

Chapter 6: Millennial Challenges and Responses: From 2000 to 2020

This chapter concludes all that I feel capable of writing about the current period. I joined the UB faculty in 1964, fresh out of graduate school. For the next 56 years, I remained in the Department, a wonderful place for me and, I believe, the great majority of my colleagues. Despite occasional turbulence resulting from budget crises, intra-Department tensions, or other factors, Political Science remained steadfastly focused on scholarly excellence and high-quality teaching. I end on a note of optimism. Evoking the motto of the City of Paris, I believe that the Department charted a steady course since its creation and, in the process, enhanced its professional recognition significantly.

Claude Welch, March 20, 2021

The twenty years following the millennium followed patterns familiar from previous decades. Changing academic priorities within the University at Buffalo meant greater emphasis on STEM disciplines. Funding shifted from less ‘critical’ areas, including many social sciences departments, and from all the humanities disciplines.

At the turn of the millennium, the Department had reached the nadir in terms of faculty size. A dozen faculty members held responsibility for covering all the subfields of Political Science, with the exception of political philosophy. Five held the rank of full professor. Three served as associate professors, four as assistant professors. All were males. With the exception of one person of Hispanic background, no other members of minority groups taught in PSC.

The contrast twenty years later appears significant. Although our overall size did not change markedly, morale improved significantly. Women entered the Department in increasing numbers, as students and as ladder-rank faculty. The number of faculty members born outside the United States increased. Rancor over guiding methodologies disappeared. When the University adopted new General Education requirements, faculty members responded with a series of new courses or dramatically altered ones.

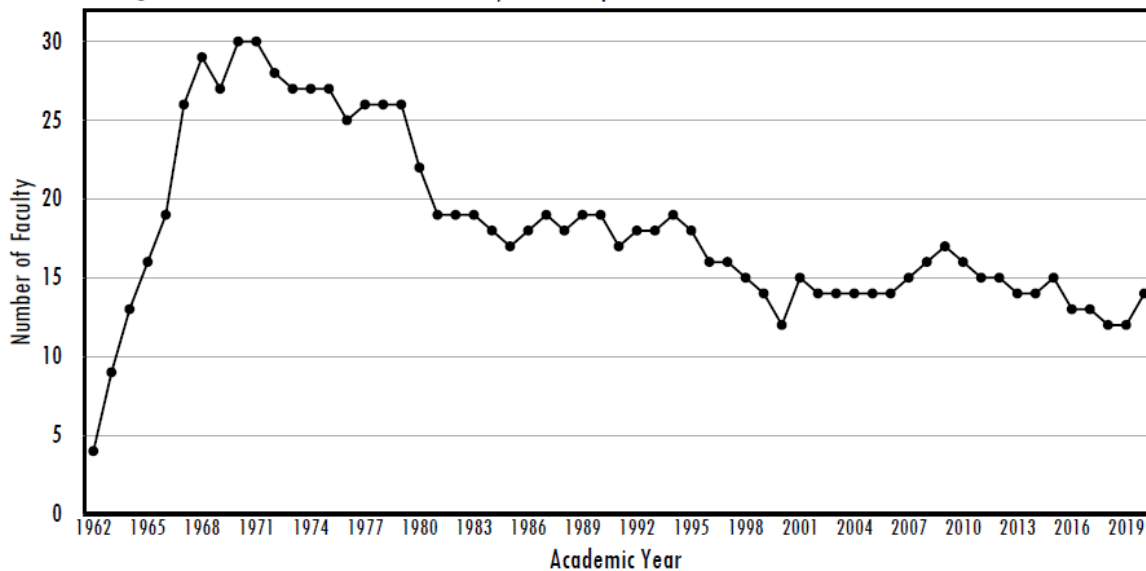
These developments required significant efforts by the Department, notably by a series of successful Chairs and recruitment committees. Four men eminent in the

profession steered PSC in this 20-year span: UB Distinguished Professor Frank Zagare; UB Distinguished Professor Jim Campbell; Harvey Palmer; and Munroe Eagles. They served as exemplars for their respective sub-disciplines: IR for Zagare; American Politics for Campbell; both American and Comparative Politics for Palmer; and Comparative for Eagles.

As has been stressed many times in this history, recruitment could not proceed without precious 'A.T.R's,' Authorizations to Recruit. Requests from the Department for such authorizations were denied numerous times. When they were issued, the Department swung into action. Increasingly during this score of years, buyers' market conditions prevailed. UB offered several attractive conditions for prospective candidates. The size of the University, if not of the Department itself, provided opportunities for cross-disciplinary work. UB rose steadily in the judgment of national and international specialists. Teaching responsibilities were competitive with other major research universities, although salaries at the assistant professor rank did not match the top institutions.

Then-Chair Jim Campbell prepared three comparative analyses of how the Department's professors ranked numerically in 2011. In terms of the number of full-time Political Science faculty in departments not rated in the top 20 in the pre-2005 *NRC Ratings*, we counted 13 full-time faculty, which tied us with Northern Arizona, Southern Illinois, the New School for Social Research, and the University of New Hampshire. The other three SUNY PhD-granting institutions respectively counted 20 [Stony Brook] or 19 [Binghamton and Albany], *in other words about 50 percent larger than UB*.

Figure 1. Tenured and Tenure-Track Faculty in UB's Department of Political Science, 1962-2020



Note: The Academic Year is designated as the year of the Fall Semester. In 2016-17, the mean number of tenured and tenure-track faculty in PhD granting Departments of Political Science was 23.5 faculty according to the APSA 2016-17 Department Survey: Faculty Composition Report (March 14, 2018).

Taking the AAU [Association of American Universities] members, Campbell looked at the *size* of their respective Political Science departments. He found that the University of Toronto stood at the top, with 84 faculty members. Buffalo ranked near the bottom, with 14 ladder rank faculty.¹ Compared with other Departments at UB ranked in 2011 by the National Research Council, Political Science stood close to the bottom. By contrast, in terms of size among other Arts and Sciences units, UB's Philosophy and Chemistry Departments ranked in the 77th percentile; Music, English, and Theatre and Dance stood in the 74th percentile. Indeed, *Political Science ranked lowest, of the 19 Departments listed!*

The Department seemed caught on a treadmill, whose speed steadily increased. Successive chairs documented the enervating effects of small size and near continuous recruitment of new colleagues, as promising assistant professors left for various reasons. PSC sought the best faculty candidates through national searches, using broadly written Authorizations to Recruit – when granted! The individuals thereby hired were highly mobile young persons. Higher salaries, joining one's partner in a different locus, lower teaching and/or service demands, more colleagues in related areas: These counted among the multiple issues. Later in this chapter, I provide additional information about women, minorities and international students and faculty, within the Department and in the discipline as a whole.

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2000-2020: The first score years²

The words of chair Frank Zagare sounded the gloomy note on which the Department started the new millennium. According to his annual report for 2001/02, the mean size of NRC-rated Political Science departments was 24 full-time ladder faculty members. Not counting a visiting professor, the size of the UB department was 12. 'A department staffed at 50% of the national average simply cannot compete with peer national or even regional universities for graduate students, for funding, for visibility, or for prestige.'

Zagare made the point even more acutely with another comparison. Of the 98 Ph.D. granting institutions in the United States, only four had fewer full-time faculty members than the Political Science Department at UB at the time. The Department beat out the University of New Orleans, Claremont, Clark (Atlanta), and Idaho State. An ignoble distinction indeed ...

Such straitened circumstances necessitated several less-than-ideal adjustments affecting the quality of education, Zagare argued. Baccalaureate course enrollments doubled, especially in upper division classes frequented by majors. An insufficient number of graduate seminars could be offered. A planned three-year seminar schedule existed in theory, not in practice: leaves, personnel changes and other unexpected alterations wreaked havoc with the proposed rotation. Graduate students suffered on the curricular end. They were also negatively affected by increased undergraduate demand for classes. By their third year, PhD candidates and swelling numbers of adjunct faculty increasingly filled the teaching void. They taught a third of PSC's classes. In sum, the instructional situation remained very, very far from ideal. The Department's lack of 'ladder' professors was ridiculously small, relative not only to its AAU peers, but also to the overwhelming majority of doctoral granting institutions in the United States.

I take from these conditions a core lesson: *That morale did not collapse or publication productivity falter testify to the esprit and commitment held by core faculty and to their inherent quality.*

There, one should argue, lay the strength of the Department. Looking at across-the-board research productivity *relative to size*, UB's Political Science Department achieved at a high level. Careful rationing of resources – for example, ensuring that new faculty appointees shared common basic knowledge in contemporary social science research techniques – led to greater harmony. Esprit de corps strengthened. Junior faculty lent new vitality to the Department. Although searches occurred nearly every year, due to many different causes, and although disappointments came frequently, the process of seeking new members paradoxically assisted in strengthening PSC's fabric. The rancor of previous decades disappeared.

The basic tale since 1963 can be found in previous pages and chapters. The flow of new resources from New York State had started to dry up in the early 1970s. No longer could UB depend on seemingly automatic increases in budgets. Resizing and reshaping affected every part of the University.

The Department experienced a protracted period of adjusting to its new 'norm.' Stability had come by roughly the mid-1990s. Henceforward, the Department continued to pursue academic quality, measured in terms of published research, success with external grants, placement of PhD recipients and similar factors. Annual Reports followed basically the same format year after year, even decade after decade. Word processing, introduced in the early 1980s, facilitated copying and pasting – boring to read due to repetition, but important to skim for the nuggets buried within them.³

2001-02 witnessed a rebound in the Department's size from its historic nadir of a dozen. Three new assistant professors came on board, leading to 15 contrasted with 12. Their academic strengths included American/ Minority Politics, Comparative, IR, and Public Law. Each part of PSC thus continued rebuilding from below, a policy the Department has pursued, with few exceptions, since the mid-1970s. In the halcyon mid-1960s, it seemed as though anyone with good credentials or reasonable prospects represented fair game. This strategy rested upon exceptional resources. Recruiting promising assistant professors denied tenure at top-rank institutions – for example, Berkeley – brought several excellent faculty to UB. Simultaneously, the Department recruited large numbers of newly minted PhD's. Such a pincer movement of building from above and below had ballooned the Department from four in 1963 to thirty by fall 1970.

2002-03. Chair Frank Zagare characterized the year as ‘a good year overall’ for the Department. What led to this rosier-than-usual observation? Two new assistant professors joined PSC. Research accomplishments were significant, again relative to the unit’s size. Faculty members published four book chapters, eight refereed articles and miscellaneous other works. Non-tenured faculty taught nearly half of all baccalaureate courses, a trend that started many years earlier and continued to edge upward. On the darker side, the Department awarded only four MA and two PhD degrees, the same as in 2001-02, and the lowest in many years. For an MPRU [Major Public Research University], this ‘throughput’ was dismal. Yes, Political Science could not dangle graduate students funded via what might be characterized as ‘captive’ assistantships: instructors in compulsory writing classes, or laboratory assistants in math or lab science courses.⁴ A similar situation prevailed with respect to assistantships funded through external grants. For decades, successive Chairs had stressed problems in applying for and receiving grants, e.g. potential controversy over the nature of ‘political’ questions, diminishing resources for preparing proposals, and the like.⁵

2003-04. One up, one down, in terms of faculty strength. Unfortunately, the assistant professor who left had just had an article in a major journal accepted, as well as a book manuscript.⁶ A second book-length manuscript was accepted, this coming from Chuck Lamb. Based on many years research, *Housing Segregation in Suburban America* analyzed how American federal policies shaped urban residential patterns.⁷ Finally, Claude Welch received a contract for his 2006 co-edited analysis of human rights in Canada and the United States.⁸ Beyond these three books, Department members had an additional 13 book chapters published, nearly *triple* the figure from the previous year. An additional 14 refereed articles were accepted and/or published.

Political Science remained a popular destination for undergrads. The number of credit hours increased from 4926 to a record 5856 in fall 2003. The Department responded by raising upper limits on enrollments. According to Chair Frank Zagare, ‘It cannot be in the interest of the College to continue to grow its undergraduate population without an adequate faculty infrastructure.’ His message did not get through as he had hoped. The Department’s faculty size remain stuck at 14 between 2002 and 2007.

2004-05. Scholarly output, one of the chief criteria for judging a department's excellence, remained satisfactory, given the size of the faculty. Publications included works in American and Comparative Politics, five book chapters, 17 refereed articles, and numerous miscellaneous works. Apart from minor, customary personnel flux – two new faculty members, one them tenured⁹, but a loss of two assistant professors – the Department's foundation remained unchanged. 321 students majored in Political Science, exactly the same number as in 2003-04. A similar picture emerged in terms of curriculum: *plus ça change ...*

2005-06. The high student/faculty ratio demonstrated the Department's teaching efficiency. Between 1998-99 and 2005-06, total credit hours increased by about 50 percent, as did the number of BA degrees granted, while the faculty increased modestly, from 11 to 14.¹⁰ Some 'churn' continued among assistant professors, for a variety of reasons. No significant changes occurred in curriculum, but two faculty members became full professors and a third gained tenure.

2006-07. External forces, SUNY-wide pressures, and UB-impelled processes encouraged the Department to undertake critical self-evaluation. Its graduate and undergraduate program were reviewed by an external evaluating committee. *Notably, this was the first such assessment since 1990!* The process involved preparation of an extensive self-study, an on-site review by three eminent scholars, and subsequent discussions regarding the implications of the report with senior UB offices and officers.

The external evaluators¹¹ examined the Department's strengths, weaknesses and prospects. Their conclusions merit quotation, since they aptly summarize what UB's political science department had become.

It is an understatement to say that for a decade or more, the department has been under-supported Considering that the UB Political Science department has become accustomed to working in the confines of a culture of poverty, it functions at a higher level than might be expected The current administration recognizes the problems and appears committed to growing and improving the political science department.

UB's political science department is well regarded in the discipline and by its students: indeed, considering the extraordinary burdens under which it operates, it is an overachiever that could be made into a really significant department with the right investments by the administration.

The refrain was familiar. For years, PSC chairs had urged respective Deans, and even the Provost and President, to recognize that UB's Department had reached a high level of professional repute *under extremely straitened circumstances*. This overachieving unit could become a nationally-respected department. As you will see later in this chapter, another group of external evaluators reached a similar conclusion a decade later.

The Department also undertook significant curricular revision in 2006-07. Several new undergraduate courses were offered. In American Politics, Jim Campbell presented 'Financing American Political Campaigns.' Gregg 'Bagel' Johnson developed a graduate course on 'Building Democracies/ Democratic Institutions', and an undergraduate course on 'Comparative Democratic Institutions.' Jason Sorens brought 'Political Change' and 'Political Economy.' At the graduate level, Vesna Danilovic taught 'International Relations Research' for the first time, while, in connection with the Canadian-American Studies program, Munroe Eagles offered 'Overview of Canadian Politics' and 'Canadian-American Politics.'

2007-2008. I must rely here on memory. The Dean's office was in flux in 1998-1999, as the Faculty of Social Sciences rejoined the Faculties of Arts and Letters, and of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, to recreate the College of Arts and Sciences [CAS]. What President Martin Meyerson had proposed in the 1960s, and when seemingly limitless NYS resources poured into 'SUNYAB', had led to division of the previous College of Arts and Sciences.

The longest serving Dean among the three Faculty heads became the official head of the reconstituted CAS. Disruptions in long-standing patterns, in the Hippocratic fashion, were focused on, in my judgment, 'do no wrong and economize where possible.' One minor casualty were annual reports. No CAS official apparently asked for them!¹²

2008-09. Administrative flux had diminished substantially by 2007-08. Chairman Jim Campbell sounded a theme stressed in the Department's Self Study and external evaluators' report. 'As these reports annually reiterate, the Department of Political Science has too few faculty to perform its mission. ... Considering certain factors, *'the Department's undergraduate and graduate teaching responsibilities this year were carried by the equivalent of twelve and a half full time faculty.'* Despite these continuing deficiencies and the slow pace of progress, there were reasons for optimism. The Department continued to over-achieve in research, teaching and service.'

In fact, PSC faculty published 13 articles and book chapters, with a further dozen accepted for publication. Six outside speakers brought their expertise to the Department's students and faculty. Among them was Harvey Starr, the Dag Hammarskjold Professor at the University of South Carolina. Starr, who received his BA from UB in 1967, was given the Department's first Distinguished Graduate Award.

High quality learning depends to a substantial extent on small classes and ample opportunity for student-faculty interaction. These desiderata did not characterize PSC. The Department's median class size was 46 students, the mean 60. Many doctoral candidates taught baccalaureate courses, thus further reducing opportunities for student/faculty interaction. With 403 declared and intended majors, Campbell commented, 'the Department supports more than **25 majors per full-time faculty member** and has a ratio of 272 credit hours generated for everyone full-time faculty member.' [Boldface in original.]

As a sign of his personal interest and of the Department's commitment to undergraduate education, Jim Campbell became President of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national Political Science Honor society.

Finally, Campbell observed, 18 students were elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Aaron Krolkowski compiled an exceptional record, becoming the Department's 'Outstanding Senior,' earning PBK's Samuel Paul Capen Award, and receiving two coveted scholarships, a Morris K. Udall Scholar and a Clarendon Scholarship to Oxford. Krolkowski also was named by *USA Today* to its 'All-USA Academic College Academic Team First Team.'

2009-10. Members of the Department published a record 18 articles, three book chapters and three books during the year. Part of the credit reflected the encouragement graduate students received: five of the articles were co-authored with doctoral candidates. Six students received PhD degrees, triple the level of 2008/09. At the same time, PSC revised its honors program and other parts of its BA program. These actions both encouraged more undergraduates to become more significantly involved in research and enhanced the appeal of baccalaureate courses to a wider range of students.

Praise belongs to the harmony within the Department and its encouragement of quality teaching and research. Its high rate of scholarly productivity occurred with a mere 15 faculty members. By contrast, the median size of Political Science departments ranked by the National Council stood at 25.

2010-11. Jim Campbell remained among the most published contributors to American politics, with five articles published in leading journals, plus an edited symposium on the 2010 midterm election for *PS*, an official APSA publication. Chuck Lamb matched this enviable achievement, his articles concentrating on fair housing issues. Department faculty also published three books, two single-authored and one edited, during the year.

PSC revised its undergraduate requirements significantly in 2010-11. Political Philosophy disappeared as a field, given that no faculty member specialized in it and that no courses in the area had been taught for a decade. Public Law was elevated to a separate field at the graduate level. Fourteen courses were deleted from the Department's official undergraduate offerings, while eleven were retitled and thirteen renamed, to reflect their actual content better. Less positively, PSC continued to have problems attracting *and matriculating* high-quality graduate students: the Department accepted 62% of applicants, but only 40% of them actually enrolled.

To quote Chair Jim Campbell,

The Department is understaffed relative to its past. The Department is understaffed relative to other departments with graduate programs in political science. The Department is understaffed relative to its considerable accomplishments in its research mission.

The Department is understaffed relative to the demand for instruction from both graduate and undergraduate students. The Department is understaffed, period.

Continuing in the same vein, Campbell also observed,

When I became Chair six years ago, it was with the hope and belief that the administration understood the Department's predicament and was committed to rectifying the problem. Six years later, the Department's circumstances are no better than they were and I have no confidence that the administration will seriously do anything about it.

2012/13. What went into a 'modestly successful year,' in Chair Harvey Palmer's judgment? In terms of publications, this meant 'above average' totals in publications: 23 peer-reviewed articles, two books, two edited books, and six book chapters. Two-thirds of PSC's faculty hence published. This record was achieved in the face of a loss of one faculty member, reducing the Department to 14, and a reduction in the number of undergraduate majors.

PSC turned to a well-known stratagem to attract more potential majors. Free snacks lured students to three films illustrating critical issues in contemporary politics. PSC also strengthened graduate training in game theory and statistical methods 'comparable in quality to that required by top-40 PhD programs.' Finally, the Department enhanced its electronic outreach via Facebook.

2012-13. The most significant development of the year came in publication, as the *American Journal of Political Science*, acknowledged as one of the field's top journals, accepted two articles by faculty members. Overall, Department faculty published 15 peer-reviewed articles, three book chapters and two other articles. Little changed in other aspects of the Department's numbers of majors, degree productivity, and other reported achievements.

2013-14. Munroe Eagles initiated 'Pulse,' an annual electronic newsletter showing Department graduates and other interested persons what changes had occurred during the year.¹³ Issues typically included articles about projects undertaken by PSC students and faculty. For example, the inaugural issue reprinted a *Buffalo*

News article complimenting Nate Silver, the noted *New York Times* political analyst; a complementary article by Jim Campbell on forecasting the 2012 Presidential and Congressional elections; the obituary of Robert Stern, one of the longest-serving of Department members¹⁴; a summary of the paper given the Stern Award; and 'Updates' about faculty and graduate students.

2014-15. A significant indicator of PSC's growing reputation came when Elena Davis, a tenured faculty member at Texas A&M left her associate professorship to become assistant professor at UB, while Antoine Yoshinaka came with tenure. Both individuals helped the Department balance its age structure better. Claude Welch received a lifetime achievement award for contributions in human rights from the American Political Science Association.¹⁵

Jim Campbell applied his decades of acumen to the upcoming Presidential race between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Trump's 'authenticity' makes him popular, Campbell asserted. 'Sometimes an authentic oddball but, nonetheless, authentic. In an era in which candidates seem so overly processed — when so many speak without saying anything — Trump is the real deal. He's politically incorrect, disrespectful and odd, but he is authentic. Not exactly a breath of fresh air, but at least a breath of air.' 'But Trump's campaign style will come back to haunt him as the Republican nomination process moves forward,' Campbell continued. Trump is 'extremely unlikely to be the Republican nominee,' he added, 'because the party establishment is convinced he doesn't have the experience or temperament to be an effective candidate or an effective president.'

Testifying to the quality of the Department's junior faculty, the top three journals in the discipline published articles from three of them. Specifically, Jake Kathman and Carlisle Rainey contributed to the *American Political Science Review*, while Rachel Hinkle published in *The Journal of Politics* and the *American Journal of Political Science*. As chair Harvey Palmer wrote,

Given their low acceptance rates, even one article in these journals is a noteworthy achievement, but having three of our 14 faculty members publishing in them (independently) at the same time is truly exceptional.

In addition, the Department received commendation for producing policy-relevant research. In a study based on Google News Archive's tracking of citation in the press from 2006 to 2011, we ranked 22nd out of 94 political science departments nationally.

Finally, and most important, the academic year was dominated by an external evaluation of its programs, only the second such assessment since 1990. I shall interrupt the chronological structure of this section, starting with the May 2007 evaluation.

External evaluations, 2007 and 2014

Universities rest on the cardinal value of disinterested scholarship, attested to by recognized specialists. Peer review pervades pre-publication of manuscripts. Appointment, promotion and tenure of new and continuing faculty could not function in a high quality institution without letters of evaluation.

Every academic unit of UB, in common with similar universities, has been subject to increasing standards of evaluation. The 1966 creation of the PRB – the President's Review Board – received attention earlier in this history. In combination with the APTs – committees on appointment, promotion and tenure – and faculty standards were strengthened over time. Pre-accreditation self-studies turned internal spotlights onto UB's functioning. Outside reviews came from regional or disciplinary institutions. They included the Middle States Commission on Higher Education, or professional bodies such as the AAMC [Association of American Medical Colleges], the AACSB [Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business], or analogous entities.

At the level of departments, assessments by distinguished individuals increasingly formed part of UB's disciplinary structure. An earlier chapter took note of how Political Science approached its 1990 external assessment. Additional evaluations took place in 2007 and 2015. They provide the focus for this section.

What accounted for the 17-year gap between 1990 and 2007? I speculate that reorganization within arts and sciences and unclear lines of authority between the Graduate School and A&S constituent units account largely for the hiatus. As

readers will recall, President Meyerson's mid-1960s reorganization of UB trifurcated the then-College of Arts and Science in the Faculties of Arts and Letters, Natural Sciences and Mathematics, and Social Sciences and Administration. No further restructuring was mooted until the late 1990s. By that time, UB had experienced several crises as the State of New York reduced its direct support to SUNY.

In brief, the split of CAS to deal with dramatic increases in resources became anachronistic. The increased austerity chronicled earlier made administrative simplification attractive.

2007 External reviewers' report

Three distinguished scholars vetted PSC's faculty strength in May 2007, especially in light of demands placed upon it.¹⁶ Their findings started with this affirmation of the Department's standing.

We were very impressed with the quality of the faculty and the undergraduate program, and the potential for an upward movement of the Ph.D. with just a minimal investment of resources. The faculty has a nice balance of highly visible and distinguished faculty who are very active hired in previous years along with some exceptional recent appointments.

The evaluators continued,

.... A key purpose of the university is to prepare undergraduate students for future graduate and professional study, and we find that the department is doing an outstanding job in this area. Students are receiving state of the art training ... As a whole, the faculty is much better than the 76th ranking indicates. Of the various fields, the international relations faculty has a coherence and reputation that already makes it a top 40 program. ... The Political Science Department is currently one of the smallest in the country to offer a Ph.D. degree. Any further decline in size would likely result in the department falling out of the national rankings into the "also ran" category and might also raise concerns among those conducting the University's next AAU

accreditation review. Given its small size, the department is doing a remarkable job in many ways. ...

In concluding its report, the three-man team opined,

The members of the external review committee believe very strongly that the Political Science Department at the University of Buffalo is worth investing additional resources. We believe that a modest investment of financial resources can move the department up from near the bottom of national rankings of Political Science Ph.D. programs to the top 40 in a relatively brief time. Other departments have made such moves but it requires a real commitment on the part of both the University and members of the department.

Little changed in the following years, however. The 2014 assessment reached similar conclusions, which bear citing in length.

2014 External reviewers' report

Summarizing their observations, the external review committee was 'very impressed with the quality of the faculty and the undergraduate program, and the potential for an upward movement of the Ph.D. with just a minimal investment of resources.' The Department enjoyed a 'nice balance of highly visible and distinguished faculty who are still very active ... along with some exceptional recent appointments. ... As a whole, the faculty is much better than the 76th ranking indicates. Of the various fields, the international relations faculty has a coherence and reputation that already makes it a top 40 program. '

The issue of size weighed heavily in the committee's conclusions. The Department, they observed, 'is currently one of the smallest in the country to offer a Ph.D. degree. Any further decline in size would likely result in the department falling out of the national rankings into the "also ran" category and might also raise concerns among those conducting the university's next AAU accreditation review ...'

Looking back to the 2007 external evaluation, the 2014 review committee cited important temporal factors. It proved impossible to meet a commitment to expand the Department to 20 faculty positions, 'due to the economic crisis that impact the state's and the SUNY system's budget after 2007. However, the members of the external review committee believe that it is now time for the college to liveup to those commitments and expand the size of the department to 20 over the next two years.'

Result: in 2014, PSC counted 14 ladder faculty; in 2016, one less.

2015-16. Antoine Yoshinaka published two books via Cambridge University Press, while Jim Campbell's book manuscript was accepted by Princeton University Press. In combination with eight articles in high quality, refereed journals, PSC's profile rose within the profession. National recognition came as well through the achievements of two undergraduates, who respectively won highly competitive Truman and Marshall Scholarship.

2016-17. UB officials paid close attention to national rankings of institutional quality. Members of the Political Science appreciated how *US News and World Report* elevated the Department's standing among the 87 programs ranked. PSC rose from 76 to 65, significantly the sixth largest improvement among these programs. Google Scholar also reported that faculty members' publications were cited 1,113 times, while the Law and Courts section of the American Political Science Association gave Rachel Hinkle its best journal article award, and the *Conflict Management and Peace Science* honored Jake Kathman with its Palmer Award, again for the best article of the year. Further evidence of scholarly achievement came with more than three-quarters of the 13-member Department publishing books or peer-reviewed journal articles (three books, 30 articles).

2017-18. As a historian of UB's Political Science Department, I encountered an unexpected roadblock. Annual reports to Dean's office ended at this point. Instead, to assess units' achievements, it asked for summaries of achievements from individual faculty members. I have accordingly turned to 'The Pulse,' the Department's annual publication.¹⁷ Selected snippets from it appear below.

The shocking storming of the US Capitol January 6, 2021, lay in the future. Jake Neihesel's co-authored article in the *Washington Post* raised this ominous

possibility three years earlier: ‘Perhaps the most important message is that large segments of the citizenry appear willing to invest significant resources to pursue or resist the removal of [President Donald] Trump. People may not be fighting in the streets, but many appear willing to take to them.’¹⁸

Neiheisel also linked political disagreements to American church attendance. ‘Even over short periods of time, sizable portions were leaving their churches and that a contributing cause was political disagreement ... Both studies suggest a great deal of churn within among religious organizations driven by political disagreement. While everyday disagreement drives people out across the political spectrum, the public salience of the Christian rights specifically helped to drive up the rate of [no religious affiliation].’

Finally, Jim Campbell applied observations in his recently published book, *Polarization*¹⁹, to the 2016 Presidential election. ‘It was about polarization about national conditions, belatedly overriding the serious concerns many voters had about Donald Trump as a potential President. Trump’s candidacy put polarization to the test. His election testified to how powerful polarization has become.’

2018-2019. By fall 2019, the Department had reached the point of ultimate stability in an academic unit: all its personnel were tenured or held permanent appointments in civil service ranks. This was the first time since fall 1984 that such a situation existed. Circumstances differed significantly, however. 1984 held Orwellian importance symbolically and actually. At that point, PSC was ripped with internal conflict over direction and personnel. Changes would have been difficult under any circumstances, let alone times of dissension and challenges to University resources.

Thirty-five years later, the Department had again become fully tenured – but only briefly. Astute planning, efficiency in ‘delivering’ undergraduate education, and high quality candidates for appointment resulted in a relatively positive picture by 2020, when this narrative ends. I believe that the overall level of academic quality had improved.

The value of your UB degree keeps appreciating! In August Kiplinger's "Best College Values" list for 2019 was released and UB was ranked 61st among public colleges for in-state students and 56th for out of state students. Similarly, in September 2019 the *US News and World Report* rated UB number 31 on its ranking of the best national universities. This is an improvement of 10 spots over last year, and over the past dozen years, UB has improved 42 spots in these rankings. Finally, the Center for World University Rankings placed UB 59th among US public universities, and 269 among 20,000 universities worldwide.

2019-20. At several points in this history, I have referred to UB's steady press towards achieving greater recognition for its scholarly achievements and institutional excellence. Witness, as one example, the quiet celebration that accompanied the University's election to the AAU [Association of American Universities]. In 2018-19, *US News and World Report's* ranking of best national universities, UB had stood at 31, an improvement of 10 places in a single year and 42 places within a dozen years. Looking at 20,000 universities worldwide, the World University Rankings placed UB 59th among US public universities and 269 among 20,000 universities worldwide.²⁰

PSC students and faculty alike heard former Vice President Joe Biden critique trends in American politics. 'The press is not the enemy of the people. Immigrants are not animals. ... American is led by the power of our leader's example. Our most is by example to others. We must resist the Hobbesian vision of the world, a 'war of all against all.' ... We must choose hope over fear. Truth over lies. Hope and history rise, along with dignity and respect. We must remember who the hell we are. We are Americans, and we own the finish line.'²¹

Other items of note from 2019-20 included endowment of the Paul Senese Scholarship;²² Rachel Hinkle's promotion to Associate Professor and her significant article on memorable Supreme Court dissents,²³ and Jim Campbell's predictions for the mid-term elections.²⁴

2020-21. As of fall 2020, PSC *gained* two new faculty positions.²⁵ The new resources were justifiable in the Dean's eyes since 'our enrollments are exceedingly strong. We have about 450 majors now - one of the top performers in the College with one of the smallest faculty complements.'²⁶

Members of the Department also adjusted their teaching to the exigencies of Covid-19 and consequent abandonment of face-to-face instruction. The overnight transformation in course and test delivery resulted in numerous strains throughout the entire University. An immediate hiring freeze and additional freeze on OTPS expenses [Other Than Personal Services, such as travel] complicated life throughout education and public life as a whole.

To conclude this chapter, and the Claude Welch-written history, I wish to turn to other topics that marked the Political Science Department at various points, not necessarily in the 2000-2020-21 period.

Women faculty in UB, the Department and the discipline as a whole

Readers of this entire history may recall Helen Dwight Reid, who taught in the Department from 1928 to 1939. She established a significant reputation in international relationships scholarship, at a time when few women received PhD degrees or chose University teaching for a full time profession.²⁷ Following her resignation on the eve of World War II, PSC²⁸ does not seem to have named a woman to a ladder rank faculty position until Florence Casey came in fall 1965. She formed part of the recruitment explosion, when the Department grew between fall 1963 and fall 1970 from nine to thirty.

UB's Political Science Department moved closer to gender parity 2020.²⁹ This should not have come as a surprise, *looking at the long range within UB and the discipline as a whole*. PSC as a discipline historically lacked doctoral 'through-put' of females for many decades. Although the situation was not as lopsided as in mathematics, most branches of engineering, and several lab science disciplines, women long were conspicuous by their absence in Political Science, indeed in most of the University at Buffalo in its entirety.

Women within UB's faculty as a whole

The most thorough initial report for gender representation in the University at Buffalo's faculty came in spring 1970. The weekly official campus newspaper published an exhaustive study by Ann Scott, assistant professor in the English Department.³⁰ Salient findings follow. I have cited figures only from the Faculty of

Social Sciences and Administration, given the similarities among its Departments and Programs.

For the Faculty of Social Sciences as a whole, 83 males taught at the rank of full professor, compared with four females – 95% men, in other words.³¹ Political Science ‘clocked in’ with no women, contrasted with eight males. One can assert that this low percentage reflected bias widespread throughout the American academic world against female.³² Turning to associate professor, the Faculty counted nine women. Men again constituted the overwhelming majority, with 76. In percentage terms, the ratio was 89% males, 11% females. Political Science again counted no women at this rank. They were better represented as Assistant professors. *Caution: with but a few exceptions, they did not enjoy tenure.* For Social Sciences as a whole, the respective figures were 80 men, 16 women, a five to one disparity. Political Science counted two women faculty members. In percentage terms, males constituted 83%, females 17%.

Doctoral candidates stood at the starting rung on the academic ladder, since PhD degree holders constituted the pool from which most Departments drew their recruits. The Scott survey included only graduate students *with* assistantships. 791 male TA’s and RA’s, and 216 funded female doctoral students, studied in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Administration. Political Science enrolled funded 43 male doctoral candidates, 10 female, hence below the average for the Faculty as a whole.

Women within UB’s Political Science Department

Let’s boil down these raw statistics into individual personnel changes within UB’s Department.

Roberta Sigel arrived fall 1970, a welcome example of spousal accommodation, at full professor rank.³³ Although statistics are not available, I believe she was the first tenured woman in the Department since the 1939 resignation of Helen Dwight Reid.

Marilyn Hoskin, the first female associate Professor, gained tenure from within the Department. She came to the Department in 1973, at the assistant rank,³⁴ gaining tenure in 1980.³⁵ A seeming drought in recruiting female assistant

professors then set in, due in large measure to the gradual reduction in overall faculty ranks. [In fall 1980, the Department numbered 22 ladder rank faculty,³⁶ a mere dozen by 2000, none of whom was female.] On the other hand, PSC did recruit Laurie Rhodebeck and Laura Winsky as assistant professors, serving respectively 1986-87 to 1996-97 [Rhodebeck] and 1993-94 to 1999-2000 [Winsky].

The logjam started to break with the new millennium, a result of significant effort on the Department’s part and of increased numbers of female PhD’s in the discipline. Michelle Benson came in 1999, as visiting assistant professor, while Hanna Birnir arrived in 2001 as assistant professor.³⁷ Benson received tenure in 2009, making her the second tenured female faculty member.³⁸ Vesna Danilovic stands as the first woman to become associate professor. She returned to Buffalo *with* tenure in 2005, having left her associate professorship at Texas A&M.³⁹ Dinissa Duvanova came to UB in 2008,⁴⁰ but left in 2014. Christine Boyd filled the vital position of a Constitutional Law/ Public Law specialist from 2009 until 2013.⁴¹ The Department found a superb replacement in Rachael Hinkle,⁴² appointed in 2014 and promoted to tenure in 2019.⁴³

By 2021, when I completed writing this history,⁴⁴ two additional women joined PSC. Jieun Lee [International Political Economy]⁴⁵ and Abigail Matthews [Public Law]⁴⁶ came with strong prior academic records. They provided vital reinforcement in areas of high student demand and significant scholarly interest. Their arrival brought the Department’s overall faculty ranks to 16: ten men [one of whom was a ‘clinical assistant professor’, a non-ladder faculty rank] and six women. Although parity remained unachieved, the Department had made considerable progress. All the men were tenured, as were four women. These achievements must count, without question, as a success under tough circumstances.

The following table summarizes the above discussion.

Table 6, 1 Women faculty members in PSC

Name	Years at UB	Field	Rank	Size****
Florence Casey	1965-1970	Comparative	Assistant	16->27
Trudi Lucas*****	1969-1972	IR	Assistant	27
Roberta Sigel*	1970-1976	American	Full	30->27

Nancy McGlen	1973-1980	American	Assistant	27->22
Marilyn Hoskin***	1981-1989	American	Associate	27->19
Laurie Rhodebeck	1986-1997	Quantitative	Assistant	18->16
Laura Winsky	1994-2000	American	Assistant Assistant-	19->12
Michelle Benson	2001 to present	IR	>Associate	15->
Hanna Birnir	2001-2007	IR	Assistant	15
Sherri Wallace	2001-2003	American	Assistant	15->14
Vesna Danilovic**	2005 to present	IR	Associate	14->
Dinissa Duvanova	2008-2015	IR	Assistant	16->14
Christine Boyd	2011-2013	Public Law	Assistant Assistant-	15->14
Rachel Hinkle	2015 to present	Public Law	>Associate	14->
Elena McLean	2015 to present	IR	Associate	14->
Jieun Lee	2020 to present	Comparative/IR American/ Public	Assistant	15*****
Abigail Matthews	2020 to present	Law	Assistant	15*****

* = spousal accommodations

** = received PhD from UB; had tenure at another University

***She was married to Gary Hoskin

**** = size of department at initial appointment -> semester immediately after leaving

***** She was married to Bill Lucas, another member of the Department

*****Excludes one Clinical Assistant Professor

Examining the discipline as a whole

The American Political Science Association began to take serious cognizance of how well women fared in the profession in the 1970s. Its efforts kicked into high gear after the turn of the millennium. Major impetus came from APSA's Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession.

Two major questions motivated the report. 'Is political science positioned to embrace and incorporate the changing demographics, increasing multicultural diversity, and ever-growing disparities in the concentration of wealth present in

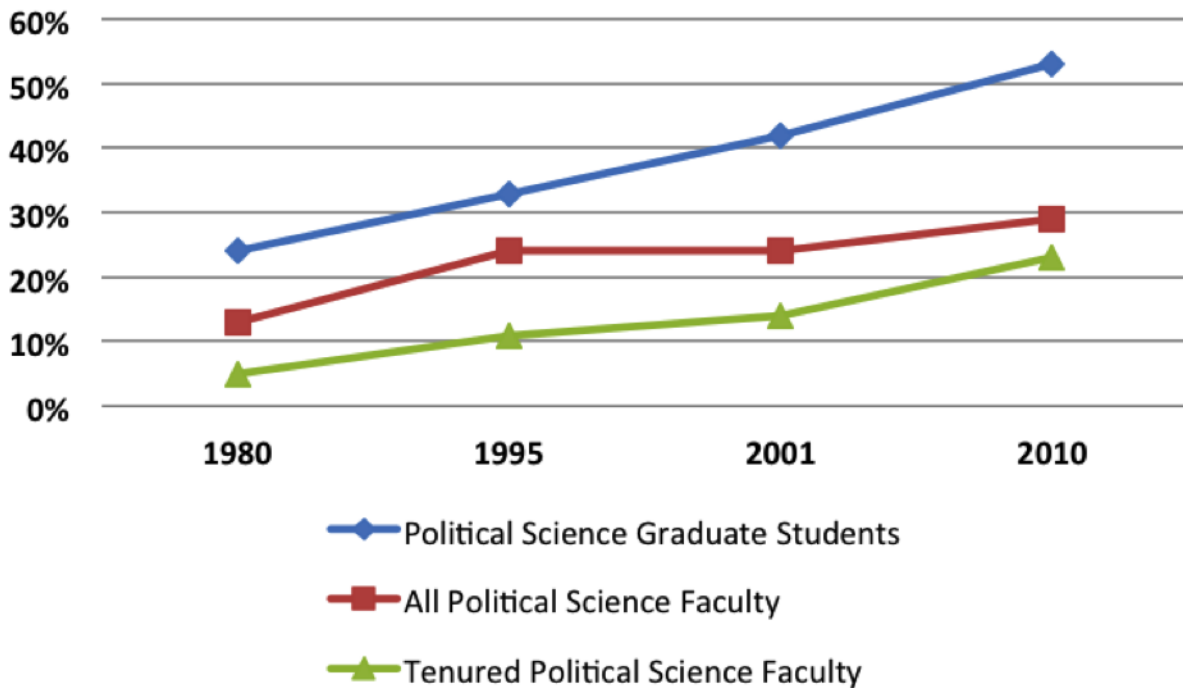
many nation-states? [Secondly], Can political science do so within its research, teaching, and professional development?’

According to the Task Force,

Data from 1980-2010 reveal that although gains have been made in the number of women and members of historically underrepresented groups in full time faculty positions at colleges and universities, gains have been small and glacial in their pace of improvement. In 1980, 10.3 percent of full time faculty were women; in 2010 it was 28.6 percent. In 1980, 93.4 percent of full time faculty were Caucasian and in 2010 it was 86.6 percent. Absent direct, intentional efforts to further diversity faculty, we should expect that the pace of progress will continue to be slow and that the rate of inclusion will also be very slow.⁴⁷

The following graph demonstrates slow change in the discipline’s gender diversity over a 30-year span.

Graph 6, 1. Female political science graduate students in PSC, 1980-2010



Source = 'Political Science in 21st Century: Report of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century' (Washington: American Political Science Association, 2011).
https://www.apsanet.org/portals/54/Files/Task%20Force%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_AllPgs_webres90.pdf,
 accessed September 10, 2020, p. 48.

Quotations from this report add details to the graph above.

'... a supportive institutional climate may also be important to women's advancement.' ... 'Mentoring and other programs to assist junior faculty are important in improving institutional climate.' ... 'Further up the academic ladder, the number of female fulltime associate professors began rising in the late 1970s but appears to have stalled in the late 1990s at 23%.'⁴⁸ ... In terms of full professors, numbers and percentages started to rise 'slowly but steadily' after the mid-1980s. ... 'Less happily the proportion of women entering graduate school shows no steady growth and the proportion of junior and mid-career faculty women has stalled.' ... 'Women of color are substantially underrepresented among senior faculty Women of color were four percent of all associate professors, and 14% of women associate professors. There were 14 women of color who were full professors – less than 1% of all full professors and 6% of women full professors.'

Changes within UB's Political Science Department

In 1980, women constituted approximately a quarter of PSC PhD enrollments. The percentage crept upwards slowly, reaching about a third by 1995, and just over 40 percent by 2001. Females accounted for more than half by 2010.

The following table illustrates the gradual increase in the number of women faculty in the Department.

Table 6,2 Women faculty members in PSC, 1965-2020

Name	Years at UB	Field	Rank
Florence Casey	1965-1970	Comparative	Assistant
Trudi Lucas*****	1969-1972	IR	Lecturer
Roberta Sigel*	1970-1976	American	Full
Nancy McGlen	1973-1980	American	Assistant

Marilyn Hoskin***	1981-1989	American	Associate
Laurie Rhodebeck	1986-1997	Quantitative	Assistant
Laura Winsky*****	1994-2000	American	Assistant Visiting Assistant -> Assistant->
Michelle Benson	1999 to present	IR	Associate
Hanna Birnir	2001-2007	IR	Assistant
Sherri Wallace	2001-2003	American	Assistant
Vesna Danilovic**	2005 to present	IR	Associate
Dinissa Duvanova	2008-2015	IR	Assistant
Christine Boyd	2011-2013	Public Law	Assistant Assistant->
Rachael Hinkle	2014 to present	Public Law	Associate Assistant->
Elena McLean	2015 to present	IR	Associate
Jieun Lee	2020 to present	IR	Assistant
Abigail Matthews	2020 to present	Public Law	Assistant

* = spousal accommodation

** = received PhD from UB; had tenure at another University

***She was married to Gary Hoskin

**** = size of department at initial appointment -> semester immediately after leaving

***** = She was married to Franco Mattei for a while

***** = She was married to William Lucas, another member of the Department

Amazing as it may seem to readers of this history, the Department had no formal policy on maternity leave at the turn of the millennium. Nor did the College of Arts and Sciences. Perhaps even more surprisingly, SUNY as a whole had yet to decide about whether maternity leave should be granted without negative consequences in time *not counted* towards mandatory consideration for tenure.⁴⁹

To quote from Michelle Benson, in an email to the author:

I believe that Hannah and I were the first (and so far only) women that were pregnant in the department. The department, CAS and UB had no maternity leave policy at the time. We basically had to make it up with the chairs as we went along. I taught at an accelerated

schedule for one semester and found replacements for the majority of my courses. We both had to use up our sick-leave days when we had the babies despite having perfectly healthy, natural pregnancies. Fortunately, neither of us became ill soon after with a generalized disease for which we would have needed our sick leave. I can say that we were lucky that we had sympathetic chairs at the time--Frank Z. for Hannah and my first pregnancy), Franco for my second pregnancy—that were willing to work with us and do the best they could within the system. SUNY has recently moved towards a standardized procedure for pregnancies.^{50 51}

* * * * *

By 2010, women constituted the majority of the discipline's 'seed corn,' as shown in an earlier graph. Graduate programs in Political Science counted more females than males. For assistant professors, women's percentage grew steadily.

Conscious, pro-active steps taken by the Department's chairs and search committees to recruit *and promote* qualified women made a huge impact on gender distribution in the Department. As discussed earlier, obstacles existed when the first females arrived, notably the lack of maternity leave policies. Marilyn Hoskin, Michelle Benson and Hannah Birnir paved the way, but their paths were not easy. A critical mass existed by 2020, with four female associate professors in place, plus two assistant professors.

When minority faculty are considered, however, the picture becomes less bright. The next section of this history follows a similar format, examining Buffalo's steps to recruit and retain men and women from minority groups, and then considering the discipline as a whole

Minority faculty in the Department and Discipline⁵²

If locating, hiring and retaining women faculty proved difficult, the same efforts to minority faculty members proved significantly more complex. Buffalo was not unique. To put the matter bluntly, conscious recruitment and retention of Black Americans did not arise as a policy priority within major American colleges and

universities until the late 1960s and disturbances within several cities.⁵³ Within Academe, colleges and universities scrambled to create departments or programs in Black Studies or a similar title. 'Regular' academic units pressed to recruit Black Americans to their ranks as well. UB figured within this group, appointing faculty members who might fill the void.

Institutions change reluctantly, especially when encrusted with centuries of tradition and slowly changing casts of characters. As national awareness increased about serious racial gaps across American society, UB responded cautiously, 'with all *deliberate* speed.' *Note: this is my characterization, based on personal observation from 1964 to 2020, based primarily on my perspective as a member of the Political Science Department.*

Recruitment of visible minorities encountered numerous problems. UB's Political Science Department did not stand alone in confronting this issue. Colleges and universities across the country scrambled for candidates. MPRU's [major public research universities] faced particularly high obstacles to such appointments. Their desire for nationally recognized scholars impeded searches. One 'solution' affected HBCU's [Historically Black Colleges and Universities] significantly. Their faculties and senior administrators were raided, lured by higher salaries and benefits, diminished teaching loads and administrative duties, and similar blandishments.⁵⁴

Any search for a new faculty member required following affirmative action policies. Departments had to demonstrate that the 'pool' of eligible candidates for potential appointment included 'qualified' minorities.⁵⁵ ATR's – 'Authorizations to Recruit' – had to include detailed, specific details about procedures to be followed in a search. The results similarly went through a vetting process before any *final* appointment could be made.

'Carrots' occasionally came via lines set aside by the Provost or CAS Dean, to be distributed to units to recruit minority faculty. Given the scarcity of ATR's for new positions and scrambles for replacements, Departments proposing appropriately qualified underrepresented individuals stood a better chance of welcoming a new colleague. Political Science worked hard to identify such persons. Once found, the main issue became enticing them to Buffalo, a city known for its snow and Rust Belt image, to a Department among the smallest of PhD-granting institutions,⁵⁶

and arguably to a University and metropolitan area that, *with notable exceptions*, may not have been known for its welcome to visible minorities.

Minority faculty at the University at Buffalo

I asked the UB Archives for baseline statistics about minority representation early in the PSC Department’s history. Here is their response:

Welch question: Does the UB Archives have a list of all the Black/ African-American faculty members appointed since the 1960s in the Social Sciences, or in CAS [College of Arts and Sciences]?

RESPONSE: We don’t have many materials with such statistics. This, in itself, is very telling as it demonstrates that this was not a priority for much of the University’s history. Please see what little information we have on “Black American” professors and staff for 1971-1972:

Full professor = 3

Associate professor = 6

Assistant professors = 19

Instructors = 31

Administrative and professional staff = 61⁵⁷

The Political Science Department tended, like most other academic units, to respond more to ‘carrots’ offered from higher levels than to intra-departmental pressures. *Again, this is my view.* How did UB’s Political Science Department fare? Frank Henderson came to Buffalo in 1970, its first of three Black Americans. In 2000-01, the Department recruited David Leal, its first and thus far sole Hispanic. A year later the Department attracted its second and to date its only Black American woman, Sherri Wallace.

The following table illustrates minority recruitment and retention since the Department’s initiation in 1963.

Table 6,3 Minority faculty within Political Science, UB

<i>Name</i>	<i>Years at UB</i>	<i>Specialty</i>	<i>Status</i>
Frank Henderson*	1970-72	Political Philosophy	Black American

Major Coleman***	1994-95	Minority politics	Black American
David Leal****	1997-2002	Minority politics	Hispanic
Sherri Wallace**	2001-03	Minority/urban politics	Black American

*See https://leighhouse.typepad.com/blog/2004/02/dr_frank_hender.html, consulted October 10, 2017.

**See <https://louisville.edu/politicalscience/political-science-faculty/sherri-L-wallace>, consulted October 10, 2017.

*** See <https://www.newpaltz.edu/blackstudies/directory.html>, consulted October 10, 2017.

**** See <https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/government/faculty/lealdl3>, consulted October 10, 2017.

Success or failure – or something in-between? I believe the Department made significant attempts to bring minority faculty ‘on board,’ particularly starting in the late 1990’s – early 2000’s. However, it and UB as a whole confronted inherent problems, stemming primarily from a supply/ demand imbalance. PhD granting institutions didn’t produce sufficient graduates to meet the needs of the academic marketplace. The profession as a whole became cognizant of this issue, resulting in significant reports and recommendations.

APSA and the profession’s responses

The American Political Science Association established a Task Force ca. 2008 to report on ‘Political Science in the 21st Century.’⁵⁸ One of its 14 members was Sherri Wallace, a former UB faculty member.⁵⁹ The Task force asked, *inter alia*, ‘Is political science positioned to embrace and incorporate the changing demographics, increasing multicultural diversity, and ever-growing disparities in the concentration of wealth present in many nation-states? Can political science do so within its research, teaching, and professional development?’

The report’s Executive Summary included many observations.

‘Political science is often ill-equipped to address in a sustained way why many of the most marginal members of political communities around the world are often unable to have their needs effectively addressed by governments. ... Moreover, who does political science does not currently include scholars with backgrounds from the full range of positionalities including race, class, gender, and sexual orientation that are often the most marginalized in societies.

Additionally, issues related to marginalization including race, gender, and inequality are not well represented in articles published in the discipline's flagship journals.

... There are two primary explanations as to why this is the case. First, the discipline tends not to use "identity" as a core analytical category for understanding important aspects of political behavior, social movements, and the development of public policies. It tends to treat identity as given and outside of analysis. ... Second, political science tends not to be self-reflective about the analytical limitations of many of its traditional methodological approaches.

In order to expand the number of graduate students from less-represented groups, the Task Force urged the following:

- Political scientists need to be more intentional and systematic in using the APSA to develop training programs to encourage and support students from a broader range of backgrounds to consider political science as a profession and to complete graduate training in political science.
- Departments should expand their graduate training to include more of an emphasis on race and inequality. This may require the breaking down of traditional categories used to structure graduate training and rebuild areas in more substantive and social problem-solving categories.
- Departments should also be more inclusive of the types of journals valued in the assessment of scholarly productivity
- Universities and university systems must be pushed to be more intentional in supporting a fuller range of interests and backgrounds of students who pursue graduate work in political science.

With respect to teaching and pedagogy, the Task Force observed that

- Political science compares favorably to other categories of disciplines in the teaching of diversity and inclusion.
- In comparison to other disciplines in the social sciences, political science scores above the mean regarding applying theories to problems.
- African American, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, and American Indian/Alaska Native students perceive that the teaching of political science encourages application of theories to practical problems and encourages

students to consider diverse perspectives in their classwork and in how individuals come to have the political views they do.

- The teaching of political science at the undergraduate level does not avoid encouraging students to apply what they learn to practical problems, include diverse perspectives in classwork, and better understand the views and perspectives of others, across all types of institutions of higher education...

Turning to Access and Inclusion, the Task Force found that ‘Data from 1980-2010 reveal that although gains have been made in the number of women and members of historically underrepresented groups in full time faculty positions at colleges and universities, gains have been small and glacial in their pace of improvement. In 1980, 10.3 percent of full time faculty were women; in 2010 it was 28.6 percent. In 1980, 93.4 percent of full time faculty were Caucasian and in 2010 it was 86.6 percent.’

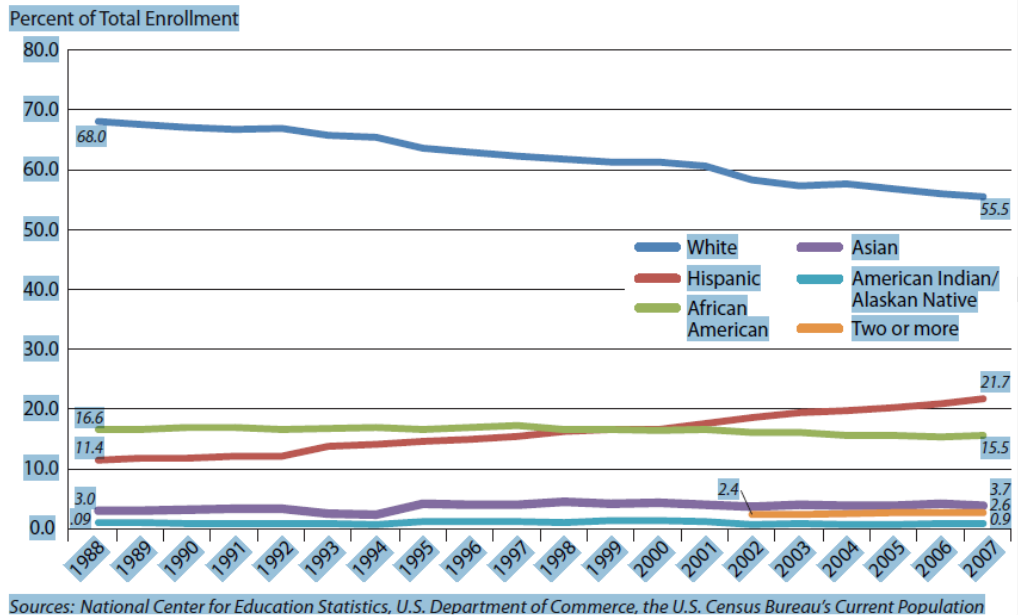
Taking its findings as a whole, the Task Force urged,

- The need for richer, more comprehensive, and systematic data regarding research, teaching and pedagogy, and access and inclusion within the profession.
- The need for the APSA to fully consider whether its current good practices can be modified to serve as catalysts to departments to make more progress regarding issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and diversity more broadly.
- The need for the APSA to partner with other associations or a subset of its own membership to solicit, secure, and utilize external funds to be a leader in developing new research, teaching, and career development paradigms.

Several tables and graphs turn the general prose of the Task Force report into graphic form. Here are two examples.

Graph 6, 2 Total public enrollment by race and ethnicity

Figure 5: Total Public Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity, 1988-2007

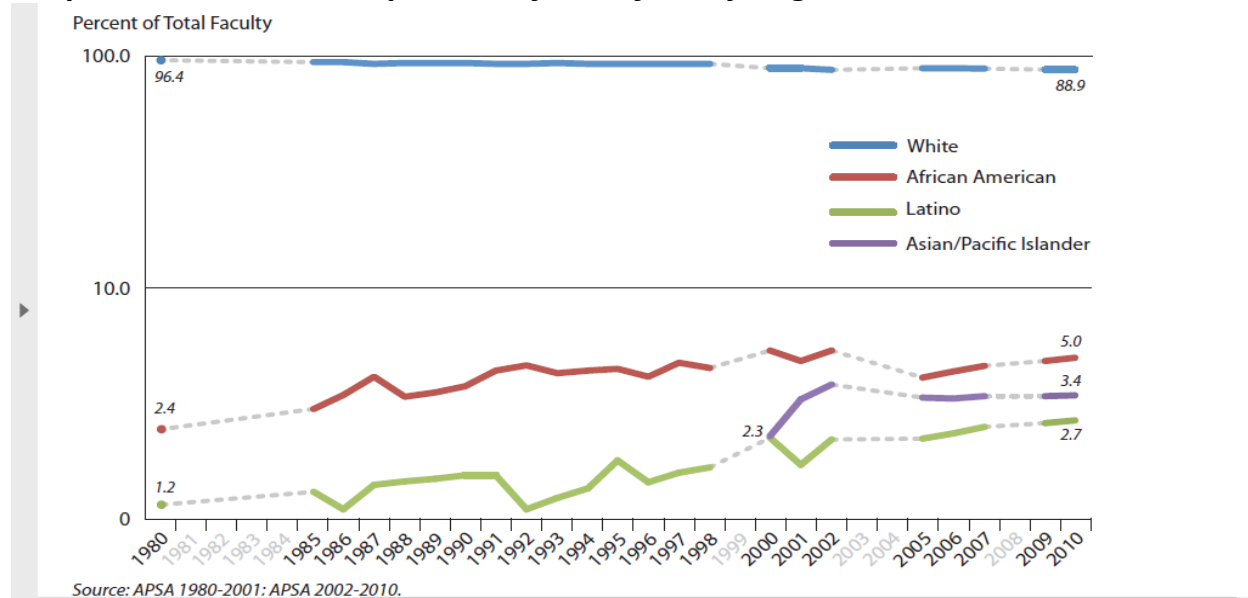


Sources: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Commerce, the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population

Source =

https://www.apsanet.org/portals/54/Files/Task%20Force%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_AllPgs_webres90.pdf, accessed September 11, 2020. The graph can be found on page 20 of this report.

Graph 6, 3 Minorities as percent of total faculty, log scale



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

A further report on diversity in the discipline came in 2017, in *P.S. Political Science & Politics*. Entitled ‘Leveraging Diversity in Political Science for Institutional and Disciplinary Change,’⁶⁰ Valeria Sinclair-Chapman raised several important points.

‘[T]he data show limited gains, if any, in achieving diversity goals on campuses generally and within political science in particular. While the numbers of women in political science have shown modest growth over the last two decades, the number of women of color has largely remained flat.’

Recognizing the literature on social movements, ‘insurgent efforts succeed when the political opportunity structure opens sufficiently to allow change to occur, particularly through changes in policy, external pressure, and shifts in perspective amongst elites. In conditions when the status quo becomes vulnerable, activists must have capacity, shared consciousness, and resources to take collective action.’

‘Because administrators can “wait students out” for the several years in which students may attend to diversity efforts, we will need to consider ethical ways to encourage “smart activism” amongst our students.’

Finally, ‘Despite good, widely shared intentions, the discipline cannot “mentor” black women out of the racism, sexism, and classism that bind them in multiple ways. [There is] a crisis afoot in political science. In what may be unprecedented fashion, faculty of color are departing the discipline at alarming rates.’

Recruitment of visible minorities encountered numerous problems. UB’s Political Science Department did not stand alone. Colleges and universities across the country scrambled for candidates. MPRU’s [major public research universities] faced particularly high obstacles to such appointments. Their desire for nationally recognized scholars impeded searches. One ‘solution’ affected HBCU’s [Historically Black Colleges and Universities] significantly. Their faculties and senior administrators were raided, lured by higher salaries and benefits, diminished teaching loads and administrative duties, and similar blandishments.⁶¹

Will the ‘Black Lives Matter’ movement of 2020 have a major ripple effect through Academe? College and university faculty usually change at glacial rates, at least at tenured ranks, short of formal declaration of fiscal exigency.⁶² At least as of late July 2020, UB had not invoked retrenchment against tenured faculty members. Many non-tenured assistant professors, lecturers and the like faced loss of their jobs. Professional staff lacking permanent appointment may be even more likely to be cut, judging by previous cuts. The unquestionable result will be

increasing teaching loads for remaining faculty members – will the practice of one graduate seminar and three undergraduate courses annually continue?
 Enrollments in individual classes will doubtless increase.

UB and the World: International faculty and students

The Political Science Department established International Relations as a field upon its creation and, throughout the period covered by this history, remained one of its finest – witness the reports from the 2007 and 2016 external evaluation committees. In this concluding chapter, it behooves us to examine briefly the University’s changing global profile, since the merger between the private University of Buffalo and the State University of New York. I shall give attention primarily to graduate students coming from outside the United States to UB as a whole, and to non-American faculty members in PSC.

The University at Buffalo’s leaders sought consistently to boost UB’s academic profile and visibility, going back to the ‘Berkeley of the East’ hoopla of the 1960s. In order to do so, they turned outside the United States to bring exceptional individuals to Buffalo, as faculty, students or short-term visitors. Official campus pronouncements and publications trumpeted achievements, such as luring a Nobel Prize winner to campus.⁶³ Given the global nature of scholarship, UB had to compete internationally for the highest quality individuals, at every level.

How did this fact of 20th and 21st century university become manifest at UB’s institutional level, and within the Department of Political Science in particular?

The table below summarizes significant increases in the presence of non-US students from 1980 to 2019, by decades.

Table 6,4 International Student Enrollment, 1980-2019

	Total Enrollment			Graduate Enrollment			
	Total	Intern'l	% Int.	Intern'l	Total	Intern'l	% Int.
1980	269,549	17,035	6%	4,797	82,633	12,238	15%
1990	221,081	18,217	8%	3,685	74,340	14,532	20%
2000	271,537	33,165	12%	11,444	91,003	21,721	24%

2010	300,716	60,747	20%	31,989	98,054	28,758	29%
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¹ Source: SUNY Institutional Research and Analytics; Infosource ISI_STUDENT_OIA_ALL.

Contact Samantha Schichtel-Greenwood at sagreenw@buffalo.edu for details.

These figures reflect exceptional recruitment efforts undertaken for UB by coordinated efforts, mounted by the Office of the Vice Provost for International Education. Here, I wish to give special recognition to Stephen Dunnett, who served as VPUE for several years. Starting as Director of the English Language Institute, Dunnett coordinated and developed innovative techniques to increase the flow of qualified international students. Individual Departments or faculty members enjoyed links with institutions outside the United States, but crucial issues such as visa requirements, evaluation of credentials and enhancing UB's image as a world-class University required special offices, expertise, and exceptional dedication.

To be sure, UB, in common with other universities, benefited from higher tuition rates charged to out-of-state and to non-US citizens. In addition, many STEM disciplines and some professional schools drew a majority of graduate students from outside the United States.

The Department drew professors with international roots.

Table 6,5 PSC faculty born outside of the United States

Name	Country of origin	Years at UB
Karel Hulicka	Czechoslovakia	Before 1960 to 1964. He remained in History after PSC split from HIS
John Lane	Germany	1962-1991
Roy Macridis	Turkey	1963-1965
Tetsuoya Kataoka	Japan	1967-1973
Munroe Eagles	Canada	1989-present [2021]
Franco Mattei	Italy	1997-2011
Eric Duchesne	Canada	1999-2004
Hanna Birnir	Iceland	2001-2007
Vesna Danilovic	Serbia	2005-present [2021]

Dinissa Duvanova	Kazakhstan	2007-2013
Josh Dyck	Canada	2006-2011
Elena McLean	Russia	2015-present [2021]
Antoine Yoshinaka	Canada	2015-present [2021]
Jieun Lee	Korea	2020-present [2021]

Space and time considerations preclude a detailed analysis of the steps taken at the University-wide level. Within Political Science, international student enrollment grew in the period under review.

Issues in recruiting new and junior faculty

Potentially the most significant and academic significant question the Department faced through its entire history involved recruitment and promotion of new and junior faculty. Personnel costs for academic institutions are notoriously ‘sticky.’⁶⁴

Here are some assertions I’ve heard or read over time about factors explaining unsuccessful recruitment efforts.

- UB’s low starting salaries for assistant professors, *relative to the level of competition UB faces for high quality faculty.*
- Myth and fact of Buffalo winter weather
- Desire to remain in same area as partner
- Small size of Buffalo’s Political Science Department -> relative lack of colleagues.

Although each of these bullet points contains a nugget of truth, the ‘exceptions’ were more numerous, thanks to carefully thought-out recruitment and retention strategies.⁶⁵ Tailoring searches to take maximal advantage of curricular changes succeeded. Growing the number of majors responsibly could make a difference at the College and higher levels.

In short, Department leaders thought ahead strategically, not in terms primarily of ‘holes to be filled’ but opportunities for long-term success. They did so *while enhancing PSC’s quality and coverage.*

Buffalo's climate doubtless influenced recruitment problems. I did not gather information systematically, but a quick summary of assistant professors appointed between 2010 and 2020 yields the following: two returned to the south for family reasons and another departed to join her spouse. Recruitment and *retention* of faculty members with northern US origins and/or graduate training there proved simpler. Their reasons included moving closer to one's partner, returning to natal areas; and graduate degrees from northern universities.

The Model European Union (MUN)⁶⁶

One of the most significant off-campus experiences for Political Science undergraduates comes via the Model European Union (MUN). It was initially organized by Bill Andrews of SUNY Brockport. The first simulation was held there in 1988. Initially, SUNYLUX (as the simulation was then called) operated in partnership with the Luxembourg Institute for European and International Studies. It has gone through several organizational and name changes over the years.

UB became involved in 1991, when a delegation from our campus participated in the Brockport meeting. We then joined the first European meeting, held in Luxembourg in 1992. Since then, the simulation has alternated between venues in Europe and in New York State. Initially, we met in Luxembourg, where we had full access to the European Parliament facilities, including the hemicycle and country delegation offices.

With the retirement of Andrews in 2001, the simulation headquarters moved to SUNY Fredonia, where it was led by Laurie Buonanno, a UB graduate and professor of Political Science. In the early 2000s, the headquarters moved again to SUNY New Paltz, where it currently remains. Venues in Europe where "EuroSim" met include Prague, Czech Republic; Leuven, Belgium; Brussels, Belgium; Exeter, UK; Izmir, Turkey; and Tilburg, Holland (among others).

Schools participating in the simulation have varied over the years, in large part depending on the availability and interest of a faculty (or graduate student) advisor. Over the years New York members included Canisius College, Colgate

University, Columbia University, Cornell University, New York University, Hamilton College, Skidmore College, St. John Fisher College, the SUNY colleges at Brockport, Cortland, Fredonia, Geneseo, New Paltz, Jamestown Community College, and the University at Buffalo (UB). It has also met at various universities and colleges in New York State, including the SUNY Global Center in Manhattan. Students from all over Europe have participated in these simulations over the years, with various German and British universities being the most regular supporters.

Apart from a few years when our UB "Model EU Club" was recognized by our Student Association (making some limited financial support for our delegation available), students fund-raised in order to subsidize the costs of participation, but otherwise had to use their own funds. While I (Munroe Eagles) served as faculty advisor for the group for the first decade or so, it has now been advised by senior graduate students in our department.

The contributions that the Model EU has made to our students over the years have been genuinely significant. More than a hundred UB students have taken part in these events, learning about the EU, experiencing working as part of a team, and interacting with colleagues from all over the United States and Europe. When the simulations took place in Europe, many students took advantage of the opportunity to travel more widely on the continent. One of the early participants, now a highly successful lawyer with her own law practice in Manhattan, underscored the value of her participating an early simulation in Luxembourg in the following terms:

You have changed my life when you took our class to the Model European Community (now EU) student conference during my senior year at UB. Because of that trip, I went on to backpacking in Europe by myself. Those travels had expanded my horizon and allowed me to have confidence to be a global citizen. Today I am an international attorney working with multinational corporations focusing on food and beverages and technology industries.

Summing up a score of years: Doing well ‘despite ...’

Although the Department entered the millennium at its smallest number of full-time faculty since 1964, it had learned how to function, and to function *well*, '[within] the confines of a culture of poverty at a higher level than might be expected,' as the 2006 visiting committee commented. By 2020, PSC stood proud nationally for the achievements of its faculty and graduates alike.

The 2000-2020 period witnessed exceptional efforts to recruit new junior scholars. Most important: the Department had achieved a degree of harmony on basic directions and principles that searches proceeded relatively smoothly.

As faculty rosters show, some 'churn' existed at the assistant professor level between 2000 and 2020. The decade began with the Department counting only 12 full-time faculty members, *the lowest since its second year of existence as a distinct academic unit*. Fall 2019 seemed to show little progress: a dozen 'ladder' professors, plus one 'clinical' appointment.⁶⁷

Recruitment committees confronted several obstacles. First, the Buffalo region suffered from a long-standing negative image. It was cold and liable to horrendous lake effect snowstorms – who ever mentions the glorious summers? UB was located in a suburb far removed from urban cultural life. Salaries, although good, could not match those offered by better-funded institutions, notably at non-tenured ranks. Western New York as a part of the 'Rust Belt' had experienced decades of economic decline. Other arguments could be and were advanced.

Negative consequences flowed from the Department's small size, especially relative to peer institutions. Younger, less firmly rooted assistant professors or promising newly-tenured associate professors were eminently poachable by other institutions. A 'critical mass' of compatible colleagues – i.e., who shared or reinforced each other's' research specializations *sufficient to attract national attention* – might be missing, with consequent effects on stability.

Throughout the great majority of Department meetings I recall and Annual Reports I consulted, the same complaint existed. Correct! Political Science staffing at UB remained a fraction of practically every university within UB's peer group, the Association of American Universities [AAU].⁶⁸

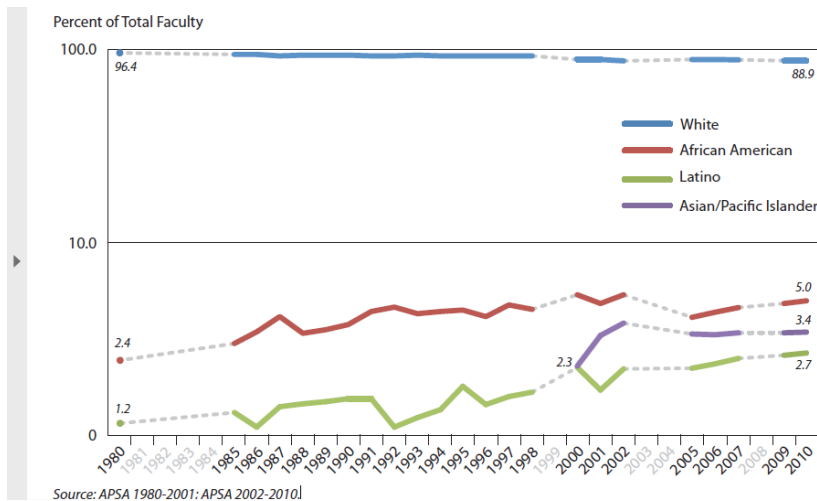
The National Research Council [NRC] developed annual ratings of graduate programs' quality. Their average size was 24 faculty members.⁶⁹ As Chair Frank Zagare observed in 2002, 'A department staffed at 50% of the national average simply compete with peer national or even regional universities for graduate students, for funding, for visibility, or for prestige.'⁷⁰⁷¹ Even worse, as successive chairs bemoaned, SUNY's three other university centers sported larger Political Science departments than Buffalo.⁷² That cut to the quick, as UB doubled down on image-making efforts.⁷³

One effort to deal with staff shortfalls came in the late 1990s/early 2000s. PSC joined with other social science departments to offer joint graduate seminars.⁷⁴ Cross-listings continued with Communications, Geography and Sociology, for example. They did not work out well over time, however, and gradually disappeared. Despite the challenges of size, the Department continued to respond with new curricular. Student interest, trends in the discipline, the national marketplace for BA and post-BA recipients, faculty expertise and the like all contributed to scrutiny.

One of the most significant changes came in 2001/02, with the creation of Public Law as a new field of concentration. This reflected growing student interest in attending law school, faculty expertise, and a significant market for individuals with training in academic disciplines as well as legal credentials.⁷⁵

The Department increasingly recognized undergraduate student achievement. Upon his retirement in 1988, Professor Robert Stern endowed a prize for the best undergraduate paper.⁷⁶ Another means of recognizing outstanding performance came via Pi Sigma Alpha, PSC's national honorary society.⁷⁷ Further opportunities came through the Model European Union, described at length above. Participation remained constrained by finances, however.

PSC did not enjoy a pool of endowed funds from which scholarships or grants could be provided, save for the Stern Award, the Welch Award,⁷⁸ the Paul Senese Graduate Student award, and most recently [established in 2021], the Harvey Starr Fellow program aimed at supporting junior faculty.



‘When GenEd meets GenZ’

Previous chapters in this history touched upon revisions in overall baccalaureate requirements. I discern three fundamental transformations. First, President Meyerson's ‘Academic Organization of the University’ 1966 recommendations led to fundamental changes, including reduction in the number of courses and creation of the College system. Many of these revisions eroded over time, notably the reincarnation of the Colleges into parts of the Social Sciences Interdisciplinary program and a return to a five-course, 120-hour requirement from the four course, 128-hour requirement. Second, the creation of the Undergraduate College resulted in significant alterations in the early 1990s. Most notably, required courses in ‘World Civilizations’, ‘American Pluralism and the Search for Equality,’ and ‘Great Discoveries in Science and Scientific Inquiry’ emerged.⁷⁹ There the requirements basically rested until 2009,⁸⁰ when then-Provost Satish Tripathi established a task force on General Education. SUNY adopted system-wide GenEd requirements nearly simultaneously. The stage was thus set for the third fundamental shift, translating Tripathi’s Task Force’s recommendations into curricular reality. In 2013, newly arrived Provost ‘Chip’ Zukowski continued the effort, appointing a 25-person committee to follow up his *Realizing UB2020* initiative. Its ‘Preliminary Report to the Curriculum and Assessment Task Force’ appeared in December 2013.⁸¹

To quote its Executive Summary, the Committee ‘finds that the present program of General Education at UB – while not without merit – lacks the coherence,

dynamism and content that students both need and deserve at a world class institution. The committee recommends that the structure of the present program be discontinued and replaced with a design that provides shared experiences and purposeful pathways through the program that will help students to understand what they are and why.'

The GenEd committee sought distinctive requirements - 'branding' - and the 'somewhat poisoned associations of the phrase core curriculum.' Indeed, given increasingly heated competition for students with shrinking cohorts of high school graduates, these emphases seemed essential. The desired result: a 'core curriculum' that could then be utilized for 'marketing, branding and design that would foster learning for college and for life.'⁸² Quoting more fully,

*The program will draw upon the full resources of a comprehensive research university and embrace a global perspective that seeks to instill in its students an appreciation for human and cultural diversity. It will promote a commitment to civic engagement. It will be a program that excites the imagination, primes the appetite for lifelong learning, and carries within it the distinct identity of the University at Buffalo.*⁸³

The committee identified four 'key terms': 'integrative', 'global', 'comprehensive', and 'lifelong'. Specific 'learning outcomes' would be satisfied by the following 'components': a first year seminar; 'Foundation Courses' that would cover computational reasoning; communicative literacy, and scientific inquiry; and 'theme clusters' that would result in 'integrative learning.'⁸⁴ Herein lay the most significant part of the Committee's proposals, I believe. As envisaged in the Preliminary Report, UB undergraduates should complete two of five 'clusters.' 'Finally, they must submit an 'e-Portfolio' in which they would 'describe, reflect and analyze connections between the courses in their theme clusters, while also making connections between the courses in the Core Education program and their major.'⁸⁵

As a quondam academic administrator as well as 'regular' teaching-and-research faculty member, I quickly came to the same conclusion as the GenEd Committee: 'Implementing a new program will require enormous effort, and involve a

complex transition that is bound to create some disruption, however elegant the design.’⁸⁶

The June 2014 ‘Final Report’ recommended a set of requirements, focused on a core of 35 to 39 credit hours. An Office of General Education reporting to the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education would oversee the GenEd/ academic core curriculum. The desired result: ‘a thoughtful course of study, owned by the faculty, that is built around the core values of liberal education and the skills required of a modern citizen.’⁸⁷ A ‘cluster’, the Committee wrote, ‘is a series of courses linked by theme or content. The Thematic Integrative and Global Integrative Clusters constitute more than half of the proposed General Education program, and represent the core of the integrative learning experience.’⁸⁸ Encouragement went out to faculty around the entire University to think broadly and innovatively. The most far-reaching proposal involved ‘Pathways’. They would not supplant requirements for Departmental majors, but supplement them.

No less than 40 intriguing proposals emerged, some only a single word that, in Walt Whitman’s words, ‘contain[s] multitudes.’⁸⁹ Consider the potential diversity of themes potentially drawing classes from multiple Schools and Departments: ‘Sexuality’, ‘Water’, ‘Masterworks’, ‘Spectacular Worlds’ or ‘Avant Gardes.’ Many of the faculty-recommended pathways overlapped. Take, for example, ‘Solving Social Problems’; ‘Understanding Racism’; and ‘Crime and Punishment.’ Hence, a crucial follow-up involved individual Departments scrambling to retrofit existing courses or create new ones to fit the revised requirements.

Particularly as a result of hard work by Harvey Palmer, the Chair of Political Science at this point, the Department created new classes or adapted existing ones to fit within the thematic pathways, ‘Diversity in the United States,’ or ‘Global Perspectives’. A summary of these revisions follows.

Pathway requirements

Students had to take three courses in a specific pathway in order to meet the requirements of any approved pathway. Course 1 is usually a 100 level course, course 2 can be either a lower level course or an upper level course, and course 3 is a 300-level course/ upper division class. According to the final obligations on Departments, pathway courses must be taught on a frequent (at least once per

year) and predictable schedule. 'Students must have the ability to complete Pathways selections as planned, according to the typically offered schedule available in the registration.'⁹⁰ Courses within the Pathways must be appropriate for beginning-level students across all majors. Courses should be an introduction to a broad field or to a sub-discipline or may explore a broad area of a discipline with some depth.

Only courses centrally global in nature were eligible for inclusion in a **Global Reflections** topic. A course would be recognized as 'global' in perspective if it devotes at least 50% of its time to issues situated in international or foreign perspectives, or to issues involving different cultural identities and movements. This may include American courses when at least 50% of the material relates to issues situated in an international or foreign perspective (e.g. courses on immigrant movements and communities; on American policies and national movements and their impact in other parts of the world; etc.).

Courses that met the **Diversity in the United States** requirement had to ensure that UB graduates could demonstrate some measure of "cultural competency" within the diverse communities of the U.S. and particularly New York State. Diversity courses focus on the challenges and possibilities in the diverse society in the United States, in contemporary and recent history.

Particularly as a result of hard work by Harvey Palmer, the Chair of Political Science at this point, the Department created new classes or adapted existing ones to fit within the new strictures. Eighteen courses were retailored. These efforts gave Political Science an advantageous position by providing a smorgasbord of classes, appealing to undergraduates at all levels, and in a wide variety of majors. The Department had become one of the most efficient units in the College of Arts and Sciences not only in shepherding teaching resources, but also in enhancing scholarly output.

Conclusion: *Fluctuat nec mergitur*

The official seal of Paris shows a single-masted Viking-style boat, beneath *fleurs de lis*, the mark of the Bourbon dynasty. Roughly translated, the slogan *Fluctuat nec Mergitur* means "[She] is tossed [by the waves], but does not sink."

In my view, this motto characterizes the Department of Political Science throughout its history. PSC rose to new heights with favorable inputs, descended when resources became straitened, but eventually established an equilibrium that combined high rates of scholarly productivity, coupled with effective, efficient teaching.



Selected faculty accomplishments

segment
a mere

enjoyed little opportunity to ‘take wing’ academically. The following year, when the merger into SUNY had been fully consummated, PSC swelled to nine, including nationally known stars Roy Macridis, a specialist in Comparative Politics,⁹¹ and John Wahlke, a highly respected scholar of American Politics.⁹² The faculty’s size continued to grow: to 13; to 16; to 19; to 26; to 29. Other highly recognized scholars came during the 1960s, including Les Milbrath,⁹³ Ken Vines⁹⁴ and Al Somit.⁹⁵

The maximum faculty size came in the Department’s early years. As chronicled in Chapter 2, the merger of the private University of Buffalo into the State University of New York system resulted in seemingly endless influxes of additional funds. Political Science gained autonomy as a new, scientifically oriented entity. Having been much the smaller of the Department of History and Government, with four faculty members in 1962-63, Political Science

By 2020, three other faculty members had received special accolades for their outstanding scholarship and service. *Frank Zagare* came to UB as associate Professor in 1987. Respected for his publications in international relations theory; conflict processes; interstate crisis, escalation and war; alliance dynamics; and game theory, he published path-breaking works such as *Perfect Deterrence; The Games of July: Explaining the Great War; Game Theory, Diplomatic History and Security Studies*; and *The Dynamics of Deterrence*. Zagare’s publications received significant attention in the discipline, with 2445 citations.⁹⁶ In 2005, he received the Susan Strange Award from the International Studies Association. This award ‘recognizes a person whose singular intellect, assertiveness, and insight most

challenge conventional wisdom and intellectual and organizational complacency in the international studies community.’ He also chaired Political Science from 1991-97 (the year in which he became full professor) until 2004-05, the longest tenure in that position in PSC’s history.

Jim Campbell came to the Department in 1998-99, having previously served on the faculties of Louisiana State University and the University of Georgia, as an APSA Congressional Fellow and as a program director at the National Science Foundation. Specializing in American Politics, he published prolifically on American macropolitics, political polarization and public opinion, campaigns and elections, political parties, participation and empirical democratic theory. He authored four books, including *Polarized* (Princeton, 2016) and *The American Campaign* (Texas A&M, 2000), and more than 80 research articles and book chapters. He also served on many boards of professional journals and associations, including as President of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honor society. According to Google Scholar, Campbell was cited in 4912 publications, nearly one-third of them between 2015 and 2020.⁹⁷ He was elevated to UB Distinguished Professor in 2011.

Claude Welch became SUNY Distinguished Service Professor in 1989. An interdisciplinary scholar in human rights, African politics, and the political roles of armed forces, he received lifetime achievement awards from TIAA and the SUNY Research Foundation, the American Political Science Association, and the International Studies Association. Google Scholar indicated 3538 citations to his publications.⁹⁸ His 14 books included *Human Rights in Africa, No Farewell to Arms?, Soldier and State in Africa* and *Pan-Africanism and Political Unification in West Africa*. Welch served as Department chair 1980-83, as well as Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs, 1976-80, Acting Vice President for Academic Affairs, summer 1980, and Dean, Division of Undergraduate Studies, 1967-70

Broad cycles in the Department’s history

The first abrupt change occurred in the mid-1970s, when New York City teetered on the brink of bankruptcy. The era of growth, which stressed qualitative and quantitative improvement, shuddered to a halt. Some senior disciplinary luminaries left. Recruitment of new colleagues ceased abruptly. The Department had reached its maximum size of 30 professors in 1970-71, when it counted eight

full professors, seven associates, and 15 assistants. Attrition by a hiring freeze, exodus of some faculty members, and non-renewal of assistant professors became a strategy of necessity.

Despite adverse circumstances during parts of the Department's history, its members never ceased developing new approaches to teaching and research. Team research, exemplified by individually guided Independent Studies and by thesis advisement at BA, MA and PhD levels, marked the Department from its inception. Indeed, the power to grant doctoral degrees differentiated the public University at Buffalo, as part of SUNY, from its prior guise as a smaller, regionally oriented private institution that did not award the PhD in Government, although it did so in History.

Cooperation across Departmental or even School lines served to magnify individuals' scholarly accomplishments and curricular outreach. Cross-disciplinarity formed part of the Department's ethos. Examples included the joint JD-PhD program, a highly demanding dual degree program carried out with the Law School. Although an intra-Departmental effort to offer an MA in Public Policy foundered because of budget squeezes in the early 1980s and other factors, the spirit of innovation remained. The desire to enhance learning opportunities remained unquenched.

The "Founding Fathers" of the Department strongly embraced what in the 1960s was widely called the "Behavioral Revolution." As expressed in Wikipedia,

Behaviouralism (or **behavioralism**) is an approach in political science that emerged in the 1930s in the United States. It represented a sharp break from previous approaches in emphasizing an objective, quantified approach to explain and predict political behaviour.^{[1][2]} It is associated with the rise of the behavioural sciences, modeled after the natural sciences.^[3] Behaviouralism claims it can explain political behaviour from an unbiased, neutral point of view.⁹⁹

All Political Science students, irrespective of what degree they sought, had to acquire empirical skills fitted to the discipline. In the long sweep of the Department's history, PSC 502, "Introduction to Empirical Political Science," started in early years of the computer revolution. Students and faculty alike used

the famed Hollerith punch cards for tabulating data – ironically, using a technique invented by a Buffalonian.¹⁰⁰ This form of computer technology relied upon a few gigantic computers – main frames initially with vacuum tube, later with transistors. When the Department moved into Park Hall, only one office could communicate directly with the computer center.¹⁰¹ The invention of distributed computing via PC's and extensive off-campus use transformed the ease, speed and utilization of large data sets. On-line teaching became increasingly common, the Covid pandemic accelerating reliance upon individual's computers and widespread use of Zoom for teaching. PSC faculty thus utilized techniques practiced in the natural and behavioral sciences from the Department's inception.

Individual faculty members participated extensively in periodic revision of degree requirements, whether intra-Departmental or Arts and Sciences-wide. Many new courses were created, others significantly revised, to meet changing curricula. Political Science did not regard itself as an island unto itself. Rather, its members recognized, as did Aristotle,¹⁰² that Political Science lay at the core of society's effective operation. This meant that, in ideal general education requirements, the basic lessons of PSC belonged at the center.

Be they undergraduates, MA or doctoral candidates, Political Science students learned both 'political' and 'science' aspects. Courses stressing current political issues resulted in large enrollments, as witness classes dealing with campaigns during election years. Those with 'law' in their titles similarly attracted students aiming for legal training and potential JD degrees. In terms of 'science,' the Department required knowledge of statistics and, in advanced classes (400-600 level), competence to use advanced research techniques.

Many members of the Department sought to create and reinforce links with other units. Earlier parts of this chapter and of this entire history demonstrated this willingness. This is not to say that interdisciplinary activities came easily. Because of PSC's small faculty size, and given the importance of total credit hours in determining budget allocations, classes swelled to numbers impeding close student-faculty interaction. Essay exams were supplanted by machine-scored multiple-choice tests. Further, the high demand meant that graduate students and adjunct or clinical faculty taught increasing proportions of the Department's curriculum. Despite these constraints, members of the Department, faculty and students alike, continued to increase their per capita scholarly output, leading to

increased national recognition for academic excellence. The accomplishments of Political Science figured in the University at Buffalo's rise in national and international rankings.

Political Science at UB indeed has been "tossed [by the waves], but does not sink."

¹ Information in this section comes from my colleague, Jim Campbell. The 2011 data were compiled when he served as Department Chair, and were intended to inform senior CAS and UB-wide administrators that Political Science was under-resourced. I recall the immediate response of then-President John Simpson when Jim circulated the tables. Speaking in a meeting he and Provost Tripathi attended in Park Hall, he said, in effect, 'Every Department at UB lacks resources, so you should be figuring out how to get more from non-State sources.'

² I wish to thank Joe Mason, a BA recipient from the Department, for his helpful research assistance with this section.

³ I do not wish to imply that little thought went into the Annual Reports. They drew from the base: faculty members submitted 'Faculty Progress Reports,' from which the Chairs distilled summaries for consideration by the CAS Dean, the Provost, UB's President and, I ultimately suppose, SUNY's Chancellor, the Board of Trustees, the Board of Regents Hyperspace Please pardon my skepticism.

⁴ Quoting from state law, 'The Texas Education Code [§51.301](#) requires Texas public university and community college students to complete six semester hours of coursework in government/political science as part of the Core Curriculum (core component code 070).' <https://admissions.utexas.edu/apply/transfer-resources/common-credit-issues/government>, visited July 29, 2020.

⁵ 'Banner' grant years, totaling more than \$250,000, have thus far come only twice, in my recollection and as of summer 2020.

The first came in the mid-1970s, when Glenn Snyder and Paul Diesing received funds for their deterrence project. It spawned numerous publications, including their highly influential 1977 book, *Conflict among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making and System Structure in International Politics*. Their research can be readily accessed. Frank Zagare invested significant effort in putting together Snyder and Diesing's material, including case studies and working papers. See <http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~fczagare/Deterrence%20Project.htm>. Scholars and policy specialists around the world are finding this website insightful.

Other major grants of note occurred in the early 1990s. First, Philosophy Professor Newton Garver and I co-directed an eight-week summer seminar for college teachers. "Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice" received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Secondly, I worked closely with Law Professor Virginia Leary, a specialist in international law, for a three-year, Geneva-based summer internship program. The Ford Foundation provided more than \$200,000 in support for the overseas portion summers 1991-93, as well for pilot programs 1989-91. We took great pride in our achievement. This was the first such non-US based internship in international human rights law. Other schools, including Yale, trailed UB's lead.

⁶ Jóhanna Birnir, *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁷ Charles M. Lamb, *Housing Segregation in Suburban America since 1960: Presidential and Judicial Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁸ Rhoda Hassmann and Claude E. Welch, Jr., *Economic Rights in Canada and the United States* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006].

⁹ I refer here to Vesna Danilovic, who received her PhD under Frank Zagare's direction in 1995. She had previously served as associate professor at Texas Tech University.

¹⁰ Specifically, credit hours for undergraduate Political Science courses rose from 3641 to 5277.

¹¹ Members of the Visiting evaluation team included Professors Robert Erikson of Columbia University [American Politics], Bruce Bueno de Mesquita of New York University [International Politics], and Robert Rohrschneider of Indiana University [Comparative Politics].

¹² I owe special thanks to staff members of Political Science, the CAS Dean's office, and the University Archives for their assiduous and ultimately fruitless searches for the 'missing' document. No pot of gold existed at the end of the rainbow.

¹³ Issues can be found on the Department's website. <https://arts-sciences.buffalo.edu/political-science/news-events/the-pulse.html>.

¹⁴ Stern came to the Department in 1948, having completed his doctoral degree at Harvard, and retired in 1988 after 40 years of distinguished service. Only Claude Welch, who taught in the Department from 1964 to 2017, compiled a longer record at UB, by the date of writing.

¹⁵ Welch had received TIAA's first ever Lifetime Achievement Award in 2006. This honor was co-sponsored by the SUNY Research Foundation.

¹⁶ The three members include Alan Abramowitz [Emory University], John Vasquez [University of Illinois], and Harold Clarke [University of Texas, Dallas]. They specialized respectively in American Politics; International Relations, especially conflict resolution; and voting behavior, particularly statistical methodology.

¹⁷ Munroe Eagles initiated 'The Pulse' in the spring semester 2013. Annual publication has continued to this date, although the most recent [2020] issue was delayed several months owing in part to changed policies by the Dean's office.

¹⁸ *Washington Post*, September 15, 2017.

¹⁹ James E. Campbell, *Polarization: Making Sense of a Divided America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

²⁰ 'The Pulse,' Vol. 6, spring 2018.

²¹ Quoted in 'The Pulse,' Vol. 7, fall 2019.

²² Senese joined the Department in 1997, as an IR specialist. Promoted to associate professor in 2005, he succumbed to cancer in 2006, before his 40th birthday. As recounted at 'The Pulse,' Vol. 7, fall 2019, 'More than anything, Paul loved research, and spent countless hours working on his degrees, publishing articles and co-authoring *The Steps to War: An Empirical Study* (Princeton, 2008). Paul continued to work on this book throughout his illness, and he passed away a few days before the completion of the draft.'

²³ Rachel Hinkle, 'How to Lose Cases and Influence People,' *Statistics, Politics, and Policy* <http://rachaelkhinkle.com/research.html>. In the words of one summary, 'If you're going to disagree with people, you might as well make a stink. Anything else, and you're destined to be forgettable. ... [The article] concludes that Legal losers can be influential – especially sore losers.' Quoted in 'The Pulse,' Vol. 7, p. 18.

²⁴ 'Democrats could gain as many as 44 seats and emerge from November's mid-term elections with control in the House of Representatives, according to an innovative forecasting tool developed by a political scientist. Republicans, meantime, are likely to pick up an additional two Senate seats and preserve their majority in the supper house of Congress.' 'The Pulse,' Vol. 7, p. 22.

²⁵ Were it not for the Covid-19 pandemic and abrupt recession/ hiring freeze, the Department might in fact have made an additional appointment or two. They would have bolstered PSC's minority faculty. Email from Munroe Eagles to the author, August 9, 2020.

²⁶ Email to the author from Munroe Eagles, August 9, 2020.

²⁷ To recall briefly details from her career, Reid came from a wealthy family, attended Vassar and Harvard, and published significant research in international law, diplomacy, history, government and international trade at Harvard. The American Political Science Association gives an annual award for the best doctoral dissertation, while a charitable foundation set up in her name provides assistantships. See Chapter two of this history for details.

²⁸ Political Science, it will be recalled, formed part of the Department of History and Government until fall 1963. I did not check records of the History Department, which may reveal some ladder rank faculty on its rolls prior to the merger with SUNY.

²⁹ This section was written in August and September 2020. I anticipate that further shifts in gender balance will occur in the future, as increasing numbers of women 'enter the pipeline.'

³⁰ Ann Scott, 'The Half-Eaten Apple: A Look at Sex Discrimination in the University,' *The Reporter*, April 30, 1970. I am grateful to the UB Archives staff for locating and copying this valuable report for me. It be accessed via the Web at <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED041566>.

³¹ I presume all of them were tenured. The relevant table in Scott's study also indicates 95 male full professors, five women. I assume that the higher figure included individuals with 'qualified' titles ['clinical professors' etc.] in addition to 'regular' tenured faculty. Persons with 'qualified' titles generally do not enjoy the protection of tenure.

³² Cynically, one could assert that gender bias played a part as well. Consider the case of Cecilia Payne-Gaposchkin. According to Wikipedia, she ‘was a British-born American [astronomer](#) and [astrophysicist](#) who proposed in her 1925 [doctoral thesis](#) that [stars](#) were composed primarily of [hydrogen](#) and [helium](#). Her groundbreaking conclusion was initially rejected because it contradicted the scientific wisdom of the time, which held that there were no significant elemental differences between the [Sun](#) and [Earth](#). Independent observations eventually proved she was correct.’ She spent her entire academic career at Harvard, but ran up against the glass ceiling, as women could not become professors there. Payne-Gaposchkin’s courses weren’t even listed in the Harvard catalogue until 1945! Her academic talent was finally recognized in 1956, when she became the first woman to be promoted to full professor from within the faculty at [Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences](#). How many people get an asteroid named after them, as she did?

Another salient example comes from Ruth Bader Ginsburg who, as a Harvard Law student, married, became a mother, and was not allowed – despite her exemplary academic record – to receive a Harvard LLB. She had petitioned to finish her final years in New York City, where her husband had settled. Harvard apologized, in a fashion, by awarding her an honorary Doctor of Laws degree in 2011. [It was my 50th anniversary of my graduation from Harvard College, so I was present at the conferral.] The University at Buffalo also recognized Justice Ginsburg with an honorary degree in August 2019, a year before her death. The Center for the Arts was almost totally filled for the occasion, which happened shortly before the fall semester started.

³³ Roberta Sigel was married to eminent Piaget scholar psychologist Irving Sigel, who taught at UB from 1970-75. I could not obtain significant information about her life, but recollect her special interest in political socialization. She edited *Learning about Politics: A Reader in Political Socialization* (New York: Random House, 1970), and solo-authored *Ambition and Accommodation: How Women View Gender Relations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), among other works.

³⁴ Marilyn subsequently married Gary Hoskin, who stood among the earliest appointees to PSC following UB’s merger into SUNY.

³⁵ When Political Science moved into Park Hall in 1986, Marilyn was assigned to Room 417. UB lacked distributed, desktop computers at that time. We relied on a mainframe computer, likely housed at Ridge Lea. Marilyn’s office was the only one equipped in the very early 1980s to communicate easily with it. Room 417’s position at the SW corner of Park meant it measured ca. 40 percent larger than standard 120 sq. ft. offices. When Marilyn resigned in to become a Dean at State University College/ Buffalo [SUC-B, in the distressing acronym] in 1989, she bequeathed the space to me. Result: I could easily park my bicycle in it, rather than leave it to the elements outside the building.

³⁶ None of them were women.

³⁷ Benson was promoted to assistant professor, a ladder faculty rank, in 2001.

³⁸ Within International Relations, Benson concentrates on conflict processes; international organizations; international trade and cooperation; social movements; ethnic conflict; and econometrics.

³⁹ As previously noted, Danilovic had received her doctorate at UB decade earlier, working with Frank Zagare. According to the Department website, her specializations include international conflict; strategic bargaining; domestic institutions; foreign policy; and quantitative research methods in international relations.

⁴⁰ Duvanova quickly established an excellent reputation in Russian and Eastern European politics. Her book, *Goods, Selective Incentives, and Predatory States* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) received the Ed A. Hewett Book Prize for outstanding publication on the political economy of Russia, Eurasia and/or Eastern Europe.

<https://ir.cas.lehigh.edu/content/dinissa-duvanova>, accessed July 22, 2020. Dinissa is an ethnic Russian, born in Kazakhstan.

⁴¹ She went to the University of Georgia, where she specializes in quantitative examination of judges and litigants in federal courts. <https://spia.uga.edu/faculty-member/christina-l-boyd/>, consulted September 21, 2020.

⁴² The Department website lists her areas of interest within Public Law as judicial politics; constitutional law; computational text analysis; and quantitative methods.

⁴³ The juxtaposition of Sociology with Political Science intrigues me. In terms of physical space, Sociology occupies most of Park Hall’s fourth floor, PSC taking the remainder and part of the fifth floor. In terms of intellectual sweep, the two disciplines share many similarities in terms of methodologies, areas of interest and the like. However, they differ significantly in terms of recruiting women. According to the current [2020-21] Chair of Sociology, ‘ for a number of years very few women worked in the Department. Today, with three new assistant profs coming on

board, 13 of the 20 faculty will be women (including our first clinical hire).’ Email to the author from Professor Robert Adelman, July 16, 2020.

⁴⁴ I do not wish to be interpreted as a simplistic advocate of absolute equality between the sexes. Close to equal reflection of the population in the doctoral pipeline seems a realistic, achievable goal for me by the late 2020’s. Sociology provides an interesting comparison. The 1970 Scott Report cited that Department as an underperformer in gender representation, compared with FSSA and UB as a whole. That situation persisted for several decades. When Robert Adelman joined Sociology in 2006, only two women taught in the Department. [It is slightly larger than PSC.] By fall 2020, by contrast, 13 of 20 faculty members were women. Email to the author from Professor Adelman, August 21, 2020.

⁴⁵ Within IPE, she concentrates on globalization; international trade and investment; campaign finance; lobbying; and policy making.

⁴⁶ Professor Matthews’ specialists within Public Law include judicial politics; constitutional law; state politics; gender and inequality; and quantitative methods

⁴⁷ Two other women with connections to UB’s Political Science Department merit special mention.

Karen O’Connor, who received both her PhD and JD from Buffalo, also made fundamental contributions towards enhancing women’s political role and influence, from her academic position. She served as Jonathan N. Helfat Distinguished Professor of Political Science. O’Connor created the American University Women & Politics Institute. Information about the Institute can be found at https://www.american.edu/spa/wpi/?_ga=2.127424389.923604287.1595420653-445419529.1595420653, accessed July 23, 2020.

Nancy McGlen taught in the Department from 1973-74 to 1979-80. She did not receive tenure, having been caught up in intra-Departmental disputes over appropriate directions. McGlen moved to Niagara University, where she became a highly respected teacher and scholar, including a stint as Dean of its College of Arts and Sciences. Her major books included *Women, Politics and American Society*, co-edited with Karen O’Connor, and *Women’s Rights: The Struggle for Equality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*.

⁴⁹ Marilyn Hoskin also gave birth while an assistant professor. As Munroe Eagles pointed out, ‘the absence of any maternity program – this was a cause of embarrassment to me while an Associate Dean and potential women recruits to social science departments asked about this.’ Email to the author September 20, 2020.

⁵⁰ Email to the author September 16, 2020.

⁵¹ I would also cite related ‘explanations,’ based in part on my years as an academic administrator at UB, notably between 1976 and 1980, when I served as Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs.

- Most fundamentally, was this a question of *supply* – the pipeline of PhD recipients – or an issue of *demand*, from many departments also dealing with baby boomer generation-generated enrollments?
- What about State of New York nepotism rules, which stood as an obstacle at times in the Department’s history?
- Once these policies were altered, a different problem arose. If one member of a couple emerged as the top candidate, what if his or her partner also desired an academic position? Two different units had to decide about an individual’s merits. Their criteria indubitably differed. The spouse of an ‘absolute must’ for department A might be hitched to a ‘why would we ever consider?’ individual B in a separate unit. As New York State funding diminished, spousal accommodation became significantly more difficult.
- What if tenure were involved for either or both persons? The stakes rose considerably in the face of ‘bets’ with consequences potentially playing out for several decades?
- To what extent should the University at Buffalo’s central administration, or SUNY as a whole, support affirmative action policies? The complex issues involved with AA policies go far beyond the scope of this history.
- Did the Department take part of the responsibility for underrepresentation? Faced with situations in which two candidates relatively similar in their merits, but of different sexes, did the predominantly male PSC faculty subconsciously favor another male?
- Analogously, did Political Science lack a sufficiently large core of women to make attract individuals who received offers?

- How well established were maternity leave policies within State of New York agencies? Did marked differences exist between branches typically dominated by women, such as clerical positions, and those held mainly by males, as in construction classifications?

⁵² Major published sources for this section include Sheila Ards and Maurice C. Woodward, 'African-Americans in the Profession,' *PS: Political Science and Politics* 25, 2, June 1992, 252-259, (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/419719?seq=1>, accessed August 25, 2020); Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, 'Leveraging Diversity in Political Science for Institutional and Disciplinary Change,' *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 48, 3, July 2015, 454-458 (<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/ps-political-science-and-politics/article/leveraging-diversity-in-political-science-for-institutional-and-disciplinary-change/C6F738E3B333BF98DFB75FB6D7383780>), accessed August 20, 2020; American Political Science Association, *Political Science in the 21st Century: Report of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century*, Washington DC: The Association, October 2011 (https://www.apsanet.org/portals/54/Files/Task%20Force%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_AllPgs_webres90.pdf), accessed July 25, 2020; and National Research Council, *Seeking Solutions: Maximizing American Talent by Advancing Women of Color in Academic: Summary of a Conference*. Washington DC: The National Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/18556>, consulted August 20, 2020.

⁵³ See the 'Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, popularly known as the Kerner Report. <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/8073NCJRS.pdf>, accessed July 27, 2020. According to Wikipedia, 'The report became an instant bestseller, and over two million Americans bought copies of the 426-page document. 'Its finding was that the riots resulted from black [sic.] frustration at the lack of economic opportunity. [Martin Luther King Jr.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Luther_King_Jr) pronounced the report a "physician's warning of approaching death, with a prescription for life.'" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerner_Commission, accessed July 27, 2020.

⁵⁴ Three contrasting non-PSC examples stand out in my mind. Molefi Asante, then named Arthur Smith, came to UB in 1972, at the age of 30! We became acquainted due in large part to our shared interest in Africa. Asante achieved international renown while working at Buffalo. According to Wikipedia, he '... advanced the ideas of international and intercultural communication; he wrote and published with colleagues, *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*, the first book in the field.' https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Molefi_Kete_Asante.

Another example is Hollis Lynch, founder of the Black Studies Program. His tenure at UB was exceptionally brief, since he headed to Columbia in 1969, one year after he arrived in Buffalo.

<https://www.thehistorymakers.org/biography/hollis-lynch>, consulted July 15, 2020]. Competition for Black American faculty, attractions offered by other institutions, and similar reasons meant Black/ African-American Studies did not view UB as the best place to plant their roots. More speculatively, perhaps the lack of a sufficiently large nucleus of minority faculty made Buffalo a less attractive venue than other colleges and universities. African-American Studies reached its half-century mark with little attention from most of the campus. See <https://www.ubspectrum.com/article/2019/02/ub-community-celebrates-50-years-of-african-and-african-american-studies>. By that time, African-American Studies formed part of the Department of Transnational Studies.

One shining contrary example of a 'reverse brain drain', whom I recall, was internationally known German historian Georg Iggers, SUNY Distinguished Professor [History]. Before coming to Buffalo, Iggers taught at Philander Smith, a historically Black college in Little Rock. He believed deeply in human rights. As a German Jew who fled just before *Kristallnacht*, this interest came from deep personal roots. Georg was deeply involved in the intellectual world. An amusing and admittedly alleged example came from a long-distance trip he and his wife Wilma took. He left the rest stop and drove 100 miles before realizing he had left her behind!

Brief and in my mind utterly inadequate biographical information can be found at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Iggers. Iggers was a towering figure in historiography and 20th c. German history. His focus on developments in the former East Germany [Deutsch Demokratische Republik] attracted global attention.

⁵⁵ The same requirement applied where women were underrepresented.

⁵⁶ Jim Campbell prepared a series of analyses for senior administration, to illustrate UB's unenviable position near the bottom. One report ranked nearly 120 programs in terms of size. [Campbell excluded Departments not falling in the top 20, according to a National Research Council (NRC) survey.] Buffalo, with 13 full-time faculty, counted more faculty than Mississippi State and Case Western Reserve. By contrast, Kennesaw State counted nearly three times as many professors, while George Mason included 83! In another analysis, Campbell looked at UB'S Arts and Sciences Departments rated by the NRC relative to their peers. Out of 103 Political Science departments, UB placed in the 13th percentile, while its relatively best-funded CAS sister units Chemistry and Philosophy ranked in the 77th

percentile. In a third analysis, Campbell concentrated on AAU [Association of American Universities] member institutions, the elite group of research-oriented institutions. He found that UB's Political Science Department, once again, stood practically at the bottom of the list in terms of faculty size: 53rd out of 55.

⁵⁷ Email to the author from Jessica Hollister, August 15, 2020.

⁵⁸ 'Political Science in the 21st Century: Report on the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century,' https://www.apsanet.org/portals/54/Files/Task%20Force%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_AllPgs_webres90.pdf, consulted July 24, 2020.

⁵⁹ Wallace became an increasingly prominent voice within APSA regarding minority women of color. For example, she served as Executive Director of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOPBS), was elected to the American Political Science Association (APSA) Executive Council, and was appointed/worked with two APSA Presidents' Task Forces on issues related to diversity and intersectionality. She also served on the Pinderhughes' taskforce as a member. [This report, 'Report of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century,' is cited at length elsewhere in this chapter].

⁶⁰ Valerie Sinclair-Chapman, 'Leveraging Diversity in Political Science for Institutional and Disciplinary Change,' <https://politicalsciencenow.com/leveraging-diversity-in-political-science-for-institutional-and-disciplinary-change/>, accessed August 21, 2020.

⁶¹. Three contrasting non-PSC examples stand out in my mind. Molefi Asante, then named Arthur Smith, came to UB in 1972, at the age of 30! We became acquainted due in large part to our shared interest in Africa. Asante achieved international renown while working at Buffalo. According to Wikipedia, he '... advanced the ideas of international and intercultural communication; he wrote and published with colleagues, *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*, the first book in the field.' https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Molefi_Kete_Asante.

Another example is Hollis Lynch, founder of the Black Studies Program. His tenure at UB was exceptionally brief, since he headed to Columbia in 1969, one year after he arrived in Buffalo! [<https://www.thehistorymakers.org/biography/hollis-lynch>, consulted July 15, 2020]. Competition for African-American faculty, attractions offered by other institutions, and similar reasons meant Black/ African-American Studies, perhaps the lack of a sufficiently large nucleus of minority faculty made Buffalo a less attractive venue than other colleges and universities. African-American Studies reached its half-century mark with little attention from most of the campus. See <https://www.ubspectrum.com/article/2019/02/ub-community-celebrates-50-years-of-african-and-african-american-studies>. By that time, African-American Studies formed part of the Department of Transnational Studies.

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⁶² Retrenchment is covered by Article 35 of the contract between SUNY and the United University Professions. The process is deliberately arduous and protracted.

⁶³ Sir John Eccles, laureate in physiology or medicine, established his lab at UB in the mid-1960s. See <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/medicine/1963/eccles/biographical/>, consulted March 11, 2021.

⁶⁴ Note the Nobel Prize in Economics, awarded in 2010 to Professors Peter Diamond, Dale Mortensen and Christopher Pissarides. Their contribution is summed 'for their analysis of markets with [theory of search frictions](#).' Tenured or permanent appointments cannot be changed rapidly, academic administrators learn quickly. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christopher_A._Pissarides

⁶⁵ In a telephone conversation with Al Somit, whose date I don't recall, he recalled a very distinguished Americanist, appointed as a full professor from outside UB, who soon developed severe medical problems yet hung on for several years.

⁶⁶ I am grateful to Munroe Eagles, who wrote this section. Email from Professor Eagles August 8, 2020. I have edited it slightly for continuity of style.

⁶⁷ This term is defined in the SUNY Board of Trustees Policies almost exclusively in terms of medical, dental and similar affiliated individuals, a significant part of whose income is derived from non-State resources.

⁶⁸ A list of its xxx members can be found at

https://www.google.com/search?q=american+association+of+universities+membership+list&rlz=1C1GCEA_enUS821US821&oq=association+american+universities+members&aqs=chrome.2.69i57j0l6j69i64.17623j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8 This link, visited April 2, 2020, listed the AAU's 63 participants from largest down in terms of student enrollment. The web site, at least as of this date, featured UB as the second graphic, immediately behind UC/Berkeley. Another web link displayed AAU members alphabetically, meaning UB fell close to the bottom.

<https://www.aau.edu/who-we-are/our-members>, consulted April 2, 2020.

⁶⁹ 2001/02 annual report.

⁷⁰ 2001/02 annual report.

⁷¹ Zagare also observed that 98 American universities granted PhD degrees in Political Science. Only *four* [my italics] had fewer faculty members – New Orleans, Claremont, Clark [Atlanta] and Idaho State.

⁷² According to the 2000/01 annual report, Albany's faculty totaled 22, Stony Brook 19, Binghamton 16 and UB 13!

⁷³ Here is one example. An image enhancement exercise created a new logo and retitled UB '*The University at Buffalo, The State University of New York.*' Shades of The Ohio State University

⁷⁴ The Department's experiences with shared courses for undergraduates were generally negative, judging by regular complaints about Interdisciplinary Program students. Undergraduates from IDP faced limits on available seats required in their respective tracks. At the same time, PSC majors found themselves squeezed in certain areas. 'Con Law' stood among the most pressured classes, given the popularity of post-BA enrollment in law school. [See preceding chapter for details.]

⁷⁵ The most difficult recruitment problem the Department faced during this period, it seemed to me, came in locating faculty candidates in Public Law. The desiderata for these positions included quantitative skills appropriate for 21st century political scientists, as manifested in a doctorate, and legal aptitude demonstrated by holding a JD degree. The higher salaries top-notch offered by quality law firms complicated searchess dramatically/

⁷⁶ Stern took pride in presenting the prize in person at a Department ceremony. He thoughtfully summarized the contents of the student's contribution. The author created a similar award for the outstanding graduate paper in 2006. The initial tranche of capital came from the \$10,000 I was awarded as the first-ever recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award given by TIAA-CREF and the SUNY Research Foundation I retired from teaching in January 2017.

⁷⁷ Pi Sigma Alpha was established in 1920 at the University of Texas [Austin]. A century later, it had grown to more than 700 campus-based chapters. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pi_Sigma_Alpha, consulted April 2, 2020. UB's own Jim Campbell became extremely active in the organization. He served as President (2008-10), President-Elect (2006-08), First Past President (2010-12), Second Past President (2013-15), plus Third Past President (2015-17) – and that is only the start! Email from Professor Campbell, April 2, 2020. To be elected to Pi Sigma Alpha, undergraduates must complete a requisite number of Political Science credit hours and gain an overall GPA placing them in the top one-third of their class.

⁷⁸ <http://www.buffalo.edu/campaign/priorities-and-goals/college-of-arts-and-sciences.host.html/content/shared/www/campaign/funds/cas/Welch-Graduate-Student-Award.detail.html>

⁷⁹ Owing to the small number of proposals and approved courses, the requirement was eventually folded into a simple seven to ten credit hour requirement in Natural Sciences.

⁸⁰ In 2000, SUNY issued system-wide General Education requirements, referred to generally as SUNY GER. In essence, these were distribution mandates. I do not regard the shifts made at UB as involving 'transformation,' as I have defined it.

⁸¹ Its report, 'The UB Core Curriculum: Learning for Life,' observed that the existing program 'lacked any central mission or purpose ... it was seen by students as a "laundry list" of options with no key organizing rationale ... there was no central or even shared ownership of the program ... and ...students were granted too many exemptions and waivers, thus diluting any core aims the program may have had.' Quote from p. 3 of the report.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 5.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 5-9.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

⁸⁷ ‘Progress Report of the General Education Committee’, dated June 2014, p. 23.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁸⁹ Walt Whitman, *Song of Myself*, 51. <https://poets.org/poem/song-myself-51>, consulted December 23, 2020.

⁹⁰ <https://www.buffalo.edu/ubcurriculum/for-faculty-staff/toolbox/pathway.html>, consulted January 22, 2021.

⁹¹ Macridis was born in Istanbul, to a Greek family. He became a specialist in French politics, but took broader interest in comparative politics. His major books included *Contemporary Political Ideologies* and a reader in comparative politics, co-edited with Bernard C. Brown. See his obituary in the *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/1991/12/31/obituaries/roy-c-macridis-72-a-professor-of-politics.html>, consulted December 24, 2020. I remember teaching a sophomore level required course that used the latter as its main text, early in my UB years.

⁹² Wahlke’s wide-ranging books included *Introduction to Political Science*, *The Causes of the American Revolution* and *Comparative Legislative Behavior*. Like Macridis, he left UB relatively quickly. Wahlke’s professional luster came with his election as President of the American Political Science Association. See John C. ‘Pre-Behavioralism in Political Science’, <http://gate.lib.buffalo.edu/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/1954728>, consulted December 28, 2020. His obituary appears in <http://gate.lib.buffalo.edu/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/20452265>

⁹³ Les Milbrath underwent a significant career reorientation partway through his long UB career. He practiced what were then the latest tools in empirical political science. Examples include his books, *The Washington Lobbyists* (1963) and *Political Participation* (1965). In essence, Milbrath moved 180 degrees from his prior orientation, becoming an outspoken advocate for environmental awareness and action. His shift in emphasis led him toward a joint appointment with Sociology in 1987. See Milbrath’s later books, *Envisioning a Sustainable Society* (1989) or *Learning to Think Environmentally: While there is still Time* (1996). Milbrath retired in 1991, living until 2007. For details, see <https://www-jstor-org.gate.lib.buffalo.edu/stable/20452200>, accessed January 3, 2021.

⁹⁴ Vines joined the Department in 1967. He had become known for his co-edited text on American politics, *Politics in the American States* (1965, first edition) and several works on judicial politics. Vines retired in 1977, his later years impacted by illness.

⁹⁵ Al Somit joined the Department in 1966 as Professor and as Chair. During his long career, he successfully combined scholarship and administration. Somit published significant analyses of biopolitics; history of the discipline; political socialization; future studies; older Americans’ political behavior; and others. In addition to serving as Executive Vice President at UB, he became President of Southern Illinois University. I am grateful to Professor Steve Peterson, UB PhD recipient and co-author with Somit of several works, for an advance copy of Somit’s obituary. Email to the author December 27, 2020. Al and I became friends, especially in the decades after he left UB. He made many helpful commentaries on this history, up to a few months before his death at age 100.

⁹⁶ <https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=yhhXZ9UAAAAJ&hl=en>, consulted December 31, 2020.

⁹⁷ <https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=rQLV2oAAAAJ&hl=en>

⁹⁸ <https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=Wa46Mo8AAAAJ&hl=en>, consulted December 31, 2020.

⁹⁹

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Behavioralism#:~:text=Behaviouralism%20\(or%20behavioralism\)%20is%20an,1930s%20in%20the%20United%20States.&text=It%20is%20associated%20with%20the,unbiased%2C%20neutral%20point%20of%20view](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Behavioralism#:~:text=Behaviouralism%20(or%20behavioralism)%20is%20an,1930s%20in%20the%20United%20States.&text=It%20is%20associated%20with%20the,unbiased%2C%20neutral%20point%20of%20view), consulted November 4, 2020.

¹⁰⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herman_Hollerith, consulted November 4, 2020.

¹⁰¹ This was Park 417, occupied initially after the Department moved into Park Hall by Marilyn Hoskin, PSC’s liaison with the Computing Center. When she left UB to become a Dean at Buffalo State, I inherited her office, as mentioned in an earlier chapter. Park 417 filled the typical description of a higher executive’s office: a corner location with two windows, larger than usual size – enough so that I could fit my bicycle there, plus two desks. Not that the views out the windows were lovely: a parking lot on one side, a flat rooftop on the other.

¹⁰² Quoting the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, “In his *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle describes his subject matter as ‘political science,’ which he characterizes as the most authoritative science. It prescribes which sciences are to be studied in the city-state, and the others – such as military science, household management, and rhetoric – fall under its authority. Since it governs the other practical sciences, their ends serve as a means to its end, which is nothing less than the human good.” <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-politics/>, consulted November 4, 2020.