richard's interest in deviant behavior shaped his thinking about social movements. He argued that participants in social movements deviated from the norms; therefore, they were, by definition, deviants. They broke laws. They sat down at lunch counters to protest segregation. They got arrested demanding an adequate income. Richard maintained that, while some deviance might reflect mental illness, other forms of deviance had political or sociological explanations. *Delinquency and Opportunity* influenced the formation of Mobilization for Youth (MIY), which Cloward helped found in 1961 and went on to become the model for the Federal War

on Poverty, including anti-poverty legal services and community action programs.

Richard did not just teach me in the classroom, but one on one, often over breakfast at the Mills Café, a luncheonette near Columbia run by two holocaust survivors. There he would order a lime-rickey to drink with his eggs and pontificate. We also met after class up the street from Mills at the West End, a bar once famous for patrons like Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and other 50's beat-era poets.

One night after class in the early 1980's, Richard said that social workers needed a vehicle to express more militant opposition to then-President Reagan's attacks on the welfare state. He was sensitive to the 501(C)3 non-profit status of private sector welfare agencies and the constraints under which they operated, including the possibility that their public funds could be put at risk if used for direct advocacy. He wanted to create a new vehicle for more strident forms of action without duplicating the work of existing social welfare agencies. I was just graduating from CUSSW, and he and Frances Fox Piven, his partner and collaborator, asked me to staff what would become known for a short period as the Emergency Campaign to Save Human Services. Paying me out of their pockets, Richard and Frances gave me my first organizing job when I finished graduate school. The position opened doors for me throughout the New York City and national social welfare community.

In 1983, when President Reagan received an award from the National Council of Christian and Jews at the New York Hilton, the Emergency Campaign network organized a rally to protest Reagan's proposed cuts in school lunch programs. The President was trying to redefine nutrition to include kitchen table condiments such as ketchup and mustard. We planned to use a flat bed truck as the stage. But the Emergency Campaign's steering committee member who ordered the truck ordered it from Brooklyn. Sure enough, the truck was delayed on the Brooklyn Bridge and didn't get to the New York Hilton on time. This truck became a metaphor in our political work for years to come: "Make sure the truck shows up!" I can still hear it now. It is a lesson I have never forgotten.

Shortly thereafter, Richard and Frances had a new idea, and they turned their attention to building support for the social and health programs by focusing on registering millions of poor people who depend upon these programs to vote. They argued that welfare agencies and motor vehicle departments should offer voter registration services at intake as a way to bring millions of low income and minority voters into the electorate. This type of voter registration was called agency based voter registration.

An early version of their article outlining this strategy was entitled "Toward a Class Based Realignment of American Politics." Excited about the idea, Richard asked me to read and comment on the draft during one of our regular evening meetings, section by section. All I could think about was the article Richard and Frances published roughly 20 years earlier called a "Strategy to End Poverty," which appeared in *The Nation* and gave rise to the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). And the uncommon humility of a scholar and activist of Richard's stature asking a 20-something, fresh out of graduate school, to comment on his work.

We shared a taxi ride up to Harlem the following week and discussed the article again. He told me I was about to go on the ride of my life. And he was right. We transformed the Emergency Campaign to Save Human Services into the Human Service Employees Registration and Voter Education Campaign (Human SERVE). I would become its first staffer.

Richard taught me to test the waters before undertaking projects, and to keep checking the temperature. That seems to be little more than common sense. But history is filled with policy advocates and in particular academics, who generate seemingly good ideas and solutions to problems that have absolutely no grounding in real world politics. Sensitive to drawing scant money away from other organizing work, Richard was careful not to raise money or build coalitions for projects until there was a basis to assess their value and the possibility of achieving their goals.

And so it was that in the coming months he and Frances tested the agency-based voter

registration idea. They held a series of meetings with a range of constituent groups; ACORN founders, leading social welfare community executives, religious leaders including William Sloane Coffin, philanthropists brought together by David Hunter and Richard Boone, students, and as many relevant constituent groups as possible.

Community organizers did not need to be sold on the value of bringing into the electorate millions of low income and minority voters. They wanted to talk nuts and bolts: Was it possible? How long did it take to register a person to vote? Would there be trouble accessing enough voter registration cards to do this on a scale that mattered? Because of these discussions, I learned about an historic difference in orientation between community- and movement-oriented organizers that shaped my approach to organizing throughout my career.

This difference was about the role of organization and the extent to which organizers can control the direction of campaigns, particularly those that revolve around class conflict and race. Community and labor organizers typically approach campaigns in building block fashion, building organization along the way. Indeed, sometimes they use issues primarily as an organizational building-block. Moreover, community organizers believe that the stronger the organization, the more ability it has to influence the outcome of a fight. Richard and Frances argued the opposite is true in an influential book called *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (1977). In it, they analyzed movements and the role of organizations, and they make the case that political influence begins to diminish when organizers shift their focus away from campaigns and the disruption they cause to building organization.

Richard used to say that strategies are like corks in the ocean. Organizers pop them into the sea and try to direct them, but ultimately, it is the tides that move them in one direction or another. Organizers are key to the success of any mobilization, but it is movements, through their capacity to disrupt economic and political alignments, that sometimes shape national legislation such as the New Deal and civil rights

laws.

Human SERVE initiated many campaigns over the next 17 years. It sought executive orders from big state governors, litigated to implement agency-based voter registration, and promoted national legislation. Human SERVE's idea was eventually incorporated into the National Voter Registration Act and became law in 1993. On stage with then-President Clinton at the signing ceremony, Richard and Frances reflected that "this legislation represents an historic advance in the struggle to win full enfranchisement for low-income people and people of color. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 stopped government from preventing people from registering to vote. This act goes further by embodying the principle that government has an affirmative obligation to register the eligible electorate."

I left Human SERVE in the mid-1980's and went to work for the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), one of the few unions organizing low-income and minority workers. Shortly thereafter, I talked with Richard about the 1960's welfare rights strategy embraced by the NWRO. We discussed his and Frances' research on the number of poor women who were eligible to receive benefits but had not applied for them. I thought it stood to reason that, with the growth of the low-wage service sector, there also might be tens of thousands of low wage workers who were eligible to receive benefits but had not applied, partly because they were working and didn't know they would be eligible. If unions were to link these workers to benefits, the unions' prospects for organizing them to receive additional benefits and pay increases through a contract might be enhanced. In retrospect, I learned the history of the welfare rights movement and applied its ideas to current political realities.

Richard had the unusual ability to turn big ideas into action. His understanding of history informed more than his theories. He helped organize new campaigns through which to apply them. His theory in *Delinquency and Opportunity* gave rise to MFY. The strategy that he and Frances developed to flood the welfare roles with welfare recipients gave rise to the NWRO, and their agency based voter

registration strategy to bring millions of low income people and people of color into the electorate gave rise to the Human SERVE Campaign and the National Voter Registration Act. Frances and Richard not only helped organize these campaigns but raised money to support them, as well.

Thus, it made sense that Richard encouraged me to pursue my ideas regarding the entitlements of the working poor to welfare. Eventually, the Poverty Race Research Action Center funded my research that demonstrated that tens of thousands of low wage workers were eligible to receive benefits but were simply not applying for them.

Richard died of cancer on August 20, 2001. He was 74 years old. We celebrated his life and work one month later on September 20, 2001. Five hundred people came together at the celebration and heard from his friends and colleagues: former Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport, who was a child at one of the nation's first integrated summer camps where Richard was a counselor; Howard Zinn, Barbara Ehrenreich, Cornel West, Diane Dujon, Tim Sampson, Terry Mizrahi, Alex Gitterman and many others. Each reflected on Richard's life and work in the anti-poverty program, the national welfare rights movement, and the Human SERVE voter registration effort, as well as on his major writings.

I think of Richard often, my mentor and friend, who gave his student so many of his gifts. His life and ideas are a vivid part of my own. I hope to make him proud.

For information on how to obtain a copy of the video of the celebration please e-mail kgrossin@aficio.org.

Proceeds will be used to strengthen grassroots welfare rights organizing.

RICHARD A. CLOWARD: 1926-2001

Bill Pastreich

Bill Pastreich is currently an organizer with the AFL-CIO

We organizers generally think that organizers are a pretty great bunch, but Richard Cloward didn't always share the admiration we have for ourselves. He and his wife and collaborator, Fran Piven, wrote in the introduction to *Poor People's Movement*, "When workers erupted in strikes, organizers collected dues cards; when tenants refused to pay rent and stood off marshals, organizers formed building committees; when people were burning and looting, organizers used that 'moment of madness' to draft constitutions." That's a sample of the clarity and honesty that changed the history of welfare activism in this country.

When I first met Richard, in 1968, I had just begun organizing for the Massachusetts Welfare Rights Organization. He and Fran were already the intellectual conscience of the movement, frequently appearing at National Welfare Rights meetings and conventions, where they were free to wander into any meeting or workshop. Richard was always smarter than anyone else in the room (except perhaps Fran), so his criticism counted with all of us.

We organizers were proud of our success in turning out large numbers of welfare "ladies" for demonstrations and obtaining tremendous quantities of furniture and clothing for them. Richard was less impressed, arguing forcefully that we were missing the boat in two ways: we were organizing the welfare recipients instead of the far larger population of potential welfare recipients – working men who were eligible; and we were not disrupting the system enough – we needed to cost the government a lot more and to demonstrate a lot tougher. I

think our demonstrations included enough large-scale civil disobedience and arrests so that Richard forgave me, and perhaps even liked me.

In 1969 he convinced me to organize working men in Massachusetts to get them on welfare to collect on special grants. He and Fran advised and funded the venture and arranged that Mike MacDonald (Dwight MacDonald's son) cover the event for the *Village Voice*. That project became the very successful New Bedford Wage Supplement Organization.

Over the next 30 years of my organizing career, Dick was always there to push me to work with welfare recipients and to encourage me and countless other organizers to move people into the streets.

Professor Richard Cloward supported and encouraged our movement with a loyalty that never wavered. His prestige as a scholar, and his articles and speeches, gave us a standing in the world well beyond anything we could get in the streets and welfare offices. In my work, and in the work of countless others, his warm, tough, and incredibly intelligent spirit kept us striving, always fearful that we might become, for him, just "organizers." He is gone now, but that spirit will continue to live at the heart of the battle for social justice.

RICHARD A. CLOWARD: TEACHER AND MENTOR

Marcia B. Cohen

Professor Cohen is a faculty member at the School of Social Work at the University of New England. She is one of the founding editors and one of the Collective editors of the Journal of Progressive Human Services. She was a student and colleague of Professor Cloward.

Richard Cloward's death in August of 2001, though not unexpected, shook me deeply. I knew I was but one of many students of Richard who were having similar reactions. I am using the term "student" loosely here to include everyone who learned from his work, a very large number of radical social workers, sociologists, and social activists. Many of us came together to honor Richard in New York City in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, not a time that most of us would have traveled to New York for any other reason.

But I was also Richard's student in the literal sense of the word. I transferred to Columbia University School of Social Work after my first year at Catholic University, in part because I wanted to study with Richard Cloward. My first semester at Catholic was a very isolating and alienating experience. This was the early 1970s; for the most part, the sixties hadn't really ended yet, except on the calendar. But, most of my professors were liberals, at best, and some of my classmates were downright conservative. I remember one young woman in my policy class talking about "those people," (her clients) who turned out to be poor, Puerto Rican people who were, in her words, "so stupid, lazy, and ignorant that they stored their food in the bathtub." I felt sick to my stomach hearing her spew her classist, racist talk. I questioned whether I belonged in this field that I had assumed embraced political organizing and fighting poverty, not attacking the poor.

A week or two later I picked up a book my policy professor had assigned. A new book, called *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (1971) by Frances Fox

Piven and Richard Cloward. For the first time since I entered graduate school in social work, I felt like someone was speaking my language, speaking my truths, speaking to me. In addition to affirming my perceptions, the book significantly deepened my understanding of poor relief and its latent functions, answering many questions I had been struggling with. I decided to stay in social work and to transfer to Columbia, hoping to take as many courses as possible with Richard.

I remember Tuesdays at Columbia in the fall semester of 1973. The leaves crackled under my feet as I walked through the campus to Dodge Hall, to Richard's evening class on the "Politics of Social Welfare." I had just spent the afternoon in a different classroom, in the School of Social Work, Richard's "Deviance" course. In the "Politics of Social Welfare" Richard taught from and generously shared copies of a manuscript he and Frances were currently working on, which was the early draft of what was to become *Poor People's Movements* (Piven & Cloward, 1977). The chapter that interested me most was on the tenants' rights movement, which somehow never made it into the final version but foreshadowed and influenced my subsequent interests in homelessness and housing.

Richard was a brilliant professor, who made historical events and concepts come to life. He was also a fiery one, whose rage at social injustice and inequality fueled our learning as much as his theoretical analysis. Although his demeanor could be gruff and somewhat imposing, he was at ease in the classroom where he shared very personal information with his students, including his battles with alcoholism

and his involvement in AA (this kind of self-disclosure was hardly the norm at Columbia at that time). He was charismatic and I was completely enthralled.

One Tuesday evening in October, I was walking to class, when I realized the person walking right behind me was Richard Cloward. His characteristic stride and his black leather jacket were unmistakable. I felt intimidated, awestruck. But, I couldn't just pretend he wasn't there. I was eager to talk with him, yet overcome with shyness. I had talked with him after class, along with other students, and had even been to his and Frances' apartment with a group of other activist students. But this seemed different, more out of context, more intimate.

As he strode by me on the campus green, I summoned up the courage and said "Hello." We walked to class together, chatting a little, mostly about my interest in his writing on tenants' rights. By the time we got to Dodge Hall, we seemed to have run out of things to say. It was an uncomfortable elevator ride to the fourth floor. Many years later, I learned that Richard's social awkwardness in one-on-one situations was not atypical, nor was it reserved for very young, hero worshipping students.

As I have already mentioned, Richard and Frances' apartment, right near school on Claremont Avenue, was a favorite gathering place for social work students. The early 1970s was a time of considerable foment at Columbia and elsewhere. In the salon-like atmosphere of Richard and Frances' beautifully appointed living room, we analyzed the welfare rights movement, contrasted Richard's teachings with what we were learning in other classes, raised questions, debated thorny issues, and plotted strategy. It was a heady time and place to be a radical social work student.

The night before I received my Master's degree in social work from Columbia, I was with other students at the welfare office at a protest, which had been primarily been organized by Richard. We held a rally where we demanded benefits, staged an all night sit-in in the office of the Welfare Commissioner, and made the 11PM news. This was the kind of send off into the social work profession I

had come to Columbia for.

Several years later (1976) when David Wagner and I were in the early stages of forming a radical social work journal, Richard was the obvious person to go to for advice. (I barely knew David then, but I liked his politics and we shared a connection with Richard. He later became my partner in the journal and in life). David had previously broached the embryonic idea for the journal with Richard, finding him to be quite encouraging. Richard was very supportive of our early efforts with *Catalyst: A Socialist Journal of the Human Services*. The original *Catalyst* collective was composed of young neophytes who knew very little about publishing a radical social work journal. Some of the early success of the journal, still in publication today more than 25 years later as the *Journal of Progressive Human Services (JPHS)*, was the direct result of Richard's sage advice and helpful contacts. Not atypically, at the time of his illness and death, Richard was an active member of the *JPHS* editorial board.

In the late 1970s, I became a doctoral student at the Florence Heller School at Brandeis University. Richard had been one of the Columbia faculty who wrote me a reference for my Brandeis application. Following Roland Warren's retirement, Richard applied for what had been Roland's position. It was 1979 and Richard was still seeking a job in the Boston area, having run afoul of John Silber and the conservatism at Boston University where he had previously applied. Frances was teaching at BU and Richard was commuting to Columbia from their home in Chelsea, Massachusetts.

With the notable exception of David Gil, the Heller School was somewhat of a wasteland for radical students in that period, so the prospect of having Richard join the faculty was extremely appealing to many of us. I remember being pleased that Richard remembered me as his former student and sought me out for any information I could provide about his prospects in the hiring process. I tried to be helpful, but sadly, the ideological lines had already been drawn. It was a major disappointment to the student body when Brandeis failed to hire Richard, despite

the positive recommendation of the faculty.

The Brandeis debacle had one positive, if unintended, consequence for me. My connection with Richard was reestablished, and his role as my mentor became more fully formed. I had begun to mature beyond the hero worshiping stage, which probably helped. When I asked him for assistance in choosing a dissertation topic, he promptly invited me to dinner at their house in Chelsea, saying that Frances would also want to help. They were gracious hosts and very generous with their suggestions. We brainstormed about the researchability of a variety of historical social welfare topics, all of which interested me. What sticks in my mind most about that evening was Richard and Frances' openness in sharing their vast store of knowledge with me, and also (however irrelevant) Frances' hash brown potatoes. I also remember driving over the Tobin Bridge on my way back to Worcester where David and I lived, pinching myself to be certain I hadn't dreamt the evening up.

We returned to New York City, as did Richard and Frances. As fate would have it, I ended up on the faculty at Columbia University School of Social Work, placing me back in Richard's orbit. I did not have extensive contact with him during this period. He was very involved with Human SERVE and I was focused on my work with homeless people. But we were colleagues now and it always felt good to know he was around. Although David (also at Columbia) and I rarely saw Richard and Frances in New York City, we often spent our summer vacations in upstate New York, not far from their country home in Millerton. We visited back and forth on several occasions, deepening our relationships with these two very special people. We listened to war stories about the 1960s at Columbia, argued about the voter registration strategy, and ate fresh vegetables from Frances' garden. Neither my sense of awe around Richard nor his apparent discomfort in one-on-one communication had completely disappeared. We had wonderful conversations as a foursome, but I often felt awkward and at a loss for words when it was just Richard and I. Having to call him on the phone was always a great occasion for anxiety.

In the fall of 1985, Richard had a severe heart attack. I felt devastated, unable to imagine a world without Richard Cloward in it. He pulled through and a large portion of the social work community breathed a collective sigh of relief. The first time I saw Richard, after his discharge from the hospital and return to work, was at a Columbia faculty holiday party. I became so filled with emotion at seeing him alive that I lost all my inhibitions and hugged him, hard. He seemed surprised. I believe that is the only physical contact we ever had.

Shortly after that party, while reflecting with relief on Richard's recovery, I had the sobering thought that one day Richard would die. I'm not sure why I even thought about it, since it seems so obvious that we are all quite mortal. I was just struck with the awareness that we had simply been given a reprieve, that one day there would be a world without Richard Cloward.

Once we moved to Maine in the late 1980s, my contact with Richard and Frances became more sporadic. But the relationship of teacher, mentor, colleague, and friend was firmly in place. The last time I saw Richard was in 1998 at a Council on Social Work Education Annual Program Meeting in Orlando, Florida. We bumped into each other at a reception for the Association for Community Organization and Social Administration (ACOSA). He bought me a beer. It was great to see Richard again. I realized that I actually felt at ease with him.

I cherish all of my memories of my wonderful teacher and mentor, from his black leather jacket and our awkward conversation on the way to Dodge Hall, to the beer he bought me in Orlando twenty-five years later. I am probably most indebted to Richard, as well as Frances, for providing me with a critical analysis that made sense out of the social welfare system and was in concert with my ideological perspective. When I was a graduate student, it all but kept me from drowning. Now that I am a scholar and a teacher, it has proven to be a most useful conceptual framework.

When I graduated from Columbia, I made a vow to myself that I would someday teach social welfare history and that when I did, I would use *Regulating the Poor* as a text. I have now been teaching that course and using

that book for well over a decade (I was grateful for the updated edition in 1993). Each time my students read *Regulating* and explore Richard and Frances' framework, I see the look of the "aha" experience spread over many of their faces. Some tell me they had suspected that something like this was going on, that public assistance was being used to manipulate poor people and serve the needs of a capitalistic economy, but they lacked the concepts to fully understand it. Others say almost the opposite, that the book opened their eyes to ideas and realities they had never even contemplated before. I am humbled by the richness of the legacy I have been given to share.

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Two Haiku for Richard

I.
Mentor and teacher,
your teachings inspire, endure
they have guided mine.

II.
I remember you best
in your black leather jacket,
you taught me so much.

RICHARD A. CLOWARD

Shannon Flynn

Shannon Flynn was a student in Richard Cloward's last class before he retired. This was presented at his memorial session.

I was lucky enough to be in Professor Cloward's last class in spring of 2001. I came home from the first class and told my roommate that being able to take this kind of class was the reason I had come to graduate school. I talked so much about him that semester that everyone in my immediate circle felt like they were taking the class too.

The class was consistently engaging and sometimes intimidating. Professor Cloward did not mince words. Once, after our class revealed a painful lack of knowledge about social welfare policy, he likened our ignorance to medical students not knowing what a pancreas is. However, he said, medical students would flunk out and we would graduate with Columbia degrees.

Professor Cloward was a legend at our school and while legends rarely seem to live up to the hype, Professor Cloward exceeded his reputation. He was an inspired and inspiring teacher. He seemed to know everything. He lectured without notes. His syllabus did not have a tidy breakdown of class projects and percentages. It was education at its most pure: an accomplished activist and brilliant teacher passing on what he knew. At the same time, he was authentically interested in what we thought.

Professor Cloward taught us to look below the surface of the institutions that claim to serve those in need. Though it was uncomfortable, he showed us how to examine the true foundations of the welfare state even though it might be more reassuring to believe in the altruism of our government. One of the greatest gifts he shared was his perspective. He was able to look at things and see the real issue.

When asked about the merits of welfare, he said that was the wrong question. The real issue is not whether welfare is good or bad, but is the workplace hospitable? Is it a place where women with children can work?

Towards the end of the semester, he outlined where he saw the future of the labor movement going and the new brand of disruptive dissent that was to be the subject of his next book. What was most incredible to me was that Professor Cloward could spend his whole life working for the rights of people who had been cast aside and still look for new opportunities to shift the balance of power.

At our final class, Professor Cloward announced his retirement. He shared that he did not regret anything in his career, that he would not have changed a thing. And he wished the same for us: a career working for social and economic justice. As he walked out, I think we all realized that we had been extraordinarily privileged to have him as a teacher. For me, as I am sure has been the case for countless other students, his class was a defining moment in my education. I think that all of us, all of his students, carry his example with us. And we will be better for it, better social workers and better people for having been taught by Professor Cloward.

"I DO WHAT I WRITE ABOUT AND I WRITE ABOUT WHAT I DO": A NARRATIVE INTERVIEW WITH RICHARD A. CLOWARD

Joshua Miller

Interviewer's Introduction

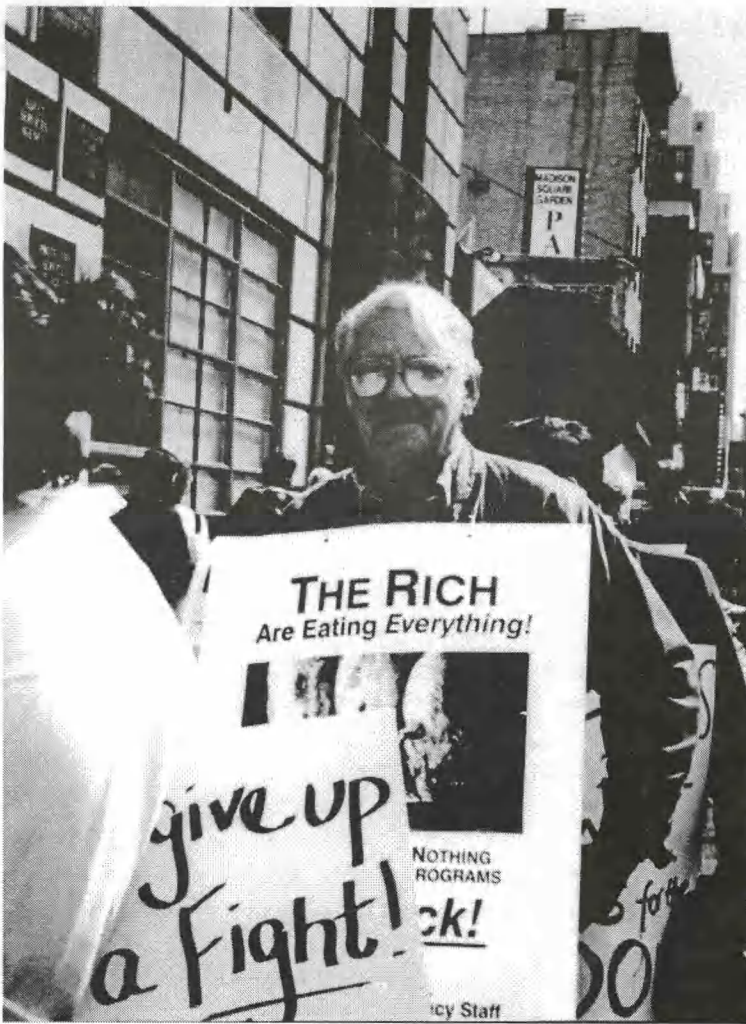
I interviewed Richard at his summer home in upstate New York on three separate occasions during the summer of 2000. He was already weak from lung cancer but was lucid and loquacious. The interviews were taped, transcribed, and edited over the next year. He reviewed the transcripts and made editorial suggestions.

Although the content of the interviews does not always follow chronological contours, I resisted my impulse to cut and paste in order to maintain the integrity of the narrative. Sometimes the telling of one story provides a context for understanding other stories, even if they are not in linear sequence. The overall focus of this project was to facilitate a narrative process where Richard could, in his own words, relate the history of his career, discuss his seminal ideas, describe his partnership with Frances Fox Piven, and reflect on the meaning of his professional experience. Although I had questions before the first interview and generated many more as the interviews progressed, the sessions were really conversations between us. Richard was a very articulate and colorful storyteller and did not need a lot of prompting or shaping from me. When editing the transcripts, I tried to eliminate redundancies and prune what appeared to me (and Richard) to be digressions from the central focus. Ellipses indicate the splicing of sentences that were not directly contiguous. Brackets indicate words that I have inserted to try to clarify meaning.

I have divided this interview into four sections. The first, *The Accidental Criminologist*, relates Richard's fortuitous

placement at a prison during the Korean War and the genesis of his ideas about inmate culture and social structure that led to his consideration of how illegitimate opportunity shaped gang behavior. He also describes how Mobilization For Youth evolved from a gang project to an anti-poverty initiative. The second section, *Roots and Career Choices*, explores his family and community influences and how he ended up studying both Sociology and Social Work. Cloward and Merton, the next section, is a detailed description of the intense and complex relationship between the two sociologists. The last section, *The Tenure Wars*, warrants a few clarifying comments.

Being a radical thinker and activist can lead to threats to one's career, particularly for academics. Tenure can be a protection against political retaliation; however, achieving it can be a bitter struggle, as both Cloward and Piven found. In the 1970's both were engaged in major tenure battles that lasted for nearly 10 years. The first struggle was Piven's successful attempt to gain tenure at Columbia University School for Social Work in 1971-72. She then left to teach at Boston University in Political Science but found herself locked in another bitter tenure struggle at Columbia, this time unsuccessful, when Peter Marcuse attempted to recruit her to join the Urban Planning Department. She taught at Brooklyn College for one year during 1975-76 while still on the faculty of B.U. Upon her return to B.U., Cloward tried to get a teaching job in the Boston area but lost tenure battles at Boston University (while Piven was fighting to have the President of the University, John Silber, removed) and Brandeis. The latter sparked a



storm of protest that received major media attention and letters of protest from organizations such as NASW, ACLU, the American Association of University Professors, and from scores of Deans and Professors of Social Work, Sociology, History, and Social Welfare, including Mitchell Ginsberg, Herbert Gans, Michael Harrington, Lee Rainwater, Howard Becker, Edwin Schur, Herbert Gutman, and Walter Trattner.

This is the first of three narrative interviews with Richard Cloward. The remaining two will be published in *The Journal of Community Practice* (at Richard's request) and *The Journal of Progressive Human Services* (which, according to Cohen, he encouraged and supported). His working relationship with Frances Fox Piven is a major focus in the third interview of this series. Frances was present in the house during all three of the interviews and would occasionally

join in the discussion.

In these interviews, I hope that readers who did not know Richard personally will have a sense of the person who wrote so eloquently and fought so courageously for the rights of those most disadvantaged by the structure of social oppression. To paraphrase him, Richard wrote about what he did and did what he wrote about.

The Accidental Criminologist

JM: One of the things that I was thinking about while reviewing your writings and preparing for this interview is that your career has so many different angles to it. You had your sociology career, your involvement with social work, and your activist work. When you think of yourself, how do you even define yourself professionally?

RC: Well, I think of myself as a social scientist. And I think of myself as a social work community organizer. Those would really be the two. Of course, they're integrated. I do what I write about and I write about what I do.

JM: Has it always been that way, or has it evolved in that direction?

RC: I think it has always been basically that way. When I go back to the beginnings of my career...I was, for purely accidental reasons, a criminologist.

JM: How did you get to that point?

RC: I was in the Navy during World War II and discharged. Then the Korean War began and I was recalled in 1950. After World War II, I had finished college, had attended what was then the New York School of Social Work, and received a degree in social work. If I had gone back into the Navy, I would have been an engineer with my training; I went to officer candidate school in the second world war and had been prepared to be a marine engineer officer. I didn't want to go back and do that, so I applied to change branches because the Navy did not commission social workers. They used social workers in shore bases. But the

Army did commission them, so I transferred to the Army and I was commissioned in the medical service as a social work officer and assigned to a prison in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. So I was assigned to this prison, which basically received prisoners from Europe. I was the Chief Psychiatric Social Work Officer in this prison. Earlier, I had also completed course work in sociology for a doctorate at Columbia.

So, I needed a dissertation topic. I kept my eyes peeled as I went about my duties in this prison for a possible topic, and I did subsequently do a study of inmate culture, the results of which had a profound influence on my thinking for the rest of my life. I got out of the service in 1954 and at that time schools of social work had been bitten by the social science bug. They had been very heavily psychoanalytic, and with the burgeoning of social sciences in the post World War II period, as part of the general burgeoning of the university – it was the golden age of the university – they were expanding. There was the GI bill of rights, and women in larger and larger numbers were going to college. The leading schools of social work were looking for Ph.D.s in the allied social sciences – economics, political science, sociology, and anthropology – who were also social workers. Of course, there were virtually none out there, but I happened to be one. I received two or three offers, including Columbia and Michigan, at that time. I was 27 years old. What the schools wanted to do was to tap into social science, sort of graft it on to their psychoanalytical core. It was not in my opinion ever a serious effort to incorporate social science, but they wanted to be able to say that they had it.

So that was how I got into academic life. It was purely fortuitous. It was a result of a shortage of a particular combination of academic training that I happened to have. I hadn't finished my dissertation and was still working on it trying to figure out what the data mean. That went on through the 1950s. I didn't finish the dissertation until 1959. But in the meanwhile, I thought of myself as a criminologist. I had gotten to know a criminologist at the University of Chicago

named Lloyd Ohlin. He was very well known and for whatever reasons, he showed an interest in coming to Columbia and was appointed to the social work faculty. He came, I guess, because he wanted to get out of Chicago and he wanted to work with me, and so we began to work together.

By this time I had begun to do a topography of inmate culture or inmate leadership forms and types, and I had related the inmate leadership types to features of the custodial structure. They didn't just exist in isolation; they existed because the custodial structure made them possible. For example, a man who worked in a clerical position in one of the custodial offices frequently came into possession of information. Information was power in the inmate culture. You could sometimes forecast when there was going to be contraband searches and things like that, which was a very important source of information. If you were assigned to certain kinds of committees, you could sometimes influence who got what custodial work. Committees would decide where inmates were going to be assigned, whether it was the laundry or somewhere else, and sometimes these guys worked as clerks on these committees. Their opinions were sometimes taken seriously by the custodians and they could influence who got what kinds of jobs other inmates received. These were positions of power and information. Or you could work in a situation where you have access to what would officially be defined as contraband – kitchens, and other kinds of shops – so that you are in a position to make off with materials and goods and sell them in the inmate network. That makes possible certain types of leadership positions. In other words, these leadership positions didn't just exist in a vacuum: they were structured by the features of the custodial structure.

When I got out of the service in 1954, the way these leadership types were articulated in the social structure of the prison impressed me enough so that I began to read the juvenile gang literature, which I did not know. It went all the way back to the early 20th century Chicago School criminologists – Sutherland, Thrasher, Shaw, McKay – and right up to the contemporary literature of the time. There was

quite a bit of literature at that time because in the post-World War II period, the gang phenomena had really flowered. It began with the Mexican "zoot-suiters" on the west coast and the big cities in the nation were really experiencing major gang violence. But when I read the literature, I noticed that there were other types of gangs. There weren't just fighting gangs. There were criminal gangs. That's what was typical in the Chicago School literature of the 1920's and 1930's: gangs of kids who rolled drunks and did stuff like that. They didn't fight with one another. They were much more income oriented, instrumental, and so I began to ask myself the question, "If in different parts of the custodial system there were different types of leadership types, maybe you get different types of juvenile gangs in different types of neighborhoods, and different kinds of social structures." I began looking at it this time from the neighborhood social structure, rather than custodial social structure, and it was clear to me that the answer was yes. There were criminally oriented gangs in the older adult crime- oriented neighborhoods, the neighborhoods that had organized crime racketeering and so forth. You didn't get gang violence or gangsters (we are talking now of the language of the early Chicago School). The local gangsters wouldn't tolerate it because it brought the cops; it brought heat, visibility, and publicity. The last thing in the world that they would allow in the neighborhoods was kids fighting with bicycle chains, baseball bats, and that sort of thing. But what these neighborhoods did provide was upward mobility and careers. Kids who excelled in thievery and other forms of theft were noticed by adults who, like in any organizational enterprise, had to recruit new personnel, and so the more talented were afforded an opportunity to rise in the class structure through racketeering or other forms of specialized crime, like professional thievery, confidence games, pickpocket mobs. The point is, it was organized and professional, and only certain people were selected.

I was always fascinated reading Sutherland and some of the other early criminologists because of their depiction of the personality characteristics that people had to have. They had to have talking ability in case

you got yourself in trouble. If you are "boosting" in a department store and the department store detective catches you, you have to have talking ability to get yourself out of those situations. That took nerve, wit, and all sorts of kinds of characteristics. These were the things that they looked for in their selection, and once they selected you, then they taught you: tutelage. That was one of Sutherland's key idea: selective tutelage. I was very impressed by that. There were more criminally oriented gangs. There were some reports in the literature about contemporary gangs like in the old Italian districts of East Harlem, for instance. I knew workers who were working for the New York City Youth Board who were in neighborhoods like that and who saw this sort of gang. But what got all the publicity in this period, the post-World War II period, and particularly in the 1950s when I was beginning to get interested in this, was the warrior cultures. In those cultures, prestige was associated with bravery. There were big gangs of 150 members, and they were age graded with senior and junior members. It was quite a phenomenon while it lasted. I got interested in that. What struck me about those gangs was that they came from neighborhoods that were altogether different than the ones that produced the criminal subcultures. There were disorganized neighborhoods, neighborhoods in transition, and neighborhoods in which minorities were moving. The old social structures were breaking down; people were moving out and newcomers were coming in. There was really no competent adult authority that could suppress the violence and that could offer career mobility. They were disorganized neighborhoods. That is what I wrote about in *Delinquency and Opportunity*. *Delinquency and Opportunity* is a misunderstood book.

JM: In what way?

RC: Well, when everybody talks about it, all they think about is conventional opportunity. I was not interested that. What I was interested in was the way that opportunities for different types of deviant careers were shaped. To finish the criminology part of the story, gangs kept boiling up in the post-World War II period; the

public was screaming bloody murder, and innocent civilians were being killed. You would be walking along the street and all the sudden there would be a gang war going on and some kids would have a wooden rubber band -22, a zip gun, and someone would get shot. An eight-year-old kid would get shot. So what happened was the settlement houses on the lower east side, led by Henry Street, which is a very famous settlement house, decided to take advantage of the situation to raise a lot of money. There had been some particularly high publicity gang fights on the lower east side and a couple of killings of innocent kids just walking home from school. The ministers and everybody organized marches through the lower east side. It was a big deal. Helen Hall of Henry Street Settlement decided that she and the other settlements, the churches, and other organizations – like Educational Alliance, which was the very famous Jewish Agency on the lower east side – to go out and as she put it “to raise the money so that the settlements could do everything they knew how to do at that same time in the same place.” Helen Hall was like second to Jane Addams. That was her theme: let us do everything we know how to do at the same time and in the same place. She called it a saturation approach.

She began going around to foundations but ran into a block. This was in the late 1950's. By this time the social sciences had also infiltrated the philanthropic world. People in the philanthropic world wanted some theory to back up what you are doing. What theoretical basis do you have for believing that these things that you are proposing to do will make any difference? They also wanted evaluative research. They wanted some measuring of results, and the settlements were not in a position to provide either of those. Somewhere along the line, Hall had heard of me and Lloyd and came to us at Columbia.

JM: So she sought you out?

RC: Yes, and she asked us to, in effect, develop a theory and to provide a research design, which Lloyd and I agreed to do. We were at that moment completing *Delinquency and Opportunity*, in 1959. It was published in

1960.

JM: So you were working on *Delinquency and Opportunity* when she approached you?

RC: Yes. It really grew out of the prison studies. It was about how gangs are differentiated by neighborhood social systems. To me that is what it was really about. That is the second half of the book. The first half of the book is about conventional opportunity. It distinguishes between circumstances that predispose people toward gang behavior and the circumstances that shape the gang behavior, in other words the types and the forms. Everyone, of course, was focused on the first. I was focused on the second, but that didn't matter. It was apple pie: delinquency and conventional opportunity. I mean the title of the book was *Delinquency and Opportunity*. If I had titled the book to fit what I thought was important about the book I would have called it *Delinquency and Illegitimate Opportunity*.

So we agreed to [work with Hall]. Once they had us, then we were all able to go to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which had a small anti-gang budget, and make this proposal. What they did was to give us a planning grant. I think we received it in about 1959. It was a couple hundred thousand dollars, and we were able to hire some staff and begin to plan out this mammoth project called Mobilization for Youth (MFY). That is when we hired George Brager as our program director and he, Lloyd, and I wrote the proposal. It is like a telephone book. We submitted it. And John F. Kennedy was elected. Bobby Kennedy had a big interest in children, and they also had a problem with trouble in cities. Kennedy couldn't have been elected without the big city black vote. You read William F. Whyte's *Making of a President* in 1960 and he was unambiguously clear on that point. I don't remember how certain connections got made back in that period, but we got connected to the Kennedy administration.

Bobby [Kennedy] was especially interested in children, so they seized on this idea of big anti-gang projects, and they pushed a bill. It was one of the first bills that the

Kennedy administration pushed through Congress called the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act. It appropriated something like twenty million dollars to set up ten projects in the MFY model in different big cities. MFY was the first to go and was announced from the lawn of the White House by Kennedy in 1961. The Mayor of New York, Wagner, was down there. Everybody was there. It was on the front page of the *Times* with a big picture. The gang stuff was a big deal and that is how MFY got started.

This is where that part of the story ends because within eighteen months it was clear that these anti-gang projects were not even a beginning for what the black communities were demanding from the federal government. Consequently, the gang projects, over night, were transmuted into anti-poverty projects. MFY became the flagship of the anti-poverty program. The anti-poverty program was actually passed in 1964, but MFY went into business in 1962. We set up and started the gang programs in 1962, so it had hardly gotten started when it was redefined as an anti-poverty project. So that was the end of criminology for me – I no longer defined myself as a criminologist. From that point on, I began to think of myself much more as studying the politics of social welfare because this was a period of political turmoil.

JM: Now, this sounds like a real crossroads here, and we could move forward, but if I don't interrupt your train of thinking, I'd like to go back and fill in a few blanks. One of the things I am interested in is your research. When you were doing research, particularly in prisons, how did you do it? Were you doing interviews, or were you doing observations?

RC: Yes, I was doing interviews. I interviewed prisoners about leadership and about how the system worked and what it was like.

JM: Were they semi-structured interviews, like having conversations with them?

RC: Yes. They weren't highly structured. I was feeling around. Some of them were

conversations, and I got to know some of the inmates. They were in and out of the section that I ran. Whenever they came up for parole, they had to come in and be officially processed. Then our section made recommendations on whether they would be given parole and be restored to the service, or be discharged. They were in and out and I got to know them. Then, when I began to see a little more clearly how things worked, I began to do more structured interviews.

JM: Did you just remember the conversations and write them down?

RC: Yes. I wrote them down and dictated them.

JM: Were people from different racial backgrounds or were they mostly white?

RC: It was half [white] and half [black].

JM: You said when you were working in prisons was when you had a major intellectual transformation or development, that the study of inmate culture really affected your thinking.

RC: Access to different forms of deviant behavior, whether it is gang types, inmate types, or any other form of aberrant behavior, is controlled by features of the social structure.

Roots and Career Choices

JM: Going back even further before you joined the Army, how did you end up going to social work school? What led you in that direction?

RC: Well, I didn't start in that direction. I started out in high school thinking that I was really oriented towards engineering, physics, or the hard sciences.

JM: Were you good at those subjects?

RC: Yes. I tended to neglect English, history, and related subjects.

JM: Where did you go to high school?

RC: I went to school in Auburn, New York, in the Finger Lakes region.

JM: Is that where your father had his ministry?

RC: Yes. So that is how I thought of myself, but then, of course, the war started and I graduated from high school when I turned seventeen, and the next day I went into the service. I went into Officer Candidate School.

JM: When did you do that?

RC: In 1943. I went to the University of Rochester Officer Candidate School. ROTC they called it. I was there for a year. I studied engineering, and then I went on a ship from the Brooklyn Navy Yard for six or eight months, but the war was really over by then. I came along at the end of the war, and then I was discharged.

JM: Was that an influential experience in any way?

RC: No, but I did decide somehow during that period that I didn't want to be an engineer.

JM: While you were at sea?

RC: Yes. I really wasn't into it. I didn't want to be an engineer. What I thought about was that I wanted to *do* something social.

JM: Why? Where did that come from?

RC: Well, you could blame that on my parents if you went back. My parents were very social. My father was a community-oriented [Baptist] minister. He had been a conscientious objector in World War I and volunteered to drive an ambulance in France. He came back and decided to go into the ministry. My father was a Norman Thomas Socialist and he was also trained in the Social Gospel Tradition at Colgate Rochester Divinity School. My mother was also very much oriented towards social justice concerns. She was one of the early feminists. She got an

award from NOW when she was 75 years old.

JM: What were some of the issues that she was working on when you were younger?

RC: Well, she was working on the ERA and that type of thing. She took a job when she graduated from college in 1919 in the ERA office in Washington, DC. She typed the first draft of the ERA. So there were those influences that were there. I had this vague sense that I wanted to do something social, and this was how I got into social work. The war ended, and I was discharged around May of 1945. I was in the army for 2 years, 2 months, and 2 days. Then I heard about a summer camp that was run by a black minister in Harlem named James Robinson. I got a job as a counselor that summer and then in the fall I went back to the University of Rochester for a year. Now you have to understand that I basically never went to college. I was in Officer Candidate Training. It was very much military oriented, but still they were college credits being given by a university. Then after the war, if you were still alive, you got three points and if you went overseas you got points, etc. I returned to school and I took sociology for one year at the University of Rochester, and then got my bachelor's.

JM: That is when you first had exposure to sociology?

RC: Yes. So I never really went to college.

JM: Did that one year turn on any light bulbs, or was that also not a major influence for you?

RC: There were no light bulbs, but I did go on with friends of mine, Mark Battle and Bill Myers, to start a small settlement house. My parents had a ministerial family friendship with a family in Rochester, a close relationship with them. When this minister realized that I had come to Rochester, he asked me to come down to his office one day. It was an old, big Protestant church that had an associated building with a gym and a lot of other rooms. It

had been quite an operation at one time, but it was now surrounded by ghetto, and all the whites had departed. So the church was just hanging on. He took me around the building and showed me the gym and he said, "Why don't you try to do something to use this space for the neighborhood children to set up some kind of a program." I talked to Bill and Mark, and everyone agreed that we should have a go at it. So we began to hang around the neighborhood and talked to parents, and they liked the idea. So, they used to come down at night and clean the place up. They painted the rooms. So we started a little settlement house.

JM: This was after you graduated from college?

RC: No, this was during my senior year. It was during the one year that I was back at school. So we started a settlement house. We knew all the parents. They had pinochle clubs, and we were really able to make some very good friends among some of the men. So, we ran this settlement house and recruited kids from college to come down and run arts and crafts. I knew about this camp run by the YMCA in the Finger Lakes that I had attended as a child and had eventually worked at as a counselor. They only used it in July but not in August. It was a camp with big tents with eight bunks in them for seven kids and a counselor. There were about a hundred campers. I thought we should try and have a camp program in August with the kids we were working with. So we proposed the idea to some businessmen. They went for it, gave us some money, hired buses, and paid for the food. The parents took their vacation time to be counselors.

There were two ghettos in Rochester on opposite sides of town, and the one on the opposite side of town from us had a very famous settlement house called the Baden Street Settlement. They hired a graduate of the New York School of Social Work named Irving Kriegsfeld. Because I was messing around with this stuff, like the summer camp and running this sort of a settlement house on the other side of town, I got to know him. He told me about graduate schools of social work,

but at the same time, also as a result of this messing around, I got to know the head of the Rochester Community Chest and Council. One of the questions that I put to him was whether I should go to a school of social work or should I get a Ph.D. in sociology, like at Columbia. He suggested I get the Ph.D. and, for whatever reasons, that was the advice that I chose. I applied to Columbia for sociology and was accepted. I appeared down there in 1949.

JM: Why did you choose Columbia? Was it because it had so many eminent sociologists? Was there something about the school that attracted you?

RC: I really don't know. I guess it was just the name. So I went to Columbia and I was there for two years, 1949 and 1950, during which time I did all my course work. Then I got recalled to the Korean War. I must say I studied under some sterling people: Robert S. Lynd, who was teaching a course on business as a system of power, which I was very impressed by; C. Wright Mills was developing his new "Men of Power" and all those books; and Paul Lazarsfeld taught methodology. The Sociology department at Columbia at that time was a stellar department.

JM: You told me a story once about somebody's class that you went to.

RC: Yes, that was Lynd.

JM: Tell me about it again.

RC: Well this was the beginning of the McCarthy period, about 1949 and 1950. I had signed up for Lynd's course on business as a system of power. Lynd was a radical. He was an old-fashioned, indigenous, American Radical and populist. I was in his class, it was my first semester at Columbia, and I was a little shaky.

JM: Shaky in what way? Were you anxious?

RC: Well, I felt like the barefoot boy from the country who had come to the big city with all these high-powered academics. I was a little

on edge. Anyway, I decided to do a term paper on the American labor movement, specifically on the business unionism of American labor as distinct from the more political unionism of European labor. This was not an easy subject for me. I didn't know anything about it. I tended to sit in the back of the classroom. I had met a guy in the class and the two of us sat together, and I came into the last class with this term paper. I was really nervous about it. Well, Lynd came in that last class, and lo and behold, he decides to lecture on the same subject. I had a Bond's suit with two pairs of pants. You could buy a Bond suit for \$25. I had it on. It was like a pin stripe, and so I am sitting back there in my pin stripe gray business suit and he begins lecturing on the same subject, and he is making some of the same points that I made. I began nudging this guy, flipping pages, and pointing to the passages that were like what Lynd had just said. I was really living it up there in the back seat. My anxiety was so relieved, and all of a sudden Lynd runs up out of his chair – he was a short man and the room was a long rectangular room and I must have been thirty rows down – and he points down over all these heads and yells, "Get out of here!" Well, the class was transfixed. Nobody knew who he was pointing to. He was certainly pointing in my general direction, but there were other people in my general direction too, so when nobody moved – there was an aisle down the side – he ran half way down the aisle and then it was clear that he was pointing at me. "Get out of here!" he yelled. I staggered to my feet, I staggered down the aisle, and I staggered out the door. I couldn't imagine what the hell had happened. I waited until class broke up and I went back in. In the meanwhile, the guy that I knew, my friend, had gone up to him and told Lynd that he made a terrible mistake. So when he saw me walk back in he ran over to me and apologized. The mistake had been this: he had gotten a call that morning from a friend of his who was the labor editor at *Business Week*. *Business Week* had decided to do a big piece on Reds on Campus, and so Lynd came into class looking for somebody, and there I am in my \$25 Bond suit with two pairs of pants, giggling and shuffling papers around. The funny thing about that is – this

has to do with how I got into the School of Social Work – I walked around the campus and I had become a person of notoriety, and professors and others, who I guess I had been described to, would stop me and say, "How's Lynd?" I didn't know how the f___ he was! After I got out of social work school I spent one year working in a settlement house and as I was walking down the street in Pittsburgh one day, all of the sudden a guy on the other side of the street yells, "You were kicked out of Lynd's class!"

JM: So when everyone on campus asked you how Lynd was doing, were they just razzing you?

RC: Well, it was the McCarthy period and they were concerned. The red scare was really sweeping the country. Anyway, Lynd wrote me a nice note. I had decided that same year that I didn't really want a sociology career. I watched these guys who lectured, did research, and they wrote books. It is not that I wasn't interested in doing those things, but somehow it wasn't enough. I wanted to do something more social. It was still that vague.

JM: But you felt that strongly about it?

RC: Yes, I still felt that, and so in the course of that year I met a couple social workers, like Murray Ortof. He was at the New York School of Social Work, and of course I had known about these schools from Kriegsfeld, back on Baden Street, so I decided "What the hell. I will apply." I had had one year of graduate sociology classes at Rochester, and one graduate year at Columbia, and I just decided to go directly into a school of social work. At that time it was very hard to get in because all the guys were back from overseas and everybody was going to graduate school. I think they were accepting one in five applicants.

JM: Was it harder to get into social work school than into school for sociology?

RC: I don't remember. All I remember is that they were taking one in five, so I went back for an admissions interview with an

admissions woman. She was a middle-aged, white-haired matriarch who sat there behind her desk. Jesus, she was like a glacier! When she learned that I had been at Columbia doing sociology and things like that, she said, "I think you are an intellectualizer, you won't do well at this school." I think if it had been left to her, I wouldn't have gotten in because I hadn't had any psychotherapy, and that is what they were really looking for. They were looking for people who had a couple years of psychotherapy. They made that very plain.

JM: They were still very psychodynamic?

RC: They weren't still – this was the period when they were really developing it! It was the period of Gordon Hamilton, Florence Hollis, and Lucille Austin, and they were the leaders in the development of psychiatric casework. I wouldn't have gotten in, but I happened to notice when I was paging through the catalog, the board of trustees. Who was on the board of trustees? Robert S. Lynd! So I wrote Lynd and said I wanted to go to his school and could he help me. Well, I met his secretary a year later while I was at the school, and we had some confidential conversations about things. She looked at my file and she said that letter from Lynd was like no letter she had ever read. It clearly got me in. McCarthyism got me in!

JM: What was Columbia like for you, going from a place where you studied serious sociology to the New York School that was so psychoanalytic? Did you take classes with Gordon Hamilton?

RC: Yes. As a matter of fact, I took courses with a very famous psychoanalyst named Marion Kenworthy, who taught there. The interesting thing about Marion Kenworthy was that my mother, back in the late 1930s, had gotten interested in psychoanalysis, too. She had a mental breakdown and was in a public mental hospital for a while in upper New York State. When she came out, she did some lay analysis and apparently was very successful at it. For several summers, she and my father came to New York, and my father went to Union Theological Seminary and took courses,

and my mother studied with Marion Kenworthy. So now I had reached Columbia, and here was Marion Kenworthy that I had heard about from my mother. The whole time I was there, this includes when I was there as a student and also when I came back three years later as a faculty member in 1954, neither of us ever said a word to each other.

JM: What do you make of that?

RC: I don't know. We would pass each other in the hall, were on committees together, and never said a word to each other. As far as the school experience was concerned, I took a year of group work and a year of casework. When I took the group work, I was assigned to a settlement house in East Harlem called Union Settlement House. Robert Vinter was the Assistant Director and he was my supervisor. It was just a couple of years later that he and I both took academic careers; he went to Michigan and I went to Columbia.

JM: Where was your other field placement?

RC: It was in a foster care and adoption public agency. It was a student unit, and it had eight students and a marvelous experienced supervisor. That was all she did was supervise this unit. I had my ups and downs, but I did all right. There were people in the school who thought I didn't do well. Leah Rich recommended that I be dropped.

JM: Why?

RC: Well, I don't know. I guess it was because my term papers and things like that were more academic than they wanted. The person that saved me from her was Nathan Cohen. He protected me, and otherwise I could have gotten dumped in my second year.

JM: Where did it leave you in the end when you finished social work school?

RC: I took a job in Pittsburgh as a group worker in a settlement house called Soho Settlement House. I was over there a year

and then I got recalled to the military. I didn't have much of an experience, and there wasn't anything notable about it. I don't think I did a particularly good job.

JM: Why do you say that?

RC: Well, I just don't. I was just too inexperienced. I didn't know what the hell I was doing.

JM: It sounds like getting recalled and then ending up at the prison was a major career twist for you.

RC: There is no question about that. And getting a teaching job at Columbia made me an academic. Within social work, I could think of myself as a criminologist. That led to *Delinquency and Opportunity* and *Mobilization for Youth* (MFY).

Cloward and Merton

JM: I am interested in your relationship with Merton: how that developed, what it was like, what influence he had on you.

RC: For some reason that I do not know, while I was studying that year in sociology at Columbia, I didn't take a course with him. I took a course with Lynd, Kingsley Davis, Lazarsfeld, and Seymour Martin Lipset. Why didn't I take a course with Merton? I don't know why. Nobody told me to. I didn't know who he was. I had never met Merton. I don't know what prompted me, but somewhere along the line I had read an article he wrote for which he was probably most famous called "Social Structure and Anomie." He had written it originally in 1937 or 1938 and published it in the ASR. Then after the war, he published a book of essays called *Social Theory and Social Structure* and included it as an upgraded version. That was some time in the late 1940s. A subsequent citation analyses in the 1970s showed that by the 1960s it had become the most cited article in the study of sociology of deviant behavior. Everyone cited it. Well anyway, I read it, and it basically stated the idea that American culture promotes a great

deal of deviant behavior because there are a sort of common or universal success goals that everybody is aspiring towards, but then there are class differentials and varied access to opportunity. This creates a strain toward deviant behavior. Then he had a classification – a very famous classification of deviant types – classified by whether the deviant behavior involved deviating from the goals or from the means. Conformity is the first classification: adherence to the goals and adherence to the means; if at first you don't succeed, try and try again. The second was innovation: still adhering to the goals, but you depart from the means, or you use illegitimate means like economic crime and white collar. The third was retreatism: people give up the fight for conformity and withdraw from society; they are of it but no longer in it, as he put it. They are tramps, hobos, suicide victims, alcoholics, and rebellious people. Rebellion involved rejection of the goals and substitution with a different goal, and rejection of the means and the substitution of different means. It was a minus / plus adaptation. That was his classification. I looked at that classification and I kept saying to myself, "This is a classification, but this classification is independent of any kind of social context." What I had begun to realize from studying inmate culture is that what people can do depends on their concrete historical, social situation.

JM: He didn't put that part in?

RC: No, not at all. Let's take rebellion for example. Rebellion requires that people have some kind of collective capacity and that they are related to each other in some way. They can't be dispersed. Blacks in the plantation south couldn't really rebel because they were too dispersed. So whether you are dispersed or aggregated is a variable that affects whether or not you can be a rebel. It is not just a question of adopting this goal or rejecting this goal because it is not just a matter of individual motivation, but rather a matter of what the concrete social situation makes possible. You can't be a white collar criminal if you don't have a white-collar job. It is as simple as that. But it is also very subtle. Women are so

socialized not to be violent that they don't commit suicide using violent means, but men do. So there you have gender influences controlling access to different means of suicide. And then there are race norms, class norms, religious norms. So I said that Merton only had half the story, and the other half was to figure out what conditions were necessary for these different adaptations to come into being. So I wrote him a letter and I told him he only had the half the story. He just went totally apeshit.

JM: Did he get angry?

RC: No, just the opposite. I got a special delivery letter back asking me to take a three-day pass and to come up to New York. I was in the service then and in the prison.

JM: He didn't know you then?

RC: No, he didn't know me. He told me to come to New York, and so I went and met with him in his office. We talked about the idea. I was very primitive then in my thinking, but I knew that he only had half the story. He recognized instantly that was true. So he tutored me, mentored me, and helped me to think it through so that I could write it up.

JM: Did you have meetings?

RC: Yes, we had subsequent meetings. I thought it through and he spent a lot of time with me. I would write a draft of the article and he would send me back a four page single spaced commentary, line by line. He wanted it to be good because it would be an extension of his work. We had a terrible falling out years later.

JM: I want to hear about that if you feel comfortable telling me about it.

RC: Yes, that was much later. It had to do with academic freedom. Back then, I have to say, that he was generous, and he never even gave me the slightest hint that he was trying to steal the idea, which does happen. Like saying, let's do an article together, and then that is the

end of you. He never said anything like that. Then around 1958 he suggested that I send it to be published; it was the last chapter of my dissertation.

JM: It sounds like it was really coming together from your own research in prison.

RC: Yes, it was. It came out of the research in the prison. This article was called "Illegitimate Means, Anomie and Deviant Behavior." He called the editor of the ASR, Charles Rose, who was at Smith College. Merton also suggested to Rose that he be permitted to write a companion piece in the same issue. There was another article that another guy had written that bore on Merton's work that was being published at the same time. So the article that Merton wrote was about both. My article appeared, and there was Merton's commentary on it. Merton was the high flyer in those days – Merton and Parsons – so it put me on the map. There is no question about that.

JM: You both benefited from it.

RC: Yes, there's no question about that.

JM: Was he a major influence on you back then?

RC: Yes, probably *the* major influence. Frances always said he was too influential.

FP: Merton? (sigh)

JM: Are you going to elaborate on that Frances?

FP: You're the one being interviewed.

JM: I would be interested to know why you felt Merton was too strong an influence on Dick?

FP: I think that Merton was a big booster of sociology as a science. Of course, Merton was at the forefront of the development of this science, and I think that this inflated view of what sociology claimed to do, especially given

the primitive structuralism that dominated sociological thought in the 1950s and 1960s, was blinding and limiting.

JM: He never totally broke free from that?

FP: No. Even to this day he sometimes refers to truths as sociological truths. Right Richard?

RC: Yeah.

JM: Thank you, Frances.

RC: Everything was all related. At the same time I was working with Lloyd Ohlin on juvenile gangs, and the same idea – how different kinds of neighborhood social structures shaped different types of gang formations – and writing *Delinquency and Opportunity*, and applying for money. It was all one big onion.

JM: It sounds very connected.

RC: Those years, from the time that the idea became really clear in my mind, which I would say was around 1957, I was feeling toward it in the prison. It wasn't really until 1955, 1956, and 1957 when I was out that I could really begin to write it and state it. It was partly with Merton's help. At the same time, I was working with Lloyd Ohlin. That was one very big important period, the late 1950s.

JM: How would you describe your relationship with Merton?

RC: Well, at the time it was a very close relationship. We later broke.

JM: It sounds like this was an important relationship for you.

RC: Oh, it was, no question.

JM: It is of interest certainly to me, and I would imagine it would be interesting to other people too, but I only want you to talk about it if you feel comfortable.

FP: Don't forget Merton is still alive, Richard. I think he can still read, too.

RC: Let him read. You were asking me about my relationship back in that period.

JM: Yes, and how it evolved after that.

RC: Well, I am going to talk a little bit more about that period.

FP: Oh, so I am excused?

RC: You can stay if you want. It is up to you. It is a little boring. Anyway, I have forgotten something. While I was back in the prison, from 1951 to 1954 I guess it was, and I was going up periodically to talk with him about the idea, he helped me to develop it. He at that time had gotten a big bowl of money to study the socialization of medical students. It was a very big, important project in sociology at that time, and he had the study going in hospitals and medical schools in different parts of the country. At the same time that I got the offer from Columbia, he offered me a job to go out to the medical school at Case Western Reserve and be his field person there to do interviews, questionnaires, and gather data of various kinds about students. I didn't want to do that. I wanted to go into the School of Social Work.

JM: Was he disappointed?

RC: I don't know, but I mention that only because that decision meant, for all practical purposes, that I wasn't going to follow a sociological career, because if I was going to follow a sociological career I should have taken that job. I was going to follow a career in which sociology was going to play large role, but I was not going to follow a sociological career. I continued to meet with Merton and finally published the dissertation. I think I took the exam in 1959 and published the last chapter, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie and Deviant Behavior." By that time I was involved with MFY. I really had virtually no contact with Merton in the subsequent years. I hardly ever saw him because I followed a different path, and the academic freedom trouble did not come

until around the late 1970s or early 1980s. Frances will help me recall all of that when we come to it. He, on the other hand, had kept a file on everything that transpired between us, and in 1995 he published a chapter on the evolution of his theory, where I played a significant role and sent it to me. This was after I really hadn't seen him for many years because I was involved in other things like the war on poverty, welfare rights, and every other God damned thing in the 1960s and 1970s.

JM: Had you lost touch with each other?

RC: Yes. We had had no contact. I would see him on the street once in while, and then we had this break in the late 1970s. Now we are moving way ahead in the story to 1995. In 1995, a couple of people, Adler and Laufer, decided to do a book of essays on the legacy of Merton and Anomie theory. The book is dedicated to him. He wrote the first article on "Opportunity Structure: The Emergence, Diffusion and Differentiation of a Sociological Concept, 1930s to the 1950s." He was writing about his diffusion of his basic ideas. It is about seventy-eight pages long. I would say one-third of it is about me. He kept everything.

JM: Really. This was unbeknownst to you?

RC: Yes. It is all about my dissertation and about his mentoring of me. He quotes from memoranda that he wrote and that I wrote. Here on page fifty-two he says [reading], "And if Cloward had not yet come upon the basic sociological idea of differential access to illegitimate means then illegitimate opportunities structures I surely had not. When Cloward did come to originate the concept in the final revision of his dissertation he did so by adopting the process of reconceptualization by making explicit the tacit and therefore undeveloped implications of my concept of opportunity structure," and so on. It goes on and on like that. He left nothing out.

JM: What was it like for you to read this?

RC: Well, I was amazed first of all that he kept all that stuff because when I read it I

realized it, was absolutely accurate, but it shows how much he was concerned with the idea, because it was an extension of his.

JM: The book even has hand-written notes from you.

RC: Yes. He reproduced the God damned things.

JM: So you obviously had a very major impact on him?

RC: I think it was a big deal for him. Yes

JM: More than you realized, it sounds like.

RC: Yes, more than I realized at the time. I realized it when I saw [this chapter]. That tells the story better than I can.

JM: [reading] "It is Cloward who takes a permanent place in this retrospective...with collegial regards, Bob Merton."

RC: We hadn't talked to each in twenty years because we had an academic freedom fight.

JM: What did this do for you? You had this break with him twenty years ago and then out of the blue you get this and you could see how significant your relationship and your work with him was.

RC: Well, when I tell the academic freedom story you will see [why I didn't respond].

The Tenure Wars

RC: Frances and I began collaborating in the 1960s. We had a series of problems with tenure beginning toward the end of the 1960s. The first episodes concerned Frances. She was on the faculty at the School of Social Work. It was the beginning of 1966 and we were collaborating. We were involved in the welfare rights movement and a great many people were deeply offended by it. We were generally moving more and more toward a theory of

disruptive protest as the key to understanding the evolution of social welfare policy in the United States. We were moving strongly in that direction and *Regulating The Poor* was published in 1971, which had that theme, and a lot of people were offended by that book [including people at the Columbia University School for Social Work].

JM: Did they feel it was irresponsible?

RC: Yes, they thought it was radical rhetoric. How would you describe what they thought, Frances?

FP: I think they did share a kind of theory of how social progress occurs, and they were at the center of their theory. Their good will and their analyses and their moral perspective and their lobbying were at the center of their theory of history, or at least social welfare history, and *Regulating The Poor* didn't give any attention to their theories at all. It didn't even dismiss them. It ignored them.

RC: The best way to summarize their point of view was Trattner and his textbook, *From Poor Law to Welfare State*. It is a top down, elite theory of social welfare. Anyway, we published [*Regulating the Poor*], and we had published other articles in the 1960s that was a prelude to all this, like "Rent Strike," "Welfare Rights," and "Analyses of the Civil Rights Movement," which put great emphasis on the importance of disruptive protest and civil disobedience.

FP: We published an article called "Disrupting City Services to Change National Priorities," about disruption as a strategy and about the Vietnam War.

RC: It was anti-war. Then in 1977 we published *Poor People's Movements*, which took these themes even further. When was the tenure fight at Columbia? In 1968 or 1969?

FP: No, it was in 1972 when I came up for tenure.

RC: Frances came up for tenure.

Regulating The Poor had been published. It may not have done well at the School for Social Work, but it did very well in the reviews. It made the front page of the *New York Times Book Review*. There was a hell of a fight over her tenure. The ladies...

FP: Oh, that is exactly why they didn't like you, Richard.

JM: What do you mean?

FP: He calls them "the ladies." He and George [Brager] and your father [Irving Miller]...The way they used to talk in those days about the women faculty at the School for Social Work...

JM: It was a different time then, wasn't it?

FP: It was a different time then, but they would just egg each other on, calling them a bunch of dogs, right? That was sort of the main thing.

RC: Well, anyway, [a number of women] got up and read typewritten statements opposing tenure.

FP: You have forgotten something Richard. Can I interject? One of the things that the faculty had against me was that I was associated with Richard. Another thing that they had against me was that they were persuaded that what I did when I taught students was to be critical of social work, which isn't true. Mostly I wanted to teach about the politics of social welfare, but still there was that kind of suspicion of me. But what they really had against me that they could use, in addition to those other things they couldn't really use against me, was my role in the students' strike in 1968. They just sort of saved that up.

RC: There was that famous *Life Magazine* series on the strike. They put out an issue on it. There was one page, in full color, and it shows Frances standing up on the top...

FP: I am climbing up the wall of the math building.

RC: She was climbing up the wall of the math building and Tom Hayden is leaning out of a second floor window. The caption said, "Tom Hayden, noted activist, helps coed into occupied building." Well, everyone knew who was being helped into the building. It was unmistakable. They were just totally pissed out of their minds about that. The students in the School of Social Work went on strike and they carried that picture on a poster.

A delegation of senior faculty went to see Sidney Berengarten, who was the acting Dean at the time, to argue that she should be brought up on charges of conduct unbecoming of a professor. Berengarten told me this. He said that what he did agree to do was to inquire of the President [of Columbia University] whether they were taking any action against any faculty anywhere in the university for anything associated with the student strike. The answer he got from the President was "we are not opening that can of worms." So no action was taken, but they tried to get her up on charges.

JM: So you think a lot of this was professional jealousy [because] you were writing a critical, revisionist version of the history of social policy?

FP: Yes. [The Chair of Social Policy] tried to persuade me to join the social policy group. Even though he tried to force me out of the school through the committee on academic appointments and he was bringing me up on charges, he also tried to persuade me that I really belonged in the social policy area of the school and not in social science area where I was teaching. In other words, I should leave Richard's area and come to his area. The two postures were contradictory.

JM: What do you make of that?

FP: It was professional jealousy.

JM: If you had gone to social policy he would have felt in a sense that you were in the fold?

FP: Yes, and that he would have had more influence on me.

RC: But the only reason that we could think, teach, and write what we did was because we were not in that area. They couldn't touch us. Well, they couldn't touch me because by that time I had tenure, but Frances did not. There was this big tenure battle. She finally got it.

FP: They voted against me in the first vote.

JM: The committee did?

FP: No, the full faculty assembled in all their grandeur and voted against me, and then Mitch Ginsberg [Dean of Columbia at that time] – as I was told the story, I was not there. Actually, you should tell the story Richard because you were there.

RC: Well, he basically said, "I don't agree with her and don't think that she hasn't caused me trouble ...but academic freedom..." He did support her.

JM: They were saying they couldn't justify not doing it.

RC: Yes, how will it look, in effect?

FP: I had a good record. I had been there six years. I had a lot more publications than most people on the faculty.

JM: So there were really no good grounds for denying you tenure?

FP: I don't think so. Well, listen, academics don't need good grounds, they just need good grounds when they are challenged, but otherwise they don't need good grounds.

RC: At that same time, Frances got an offer, a really good offer, from Boston University that doubled her salary and it was in political science.

FP: It was in political science so I didn't

have to contend with this "she is not even a social worker" stuff.

RC: [BU] brought in John Silber as president and along with bringing him in he got the right to appoint ten stars – what he would call stars. Frances was one of them. She would have a big salary, and so she went. That was in 1972?

FP: I got tenure at the School of Social Work and left.

RC: [Then] in 1973 and 1974, Columbia decided to rejuvenate its urban planning department and they brought in as the Director Peter Marcuse, Herbert's son. Peter Marcuse was the head of the Los Angeles Planning Board at that time, but he came under a condition. The condition was that he could appoint several people, and Frances was one of them. The reason for that was Frances had an urban planning degree from the University of Chicago.

JM: In addition to your political science degree?

FP: I don't have a political science degree. I have a master's degree in planning – not in urban planning – but in planning, and a Ph.D. in social science.

RC: For various reasons having mostly to do with children, I wanted to stay in the city. Frances agreed that she would go for the job even though she didn't want it. She wanted to stay in Boston. She wanted to stay in political science, but this was a way to get back to New York.

JM: How many years had you been at BU?

FP: I was there less than one year. It came up the summer after my first academic year.

RC: She went up there in 1972, and this came up in 1973, and in 1974 they convened the departmental committee to decide on tenure. Columbia has a system where the

departmental tenured faculty have to vote first and then it goes upstairs to a specially appointed, one-time committee of five faculty drawn from whatever departments the Provost deems appropriate, and they meet for the purpose of making that single decision and then they disband. They are collateral committees.

FP: Well, actually they took a year to appoint the ad hoc and nobody understood why. The school that had to vote on it was the school of architecture because urban planning was within the school of architecture. They voted for the appointment unanimously, and then the Dean of the school of architecture and Peter Marcuse kept badgering them to appoint the ad hoc committee and they stalled. Meanwhile, Richard went to see Merton.

RC: Well, wait, you have to explain what was going on behind the scenes. People in political science and so forth were just raising holy hell.

FP: They were raising hell about bringing me back, saying, "She believes in disruption and my classes were disrupted" in one letter.

JM: It sounds like a similar reaction that you got from the social work people at Columbia.

RC: Yes. They were pressuring the Provost not to act and not to appoint the committee, and the thing just stalled and stalled. Finally, the following March, they either had to act or be in violation of AAUP rules. McGill, who was the University President, said they had got to act, so they did.

RC: It was a five-person committee and the head of it was [close to Merton]. I went to Merton to ask him to write a letter. [Frances] had to submit names of people who would be solicited for letters. Merton said he would but he did not write a letter.

FP: That was made much of by the committee.

JM: He had told you that he would write a

letter?

RC: Yes. This was in the wake of the student stuff, and later on when I got into academic freedom trouble in Boston at Brandeis, he didn't help there either, even though he was asked. He was down on us at this point.

JM: Did that surprise you?

RC: Actually it did surprise me.

FP: It didn't surprise me.

RC: He gave me some horseshit about Max Weber and science as a vocation. He said politics stops at the university gate. He was the biggest academic politician that ever existed. He was the Mayor Daley of Columbia.

JM: But your kind of politics were not acceptable?

RC: The committee solicited letters, which they do as a routine. We have all those letters. They are amazing, really amazing. I realized at that point, in a way that I had never realized before, that political commissars are always watching. Academic freedom is pure horseshit.

JM: Is this the first time that you felt that you and Frances, in a sense, were almost being punished for your political views?

RC: Yes, without question. There is no question that we were.

JM: It sounds like up until then you believed, in a sense, in the mythology of the system.

RC: Yes, I certainly did. I knew if you were going to take deviant views you had to be good. That I knew; otherwise they would murder you. So in that sense I had a certain skepticism about the mythology of system; someone who was relatively mediocre in their academic work could do fine, but if you were a little off beat you had to be more than mediocre; otherwise they would kill you. I knew that much, but I still basically thought that academic freedom

was deeply embedded and would protect you. We had had several experiences where, in fact, it had. We had spoken at a socialist scholars conference some time in the early 1960s and had laid out these ideas of disruption and *Barron's Magazine* wrote a front-page editorial about what we said. "Teachers of Destruction" was the heading of the article. A big contributor to the business school called the Dean of the business school and said, "What is this? I am not giving you a contribution next year if you have people like this on the faculty of Columbia." The Dean of the business school called the president and the President said, "This is Columbia...academic freedom."

JM: So the President of the University did stand up for you?

RC: Yes. We had different kinds of experiences, but on the whole the experiences we had were negative. So anyway, this is 1974 and Frances was turned down. Frances was having a lot of trouble with the commuting, psychologically. We were living back in New York and she was commuting to Boston through this period, 1973 to 1975, and we decided that I would have less trouble with it. We bought this house in Chelsea and I started living there and commuting back to Columbia, but we also decided I should look for a job in Boston. So what happened was that Boston University Social of Social Work was experiencing some pressure to upgrade the doctoral program, and the sociology department was experiencing a problem of not being able to get its graduates into teaching jobs. You know, the University was beginning to contract; the golden age was over. The sociology department thought that one way to open up career opportunities for their students was through the broad social welfare institutional complex where there would be a need for researchers and policy analysts, etc. Somehow the two schools got together and decided they wanted to have a joint doctoral program. So they cast around and they came to ask me if I would direct it. I didn't want to direct it. I don't like administrative work, and I don't like all of this intense doctoral dissertation stuff. I like academic work but I like to do it on my own

and in my own way, but on the other hand it was a job in Boston, so I said yes. I went through the tenure process in social work and then I went through the tenure process in sociology. You had to go through the process in both places. Then I went up to John Silber; of course, the whole thing was ludicrous to begin with because at that time Frances was the chair of a committee called the "Save B.U. Committee," which was trying to get Silber unseated. The whole thing was ridiculous. So of course Silber turned me down.

FP: We are really master political tacticians.

RC: Then I got a call from David Gil at Brandeis. I had just previously seen him on an airplane some place. He called and said to me, "Would you be interested in coming to Brandeis – the Heller School?" Well, it turns out that they had had a two-year search to replace Roland Warren, their community sociologist. For two years they had interviewed candidates, and they had offered the job to some, but they were turned down, and others they didn't like, so ended up exhausted after two years with no candidate. I went over and I gave a colloquium. They didn't want me. They really didn't want me. There were people on that faculty that hated my guts.

JM: Was that because of what you had written?

RC: Yes. It was a very conservative ipsypopsy faculty. Their concepts of social policy were very traditional. You do the research, you write studies, and then you go talk to the important people and tell them what to do, and they do it. But under the circumstances Roland supported me, given that fact they had no choice or alternatives, and so they voted for me. It went up to the Provost. They had the same system that Columbia had except instead of appointing five members to an adhoc committee they appointed eight, two of whom are from outside of the university. I submitted all my stuff and I was turned down, four votes to four. Three sociologists voted for me and the Dean of the Heller School had to, despite his

misgivings. The other four members were from other fields and were described to me as the right wing of *Commentary Magazine*.

FP: They thought that Richard being a radical meant he was pro-Palestinian.

RC: Actually I am a Zionist.

FP: Richard is the biggest Zionist you ever ran into. It is embarrassing.

JM: They were really stacking it against you?

RC: They really did me in. Well, I got pissed, and I decided to make a public issue of it. I sent a letter all over the country to top academics – to those in political science, history, economics, and so on – and explained what happened. There was an avalanche of letters to the President, Marver Bernstein. The Harvard sociology department issued a letter, which everyone personally signed, except Nathan Glazer. The sociology department of Brandeis issued a letter, which everybody signed. Departmental letters were issued at Clark, UMASS; the board of directors of the NASW chapter in Massachusetts issued a condemnatory letter, as did NASW. So did The Society for the Study of Social Problems Board. Then it got in the press. The national ACLU issued a four-page letter. There was a half-page story in the *Boston Globe* about it: academic freedom. There was a big article in the *Washington Post* entitled, "Social Activist Denied Tenure at Brandeis," or something like that, and maybe 200 letters total. I have them all. But they would not reconsider. At about that time, Frances got an offer from the Graduate Center at City University; we went back to New York and we've been there ever since. It was a good thing for her because it got her out of the fight with Silber. She would have spent the rest of her career fighting Silber, and it got her into a much more congenial situation.

FP: It was great fighting Silber.

RC: Yes, it was great, but it wouldn't have

been great after another ten years. I was just as happy to stay at Columbia because they long since left me alone to teach what I wanted. They didn't bother me. I didn't go to committee meetings. Nothing. I was really independent. From my point of view it was good. We both like New York. Anyway, in connection with the Brandeis fight, a number of people in different departments at Columbia, including social work, wrote letters. The Dean, Mitch Ginsberg, and several others wrote letters protesting. Ginsberg at that time was also on a three-person university committee to pick a new president. Merton was also on the committee. I said to Mitch, "Mention my troubles at Brandeis to Merton and see if he will write a letter." Mitch later told me he said no.

JM: Did you ever talk to Merton about this?

RC: No, the only thing that I did was after Frances was turned down in the planning department in 1974, several years earlier, I wrote a letter and said, "I can't understand how Frances could have been turned down if you had written a letter supporting her. Did you or didn't you do that for her?" I knew he hadn't. He wrote back a letter and said, "I have checked with the Provost and confirmed that the rules of the adhoc committee procedure are governed by norms of secrecy, which I will not violate." I have that letter. Jesus Christ!

JM: It sounds like it still gets you worked up just thinking about it

RC: Academic commissars are everywhere. I was going to write an article, and Frances talked me out of it, called "Adventures in the Academic Skin Game."

JM: It sounds like you really did pay a price for your ideas.

RC: Yes, but in the end it turned out well. We ended up back in New York.

FP: Nah, we didn't pay any price Richard. A few distractions, that's it.

RC: That is what I am saying. It was like ten bad years of commuting and fights.

RC: They tried to hurt us but they didn't succeed because I had tenure at Columbia, and she got the job at City University, so it all ended up well. In that sense I would not say we were punished. They tried to, but failed. They would have if they could have, but they couldn't.

JM: I guess you had to expend more energy during that period than people do during their academic careers.

RC: Yeah, there was a five- or six-year period there where we were just engaged in these tenure fights all the time. So, it all ended up well. Actually it would have been a disaster if I had gone to Brandeis. I would have hated it – HATED IT! For one thing you are supposed to raise one-third of your salary. That means you have to pay the piper to get the grants. Well, I didn't want to pay the piper and so I wouldn't have raised the one-third. The other faculty would have resented the hell out of me because I wasn't carrying my weight.

JM: In the end it sounds like it was one of those things that worked out for the best.

RC: It worked out for the best. I would have been miserable at Brandeis, and Frances would have been consumed by the fight with Silber, because he never left. He tried to get out by looking for various jobs, including running for Governor. She would have spent the rest of her God damned career fighting Silber. So all in all, we landed on our feet. This really tells the Merton story. It ended up as an academic freedom story. I always say academic politics is the highest form of civilized combat.

THE HUMAN SERVE FUND

December, 2001

Dear Reader

Since the event on September 20th celebrating the life of Richard Cloward, we have been pondering what we can now do to honor his memory. After considering various worthy proposals, we have decided on the outline of a plan, which we think is consistent with Richard's lifelong commitments.

Our plan is oriented toward building grassroots pressure that might influence congressional debates over the renewal of Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), the program known as welfare reform. As you know, while a good many of the mothers who left welfare were able to find work in the very tight labor market of the past few years, they remained in poverty and suffered the stresses of juggling child care with work. Worse, many poor mothers simply found themselves denied aid or "diverted" or were sanctioned or cut off the rolls. Now, the situation is rapidly worsening as the recession leads to layoffs, especially in the service sector jobs where former welfare recipients are concentrated and the five year time limits take effect. But dominant voices continue to celebrate welfare reform as an unparalleled policy success, and they are able to do so because the voices of poor women and advocates have been ignored.

We want to help break the monopoly that the Right has had on the discussion of welfare. To that end, we are proposing to collaborate with welfare rights groups, advocates, academics, and social welfare professionals in staging a series of teach-ins on the economic injustices wreaked by welfare reform. And we want to link those teach-ins to local action campaigns that bring advocates, lawyers, students and poor women themselves into the welfare centers. These actions, we hope, will have two effects. First, we think an activist presence in the centers will counter the pressure line staff now often feel to deny aid and apply punitive sanctions. Second, we think that it is in the centers that poor women can most readily begin to recognize each other, to identify common grievances, and to organize so that their voices begin to be heard in the American discussion of welfare.

We will need funds, modest funds at first, to launch this effort, and we are asking you to contribute at least \$50. Your checks should be made out to the Human SERVE Fund, and mailed to me at 35 Claremont Avenue, Apt. 11S, NYC 10027. If you are able to contribute \$75 or more, and you would like a copy of the video of the September 20th Celebration, let us know and we'll send it.

We hope to hear from you.

Best wishes for a better New Year,

Frances Fox Piven

SENSEMAKING: IF SOCIAL WORK HAD A SKYLINE

Paul Abels

"Just after Christmas in 1648, John Aubrey, out hunting with some friends, rode through the Wiltshire Village of Avebury and there saw a vast prehistoric temple, the greatest of its age in Europe, which up to that time had remained undiscovered. It was not hidden in some remote or desolate spot, for a thriving village stood within its ramparts, nor at that date was it particularly ruinous, yet, Aubrey was the first of his age to notice it..."

*Before Aubrey's visit, untold thousands had passed and lived within the walls of the Avebury temple without noticing in its fabric anything more than a random assembly of mounds and boulders. But the moment Aubrey saw it, it became visible to all. Now every year, crowds of visitors marvel at the huge scale of the work, the size and precision of the great stones, which three hundred years ago were considered merely an impediment to agriculture and were broken up to clear the ground."*¹

Avebury is a stone circle, similar to Stonehenge, and possibly the largest in the world. No one saw it because it had vanished from the skyline.

What if, metaphorically speaking, social work had a skyline? What might it look like? Where are its towers? How has it changed? What's on the drawing boards? Who are its architects?

Skylines and death were linked in my mind by the events that changed the skyline of Manhattan. They flashed into my head by the death of Richard Cloward.

His death created a sense of dread and of

loss which ejected me into a mental trip to New York, the deaths there and the loss felt by New Yorkers following the destruction of their towers. Interviews on television and in the press talked about the dreadful loss of life but also of the change in the skyline. People noted the empty space. Things would never be the same. Even now there is talk as to whether the towers can be replaced and what might take their place. I and many others feel the same about our profession's loss. We have lost a towering figure.

Our social work skyline has changed. A wonderful architect of social justice is no longer there. Richard Cloward may represent one of the last National Treasures in our great skyline. That structure can't be replaced, but like many people in New York City we can come together to make a shining landscape for our profession. Our profession has held many conferences and made many plans about what the future skyline might look like. Yet I am not sure if any of these have gotten off the drawing board. I have had many students who have wanted to build a more just society. Most have gone into public agencies and very few into social action. My students can't name any current "great" social workers. I don't know what has become of us and where we are headed. Does our profession make sense any more? Does the way Cloward and Piven were treated make sense (see Josh Miller in this issue)? Did the attack on Harry Specht for saying our profession had lost its way make sense?

What I do know is that our skyline has less striking impact because of the loss of Specht and Cloward, and Tim Samson, a social work educator and social activist who would

have added his comments to this issue but died a few months ago.

An article in the *Los Angeles Times* reported on the fact that the judges in an architectural competition in Southern California could not select a winner because the quality of the entries was below par; they awarded five honorable mentions to some of the better works. In a portion of the judge's responses, they noted that none of the architecture seemed to make a statement of what the unique pattern of architecture should be for Southern California. There was nothing distinctive. Noting that many projects were conceived as "oases," one judge commented, "An oasis in the desert. Is that what you want to say about Orange County? Plan this place? The developers are planning Orange County on a piecemeal basis, and the architects are not saying what is our concept for the whole of this place?"²

In years to come, will people be asking the same questions about social workers? Are we just an oasis? On a journey to where? Where is our skyline? Why didn't anybody plan... "for the whole of" our profession?

A city is often known, recognized, and judged by its skyline. And cities pride themselves on how big and, at times, how beautiful their skyline might be. Often a city can be identified by the silhouette of the skyline, even when darkness muddies the distinctive characteristics of individual buildings.

What kind of outline would social work make against the sky if we had a skyline? Would the best we could come up with be some honorable mentions, or would there be a prize or two? How would we be judged for our response to the problem of the homeless, programs to fight prejudice, dealing with teen gang warfare, advocacy against the destruction of the mental health programs? How will we be judged for supporting antiquated and often questionable programs? Would we have a 21st Century look, or would the skyline of Chicago in the early 1900's overshadow our current structures compared to the dynamic welfare architects such as the Abbot sisters, Jane Addams, and numerous other architects of our profession? Where are the structures aimed at building the communities and strengthening

their ability to work and live together?

Will we just produce rows of flats, slums, tacky containers, or worse yet Hoovervilles? Will we embrace the glitter and glitz of the shining but cold immense reflecting glass boxes which chameleon like, change their colors with the weather? Or will our architectural legacy be a wondrous creation that honors the human potential?

How is it that social change efforts of our profession, like the ruins at Avebury, are becoming invisible? Who will notice and raise the temple from the ruins? If social work is once more to have a skyline that lights up the sky, we will have to accept and demonstrate with vigor our dual function and historic commitment to both individual and social change. Both provide the synergy that can complete the capstone of social justice built on the heritage and foundations of our professional canon. Not an oasis, not an honorable mention. The prize is in the process of creating. The prize is in the change. The prize is the tower that can shelter us all.

For all those who remember.

"There is a balm in Gilead to make the wounded whole."

¹ Mitchell, J. (1972). *The View Over Atlantis*. N.Y. Ballantine Books. P.1.

² *Los Angeles Times*. (Orange County). August 1, 1988. Part VI. P. 10.

MOVIE REVIEWS: *A BEAUTIFUL MIND* AND *IRIS*

Agathi Glezakos

The plots of two recent movies, *A Beautiful Mind* and *Iris*, center on the life stories of two world-renowned individuals: mathematician John Nash and author Iris Murdoch. Both achieved greatness in their chosen fields and both became victims of devastating psychiatric conditions. Nash was diagnosed with schizophrenia in young adulthood. Murdoch was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease in her seventies. These films provide vivid and quite accurate portrayals of the debilitating effects such conditions have both on the afflicted and their caregivers.

A Beautiful Mind

Universal Pictures/Dream Works Pictures,
Ron Howard, Director

West Virginian John Nash (Russell Crowe) is admitted to the Ph.D. program in mathematics at Princeton University as a Carnegie Fellow. He is determined to distinguish himself by finding a "truly original idea." Nash's single-mindedness is viewed as odd by his classmates. Finally, when the self-imposed pressure intensifies, he experiences the onset of psychotic symptoms. Nonetheless, he distinguishes himself and upon completing his dissertation, he receives a prestigious appointment at an institute affiliated with MIT. During the years that follow, in addition to gaining recognition for his academic achievements, Nash attracts the attention of one of his MIT students (Jennifer Connolly), whom he marries. But there is a descent, presented in a series of terrifying auditory and visual hallucinations, at the end of which Nash is involuntarily committed to a psychiatric hospital. As an in-patient, he is

physically restrained and receives a series of frightening "insulin coma treatments." He is diagnosed with schizophrenia and is told that he must submit to a lifelong regimen of maintenance with anti-psychotic medications.

What follows is both painful and redemptive. After the passage of many turbulent years, Nash is awarded the Nobel Prize and delivers an acceptance speech in which he pays heartfelt tribute to the wife whose love and support, he says, made the difference that allowed him to ultimately emerge from the grip of his illness. The film strongly suggests that it may have been Nash's wife's courage and loyalty, in the face of the bleakest of diagnoses, that contributed to his gradual recovery. The eventual emergence of a functioning Nash after decades of mental illness challenges the widely held belief that schizophrenia is a lifelong condition that severely impairs its victims. The accolades of the Princeton faculty to an aging and more mentally stable Nash suggest that schizophrenia is a mental illness which may have a more promising prognosis.

The actors, notably Russell Crowe, deliver impressive and powerful Crowe's transformations, from a graduate student with great aspirations to someone tormented by internal demons to a mature man whose physique and facial expression reflect the effects of years of wear and tear brought by one of the most devastating mental disorders, are remarkable. While the scenes with transitions from visual hallucinations to reality may be at times confusing, the dialogue is powerful and even humorous.

IRIS

Miramax Films/BBC Films/Intermedia Films
Richard Eyre, Director

Young, vibrant, and brilliant, Iris Murdoch (Kate Winslet) flourishes at Oxford University in the post WWII years. Her outgoing, non-conventionality attracts the attention of John Bayley (Hugh Bonneville), a shy academic who is inexperienced in the world of love. From the suitors who surround her, Iris chooses to marry John.

The movie unfolds in a series of alternating scenes that depict the early and later years of the couple's marriage, allowing us to witness the transformations in each spouse and the growth of their relationship. Iris becomes a prolific writer, a respected philosopher, a such-sought-after lecturer and, finally a Dame (Judi Dench). In her seventies, Iris, the woman with the keenest intelligence, manifests symptoms of cognitive decline that deviate from the usual vicissitudes of the aging process. Results from medical examinations and tests lead to the diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease. Thus, a tennis racket becomes for Iris "a tennis thing"; she even fails to recognize her own recently published book. We witness her change from an eloquent young woman whose intellect and zest for life captured the admiration of many and triggered the desires of both sexes, to someone who is elderly, confused and disoriented, obstinate, with a markedly untidy appearance. The film alternates between scenes centering on the youthful Iris and those that portray her decline. This enables the viewer to see the effects of aging on the human body and the way in which one's intellect is vulnerable to destruction by elements that cannot yet be identified or controlled.

John is also transformed, from the young shy suitor to an aging and admiring husband (Jim Broadbent). His love for Iris sustains him in his demanding role as her only caregiver. When the burden of this role becomes heavy, his patience and tolerance are tested. In a state of momentary rage, he demands that Iris stop following him "like a water buffalo." And yet, John refuses to believe the doctor when he says that "you need to learn her language before the light goes out," and that "it

[Alzheimer's disease]will win." Instead, he assures Iris: "we will win it."

In *Iris*, we experience the compelling performance of four seasoned actors and we see how a "first class mind" can atrophy; how a woman who was an advocate for "educated" minds and who believed in the association between language and thought loses her memory and her verbal and cognitive abilities. We also see how very burdensome the demands of caring for someone with this condition can be. And yet, what ultimately touches the viewer most is the deep emotional connection between Iris and John and the difference it makes in how they cope with the ravaging effects of Alzheimer's disease.

Both *A Beautiful Mind* and *Iris* may elicit feelings of sadness and fear in viewers; after all, these films serve as vivid reminders of our human vulnerabilities. The portrayals of schizophrenia and Alzheimer's disease reflect the movie industry's attempt to sensitize us to their devastating effects. As a mental health professional who has been allowed to enter the world and, to some extent, the fragmented psyche of men and women with diagnoses of schizophrenia and Alzheimer's disease, I left these movies with a deeper and more empathetic understanding of my clients' torment.

Call for Narratives

SPECIAL ISSUE:

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

This special issue focuses on the long-standing tensions, struggles, and violence affecting Israel, the Palestinians and their Arab neighbors. **Reflections** seeks to give voice to all sides in pursuit of a deeper understanding of the pain as well as the hope for some resolution of the seemingly intractable issues that remain unresolved in this region.

NARRATIVES:

- Accounts by members of the helping professions about their work and experience in this region
- Narratives of those with family members in the region who have been directly affected by the conflict
- Narratives from visitors to the region who have had experiences they wish to share

Mail manuscripts to:

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CSULB
1250 Bellflower Blvd.
Long Beach, CA 90840
(562) 985-5237

Manuscripts due by June 30, 2002

RICHARD A. CLOWARD: BOOKS, HONORS, AND AWARDS

1958 - *Social Perspectives on Behavior: A Social Science Reader for Social Work and Related Professions*. (Co-edited with Herman D. Stein)

1960 - *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. The Free Press. Swedish and Japanese translations. (Co-authored with Lloyd E. Ohlin)

1971 - *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. Pantheon Books and Vintage paperback. German translation. (Co-authored with Frances Fox Piven)

1974 - *The Politics of Turmoil: Essays on Poverty, Race, and the Urban Crisis*. Pantheon Books and Vintage paperback. (Co-authored with Frances Fox Piven)

1977 - *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. Pantheon Books and Vintage paperback. German and Italian translations. (Co-authored with Frances Fox Piven)

1982 - *The New Class War: Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State and its Consequences*. Pantheon Books and Vintage paperback. (Co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.)

1985 - Revised and expanded edition of *The New Class War*.

1987 - *The Mean Season: Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State*. Pantheon Books and Vintage Paper (Co-authored with Frances Fox Piven, Fred Block and Barbara Ehrenreich)

1988 - *Why Americans Don't Vote*. New York: Pantheon. (Co-authored by Frances Fox Piven)

1993 - Updated edition of *Regulating the Poor*.

1997 - *The Breaking of the American Social Compact*. (Co-Authored with Frances Fox Piven)

2000 - *Why Americans Still Don't Vote*. Boston: Beacon. (Co-authored with Frances Fox Piven)

Book and Article Awards

1965 - *Delinquency and Opportunity* received Dennis Carroll Award, International Society of Criminology. This award is given every five years upon the recommendation of an international jury of scholars.

1972 - *Regulating the Poor* received the C. Wright Mills Award, Society for the Study of Social Problems.

1986 - The Eugene V. Debs Foundation awarded the Bryant Spann Memorial Prize for Cloward's two-part article on voter registration, "Trying to Break Down the Barriers" and "How to Get Out the Vote in 1988," published in *The Nation* on November 2 and November 23, 1985. The prize recognizes "published work which evidences social vision and commitment to social justice."

Lifetime Achievement Awards

2001 - Significant Lifetime Achievement in Social Work Education Award, Council on Social Work Education.

2000 - Distinguished Career Award for the Practice of Sociology, American Sociological Association.

1999 - Lifetime Achievement Award, National Association of Social Workers.

1995 - First recipient of the Lifetime Achievement in Political Sociology, American Sociological Association, American Sociological Association.

1992 - Herman D. Stein Award for Excellence in Social Work Education, Mandel School of Social Work, Case-Western Reserve University.

1991 - Founders Award, Society for the Study of Social Problems. This award is conferred for career-long "distinguished contributions to the study and solution of social problems."

"We are driven to seek meaning, and find it by discovering a necessary relationship between our lives and some larger purpose."

Allen Wheelis, *The Moralist*

We appreciate and are grateful for the work of all the people who made it possible to put this memorial issue together. It is a privilege for us to have this opportunity. Our special thoughts and thanks to Frances Fox Piven.

The Co-Editors

Joshua L. Miller, Associate Professor
Smith College School of Social Work

Paul Abels, Professor Emeritus
California State University, Long Beach

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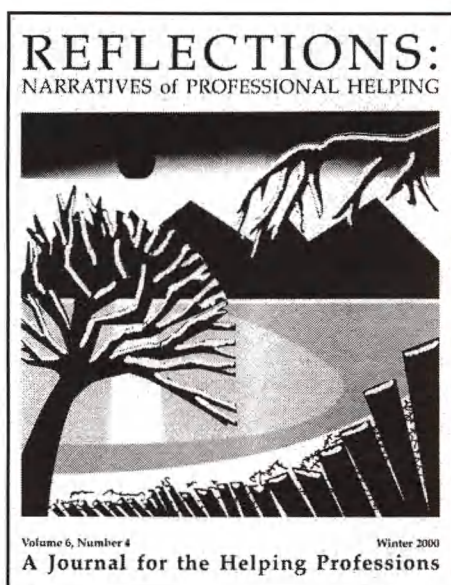
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Narratives should give readers a fresh perspective about the practice of change. Narratives explain and describe events, results, conflicts, complicating actions, and how, why, and what was done. In narratives, the writer evaluates the experience, whether or not there is a resolution, and explores the meaning of the experience. Some narratives end with a coda; a perspective on what occurred.

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