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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION ARCHIVES:

CHALLENGES TO DEVELOPMENT AND PRESERVATION

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Yu Sun

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The dissertation of Yu Sun was reviewed and approved by the following:

David Guthrie
Associate Professor of Education
Dissertation Advisor
Chair of Committee

David M. Post
Professor of Education (Educational Theory & Policy and Comparative & International Education) and Senior Scientist

Karly Ford
Assistant Professor of Education (Higher Education)

Alan Sica
Professor of Sociology

Leticia Oseguera
Associate Professor of Higher Education
Program Chair

ABSTRACT

This dissertation, using the case of the historical establishment of the American Sociological Association archives, argues that a lack of collaboration across institutions and among people contributed to difficulties in establishing the significance of the ASA archives as a social science project in America after World War II. The ASA makes an ideal case study because its archival history illustrates how sociologists struggled to build collective endeavors of archive advocates and partnerships between universities and the ASA. By incorporating the research methods of political history, case study, and archive study, this research analyzes relevant historical materials, such as letters, newsletters, reports, proceedings, and meeting records, to reconstruct a brief history of the ASA archives.

This historical study identifies six main events in the development of the ASA archives. The chronology begins with a prologue documenting the weak and unofficial call and need for an organizational archive in the 1950s-1960s. Because of the lack of archival awareness, opportunities in this rich era of the ASA was missed by archive advocates. The first official proposal for the archive was submitted in 1969 by Hinkle and Cahnman. The proposal was denied for three possible reasons: the conflict between insufficient budget and ambitious scope of archiving, the conflict between the academic need of scholars and the informational need by officers, and the concern for privacy. The second event was the appointment of the Page committee on archives in 1969 and its report in 1972. The Page committee was restricted by no financial support, understaffed activities, and failure to adopt previous archive advocates. The third event was the collaboration with the Library of Congress from 1974 to 1992. The cooperation could have been more successful if the ASA was not delayed by institutional inertia: it didn't begin transmitting records until nine years later. The fourth event was Barber's donation for a centralized archive for American sociology in 1990. The fifth event was the change of repository to the Pennsylvania State University after the Library of Congress decided to deaccess the ASA archives in 1992. Lastly, from 2012 to 2017, current archive advocates in the ASA successfully reversed a crisis of

confidential materials into an initiative for the digitalization of past archives. The struggling of the ASA organizational records implied the absence of a qualitative database in the quantification of academic research. The final success was achieved by the collaboration of sociologists.

By and large, the history of the ASA archives demonstrated the difficult circumstances of a qualitative database during the trend of quantification. Four resources that mitigated against the establishment of the ASA archives are identified: 1. insufficient funding for social sciences, 2. the transformation towards a scientific orientation in sociology, 3. the absence of efficient institutional arrangements, and 4. the absence of a collective endeavor of archival advocates. The third and fourth factors were the most significant because they occurred in all of the events mentioned above. The combination of university partnership, well-designed organizational arrangement, and manpower collaboration would illuminate success, while the lack of cooperation consistently failed the archivization. Today, the technology of digitization provides opportunities for the potential prosperity of qualitative archives. In the new era, social researchers should work together to build up a collective memory and endeavor to preserve the history of social science.

Keywords: Archive, American Sociological Association, History, Partnership, Collaboration.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Given that the American Sociological Association (ASA) is the largest professional sociological society, not just in the U.S., but worldwide, the ASA records seem valuable material for the study of the history of American social sciences.[1] However, it was after many years of work that the ASA records were organized into a functioning archival collection. The archiving was first suggested by the executive officer Matilda Riley in 1950, but no action was taken to implement this suggestion. The suggestion was very soon forgotten. The call for organizational archives was repeated several times during the 1960s and was finally answered by William H. Sewell, then president of the ASA, in the 1970s. He appointed Charles H. Page as chair of the committee of archives to investigate the possibility of a collection. The committee worked hard with little financial or organizational support but their request was tabled by the ASA council in 1972. Two years later, the Library of Congress (LoC) wrote to communicate their willingness to store the ASA's organization records. The ASA council responded very positively but did nothing. No material or payment was delivered to LoC until nine years later, in 1983, when 25 boxes were contributed. They were then kept in LoC for nine peaceful years but were de-accessed by the LoC in 1992 due to limited staff and budget. Finally, PSU became the agreed-upon repository of the ASA records (Sica, 1995). But the ASA again delayed sending the records until 2000, when the delivery was finally completed.

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[1] Information from the list of Sociological Societies and Associations by Hartford Institute for Religion Research: http://hirr.hartsem.edu/sociology/professional_associations.html.

The American Sociological Association (ASA) Records are deposited in the Special Collection Library of the Pennsylvania State University (PSU). This collection is among the most recommended social scientific archives by the PSU archivists, librarians, and curators. It is also used as an example of archives in a graduate course at Penn State called Social Thought, which is the context within which I first became familiar with them.

The records span from 1931 to 2007. The records before 1986 have already been fully processed. Later materials are still continuously processed given the contract between the ASA and Penn State. Records prior to 1950 are relatively few. The collection is 359 cubic feet large and contains records of administrative operations and the activities of the ASA and its many programs/committees/sections. Aside from paper documents, the genres of the records also include photographs, scrapbooks, computer-assisted discs, moving images, artifacts, and audio.[2]

The collection is arranged in eight series: Administrative File, Council, Committees and Sections, Funded Projects, Publications File, Organizations File, Miscellany, and Formerly Restricted Material. The Administrative File (1931-86) and the Council series (1954-79) document the association's administration, operations, and policy formulation. The Committees and Sections series (1935-84) consist of committee and section activities including administrative and financial matters, membership classification, nominations and elections, international cooperation, professional ethics, and training and professional standards. The Funded Projects series (1953-85) pertain to projects sponsored by the ASA. Three programs cover most material: Sociological Resources for the Social Studies, Teaching Undergraduate Sociology, and the Visiting Scientists Program. The Publications File series (1938-81) relates to correspondence and memoranda regarding administrative and financial matters between the editorial staff of various ASA journals. The Organizations File (1947-85) documents the ASA's affiliations with other organizations and agencies, such as the American Association for the Advancement

[2] Information from the finding aid of ASA records at PSU: https://www.libraries.psu.edu/findingaids/3058.htm.

of Science (AAAS), Consortium of Social Science Associations (COSSA), the International Sociological Association (ISA), and the National Science Foundation (NSF). The Miscellany series (1973-77) chiefly pertain to privacy issues in experimental research. The Formerly Restricted Material (1967-83) consists of the ASA council meetings minutes and the records of the Committee on Freedom of Research and Teaching.[3]

As I learned about the archives through the Social Thought course, I came to notice discrepancies between the importance of the ASA records and the seeming disregard about their repository. Why was it so difficult for the ASA archives to be taken care of? What happened to the curation of the records? These and other question shape the efforts of this dissertation.

Context: archives and their selectivity

What are archives? The word itself refers to both the records and the repository, while this study emphasizes the latter. Archives are "the place(s) for the storage of documents and records" (Featherstone, 2006, p. 591) and "sites of knowledge production" (Withers, 2002, p. 306) for historical and social research. Given the importance of original records, "'going to the archives' is the statement of a tacit law of history" (De Certeau, 1988, p. 77). Manoff (2004) demonstrated "the centrality of the archive to both the scholarly enterprise and the existence of democratic society" (p. 9). Velody (1998) claimed that "As the backdrop to all scholarly research stands the archive. Appeals to ultimate truth, adequacy and plausibility in the work of the humanities and social sciences rest on archival presuppositions" (p. 1). Bradley (1999) praised archives assuring "concreteness, objectivity, recovery and wholeness" (p. 119). Osborne (1999) analogized archives to "the laboratory of the natural scientist," "courts of law, psychotherapeutic encounters and departments of the humanities" (p. 52).

[3] Information from the finding aid of ASA records at PSU: https://www.libraries.psu.edu/findingaids/3058.htm.

Archives have provided a foundation for academic research in history since the innovations of the German historian Leopold von Ranke in the 1830s. Ranke proposed "three principles of historical investigation: the objectivity of the historian, close analysis of archival material, and the importance of 'Wie es eigentlich gewesen'(How it really was)'"(Freshwater, 2003, p. 730). In the tradition of von Ranke's view of history, archives became "firmly established as a symbol of truth, plausibility, and authenticity" (Freshwater, 2003, p. 730).

Derrida regarded archives as the combination of "two orders of order: sequential and jussive" (1995, p. 9). Archives coordinated "two principles in one: the principle according to nature or history, there where things commence - physical, historical, or ontological principle - but also the principle according to the law, there where men and gods command, there where authority, social order are exercised, in this place from which order is given - nomological principle" (Derrida, 1995, p. 9).

Compared to history and other humanities, interest in and the use of systematic archives specifically for social science are not as old. Early collections were identified as the Mass Observation archive in Britain which were established in the 1930s to create "an anthropology of ourselves through the collection of observations and writings about the everyday lives of ordinary people" (Mauthner & Parry, 2009, p. 292), and the Human Resources Area Files created in the U.S. in the 1950s which comprises "an anthropological collection of primary, published and unpublished, ethnographic sources on selected cultures from around the world" (Mauthner & Parry, 2009, p. 292).

American academic archives

The interest in academic archives in the U. S. began mainly after WWII. When American universities grew rapidly after the war, a self-awareness grew to preserve their own histories and records "of the importance of recorded information for both current operational use and long-term historical use" (Schina & Wells, 2002, p. 37); this became a motivation to develop institutional archives. In 1949, the

College and University Archives Committee (CUAC) of the Society of American Archivists (SAA) was formed. In the summer of that year, CUAC conducted a survey "to determine the extent of archival awareness in institutions of higher learning in the United States and Canada" (Wilson, 1950). The survey was repeated in 1962, 1966, 1972, 1979, 1990, and 2002.

In the early surveys, American academic archives were understandably underdeveloped. First, the scale of archives was very small. Some institutions used only "one or two rooms for the archives" (Wilson, 1950, p. 345). Second, public institutions rarely create archives until the 1950s (Burckel & Cook, 1982). Third, many librarians did not have enough training or experience as archivists (Wilson, 1950). Fourth, the relationship between the repository and the institution was not close. The attitude towards the archives of "the faculty or the board of trustees may be indifferent or even hostile" (Wilson, 1950, p. 344). And rarely did an institution's official publications mention their archival repository (Wilson, 1950). This early developmental stage lasted for more than twenty years. Reporters for the 1962, 1966, and 1972 surveys endowed all similar patterns but little progress compared to the original one in 1949 (Warner, 1968; Burckel & Cook, 1982).

The rapid growth of American academic archives took place in the mid-1970s. The 1979 survey reported that there was "an increase of 45 percent in the number of repositories" compared to 1972 (Schina & Wells, 2002). In fact, more than one-half of public institutional archives were created in the 1970s (Burckel & Cook, 1982, p. 414). University archives (with over 13,000 repositories) became "the single largest group of archivists in the Society of American Archivists defined by type of employer— currently 40 percent" (Burckel & Cook, 1982, p. 412). But shortages of financial and physical resources still existed (Gilliland-Swetland, 1991). Though the quantity and management of archives were improved, the whole landscape of American academic archives was still unfulfilled since many institutions remained "in the formative stages of a comprehensive records management system" (Schina & Wells, 2002, p. 38).

This growth stage lasted until the late 1980s. Since the late 1980s, the expansion of electronic records and the internet brought easy access to new archives and resources (Schina & Wells, 2002), which

brought a paradigm shift for archiving. This period was characterized by the "historians/information managers debate of the 1980s and 1990s" (Gilliland-Swetland, 1991, p. 173). Archival repositories developed more research supporting responsibilities and cooperation with academic researchers. The prosperity of academic research demanded the routine and industry of data preservation, sharing, and re-use. Databases were more and more seen as "an essential part of the infrastructure of the global science system" (OECD, 2007, p. 3).

In the 21st century, two new trends of archives were institutional repositories (IR) and digitization. Research universities, in particular, began "to take more responsibility for supporting their research staff and research 'assets' (data)," "primarily to host materials such as journal articles, theses and dissertations and now attempting to handle research data" (Corti, 2012, p. 286). Digitization is defined as "the process of transforming analog material into binary electronic (digital) form, especially for storage and use in a computer" (the Society of American Archivists, undated). It provided highly-technological ways to preserve, exhibit, and use archives. Multiple organizations like the ASA and the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) adopted the digitization process (NARA, 2014).

The archiving of data was uneven because the main focus of discussions was "large quantitative datasets" (Mauthner & Parry, 2009, p. 295). That is, quantitative data like statistics, surveys, and demographics were more prevalent and better installed. In contrast, qualitative "data" was only occasionally mentioned. The preservation culture "was less frequent and certainly not a routine activity for qualitative data" (Valles et al., 2011, p. 1). For sociology specifically, Velody (1998) claims that the field should reconsider "what should go into the archive... What kind of data are worthy of being recorded, sorted, designated and located" (p. 7). The quantitative inclination encouraged "measurable materials" (Velody, 1998, p. 7) and excluded narrative and qualitative materials, which might be problematic to the field because of being selective and partial, as discussed in the next section.

Archival selectivity

Archivization was a selective effort from the outset. The production of archive collections contained multiple political dynamics and power relations, or what may be called sympoiesis. Sympoiesis means "making with", and refers to "complex, dynamic, responsive, situated, historical systems" influenced by multiple political dynamics and power relations (Haraway, 2016). Scholars knew that archives were not the whole truth but "a selection of objects that have been preserved for a variety of reasons" and "a reconstruction—a recording of history from a particular perspective" (Manoff, 2004, p. 14). The relationship between archives and history is that "the archive which produces history is also the product of history" (Joyce, 1999, p. 36). This is why Foucault (1972) said that an archive "governs the appearance of statements" (p. 129) which establishes the possibility of what can be said and defines its own truth criteria. Archives are not "a literal substitute for the 'reality' of the past" (LaCapra, 1985, p. 92).

This prejudice was relevant to the selection of materials. Archivization, as a process of knowledge production, legitimized "what counts as knowledge and what are appropriate objects of study in specific disciplines" (Manoff, 2004, p. 13). Knowledge was shaped by the way it was transmitted and preserved. Derrida (1996) elaborated on the importance of the structure of the archive: "the technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event" (p. 16). The human and physical interactions that constituted archives were "more than a purely intellectual exercise", and "shaped by random events and external constraints" (King, 2012, p. 19). The constraints might include social, political, economic and technological forces. In this sense, electronic archives as historical records might have very different implications compared to traditional paper archives (Manoff, 2004). Scholars held different attitudes toward biased selection. Nicholson Baker (2002) alleged that libraries betrayed public trust by disposing of material that should have been well

preserved for present and future uses. But Manoff (2004) thought that "archival work is about making fine discriminations to identify what is significant from a mass of data. Greetham (1999) demonstrated that the so-called principles of neutrality still contained prevailing prejudices using examples of the Library of Congress Classification (LCC) and the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC): "Achieve an anatomy of the archive that will somehow derive from an empirical analysis of the full body of extant writings and yet try to stand outside the time and place of its making" (p. 18).

A critical examination of the political implications of archiving biases always investigated the establishment or appraisal of national or public archives. The emergence of systematic archives was very relevant to the rise and progress of nation-states in the 18th century: "The European state-formation process was accompanied by the quest to gather more systematic and measurable information on the population and territory. The growth of population in the 18th century was accompanied by the growth of disciplinary power, both in the sense of the emergence of new disciplines to record and analyse the characteristics of populations (statistics, demography, penology, criminology, etc.), along with the sites and institutional complexes in which this knowledge was applied to discipline and normalize bodies (in prisons, schools, clinics, hospitals, asylums, barracks, etc.)" (Featherstone, 2006, p. 591). As the storehouse of these national records, the archives conveyed political technologies and responsibilities to generate old memory and construct new experiences. To fulfill the self-consciousness of the modern nation-state, the spaces, practices, and texts were established to make the archives a premier institution (Milligan, 2002).

To examine the political significance of archives, scholars took critical approaches such as regarding the archives as subject as well as source (Stoler, 2002, p. 87), and "as a paradigmatic entity as well as a concrete institution" (Featherstone, 2006, p. 596). As Derrida (1992) said, "there is no political power without control of the archive" (p. 4). Political authority resided in archives. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault defined an archive as "the system of discursivity" (Foucault, 1972, p. 129). In this

system laid down "the enunciative possibilities and impossibilities" "of what can be said" (Foucault, 1972, p. 129).

The political system of archives helped forge national identity which happened not only in the interpretation of national history telling, but also in the raw material in the national archives. To apply these reflective approaches to practical cases, Milligan's dissertation (2002) examines the history of the French Archives Nationales. Her study demonstrated how the development of the French Archives Nationales was "bound up with the contested institutionalization of the modern French nation-state" (p. ii). In "contests over meaning and membership" (p. 310), the French National Archives were forged to fulfill the authenticity of the story of the nation. In regards to national identity control, colonial archives were also good subjects to reveal the imperial authority over the colonies. Stolers (2002) demonstrated how taxonomies and classifications were used as epistemology signals that reflected "colonial politics and state power" (p. 87). In different ways, "political forces, social cues, and moral virtues" together qualified certain kinds of knowledge that were deposited in the archives and simultaneously disqualified other types of knowledge. Richards (1993) followed Foucault's archeological approach to show how imperial archives, as material and figurative metaphors, fulfilled "the fantastic representation of an epistemological master pattern" (p. 11). Colonist archives shared an imperial imagination.

In this case, the ideal of archival openness in the post WWII American social science is still "embedded within larger relations of power, but the power nowadays mainly involved "technology and capital, instead of state power alone" (King, 2012, p. 23) as in the nineteenth century. The function of knowledge laboratory and state machinery existed simultaneously in the archive profession. How do the ASA archives develop in this tension? This study tries to depict the archives' history that addresses the following questions.

Research questions

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a historical narrative of ASA archives and to analyze the role of institutional partnerships and manpower collaboration in this history. Three research questions are proposed to guide the study.

1. What is the chronology of the ASA archives?

- Planning: When was the establishment of the archives planned? Who wanted it and who did not? To what extent did differences of opinion exist between German immigrant scholars and American native scholars, or between sociologists and officers?

- Establishment: How was the collection established? Who did it and with what resources? Why didn't any university help establish the archives as proposed?

- Moving: Why did ASA archives change repositories in the 1990s? What dynamics existed among the ASA (the owner of records), the Library of Congress (the previous repository), and the Pennsylvania State University (the current repository)?

- Settling down: What are the current circumstances of the archives? To what extent to the ASA archives support researchers?

2. Why weren't ASA archives well-preserved?

- Who are the users of the ASA archives? What type of academic knowledge, if any, was produced using ASA archives? What academic paradigm does the ASA archives reflect?

- Who rose to power and who did not in this story? To what did their professional identities influence their attitudes towards archives?

3. What were the main restrictions in the establishment of the ASA archives? What are the implications for the development of social science disciplines?

- Research economy

- Scientistic paradigm

- Organizational partnership

- Individual endeavor

Significance of the study

There are five points of significance of this study. First, this study emphasizes the importance of scholars' endeavors and collaborations in the history of social science research. Existing literature on postwar American social science explained the trend towards quantification through funding issues, federal guidance, and the influence of scientism. But one area of study that has been neglected is research into individuals' deliberate efforts. Academic research in the 20th Century was an intellectual movement started by scholars and administrators who played an important role in the development of American social disciplines after World War II. The case of the establishment of the ASA archives contains abundant interpersonal details to reveal the role of researchers and officers in the development of this qualitative database.

Second, the study articulates the difficulties in establishing the ASA qualitative archives which examine what academia lost in the pursuit of quantification. Today, debates about quantification in social science disciplines and in the humanities still go on. It is unquestionable that the quantitative paradigm achieved great success. But as controversies between quantitative and qualitative research endure, qualitative methods deserve more attention from social researchers and reliable database platforms. Compared to successful cases in science, quantitative social science, and qualitative studies, this case study reflects upon a tortuous project which experienced many twists and turns in search of what was lost in the previous triumph of quantification. Failure frequently teaches more than success. In demonstrating how a potential database project failed, this study provides implications to unify social researchers to protect their cherished data, materials, and archives.

Third, archives are currently entering their golden years of digitization. The development of information technology brought "the inflation of the term 'archive,' which has become a kind of loose signifier for a disparate set of concepts" such as books, manuscripts, records, demographics, and data (Manoff, 2004, p. 10). The division between quantitative data and qualitative archives is blurred by electronic storage. Though digital storage invalidates paper-media archive repository, the digitization of existing archives reduces the cost of preservation and broadens access to public patrons. From 2015, the ASA began the project: A New Digital Archive for Research on the Production of Scientific Knowledge in Sociology, funded by a grant from the National Science Foundation. The integration of traditional archives and the new technology of digitization will provide a huge potential resource for future studies. Thus, it is time to look back at how the ASA archives developed.

Fourth, the development of ASA reflects the broader growth of American sociology. This study chooses the ASA because it is the largest professional association of sociologists in the world and one of the most important organizations in the history of American social science. Also, the ASA participated in most historical milestones of American social science. But the absence of literature about the ASA archives prevents further investigations. Current historical studies of the ASA archives include Rhoades's (1981) monograph about the ASA, and Sica's (1995) paper calling for the preservation of restricted records. These resources are not sufficient to document the history of the ASA. Most setbacks and restrictions in the development, like the officer's attitudes and the restrictions on funding, were ignored by the past literature. This case chooses a specific perspective: a project of qualitative official archives to add to the understanding of the ASA.

In addition, the story of the ASA archives illuminates how research universities shape academic history. Research universities are always emphasized as the core of the American academic system. The case of the ASA archives is special because it shows that collaboration (and sometimes lack of collaboration) with research universities could determine whether or not an academic archive survives.

Overall, the relationship between universities and ASA helps us understand the function of research universities.

Limitations to the study

Seeking for a balance between depth and breadth of investigation, this dissertation has mainly three limitations. The first limitation is the generalizability of a case study. The strength of a case study lies in dealing with a complicated phenomenon in a specific context. Generalizability from a case study, however, is limited. The relative strengths of case study will be illustrated in Chapter 2 Research Methods.

The second limitation is the reliance on printed material. This dissertation is an archival study that analyzes archive materials, most of which are printed. At the beginning of this project, I considered an oral history approach but finally chose to go another direction mostly due to the accessibility of ASA records at Penn State. Oral history is powerful to document recent history from the telling of eyewitnesses, and the perspectives of eyewitnesses and the relationship between interviewers and interviewees are critical. In future study, I may continue to investigate the history of the ASA archives using an oral history approach.

The third limitation is the absence of a theoretical framework. At the planning stage, I considered several theoretical frameworks based on my pilot study, such as a theory of scientific/intellectual movements (Frickel & Gross, 2005), and a theory of knowledge and power (Foucault, 1972). But, after identifying milestone events in history, I chose an inductive rather than deductive approach to analyze each event. Avoiding an overarching framework, I used themes emerging from specific historical events to analyze the story. Given there were traditions in certain political historical approaches that went against theoretical approaches (Elton, 1968; Skinner, 1997), my choice of political history as my research method justified my avoidance of a theoretical framework.

Overview of chapters

This dissertation contains five chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction with background, research questions, significance of study, and chapter overviews. Chapter two introduces the research methods including political history, case study, and archive study. Chapter two also gives a justification why the story of the ASA archives is chosen to present a case of post-WWII American social science project. Chapter 3 presents the detailed story of the establishment and development of the ASA archives. The history of these archives, recovered from first-hand institutional records, is my original contribution in the dissertation. Chapter 3 includes a prologue and five events as milestones in the evolution of the ASA archives. In each event, I first tell the story with abundant administrative details in the ASA, then analyze the reasons why the archives archived success or failed in this event. Chapter 4 is a thematic analysis of the challenges associated with the establishment of the ASA archives. Based on the reasons analyzed in Chapter 3 and literature on post-WWII social science, I identify four key resources in the development of social science and analyze their role in the development of the ASA archives. Chapter 5 is a conclusion and outlook for future research.

Chapter 2

Research Methods

This chapter identifies the research methods and theoretical approaches in the dissertation. First, I use political history as a methodological approach in this study. I explain the features of political history in comparison to social history and provide a rationale for using political history as a framework for this study. Second, this dissertation is a case study. Third, this chapter explains my two-fold justification for selecting the ASA archive history as my case study. This justification is based not only upon the significance of ASA for American social science in its own right but also upon the general significance of archives to institutional and educational history. Fourth, I explain my archival methodology, elaborating how the material is collected and categorized. The repository and the structure of the archives are also presented.

Political history

This research employs a political history approach to study the development of American social science after WWII. Currently, political history is not a popular method in educational history: the way educational historians typically seek to understand educational history, like identifying patterns (Metzger, 1961) or periodization (Geiger, 2006), can mostly be categorized as social history. As a new methodology, social history boomed from the 1960s and had "overtaken political history as the most important area of research in history" (Hunt, 1989, p. 1). Social history is valued as the "history of the people", and "history from below" (Fairburn, 1999, p. 40) because it called for attention to ordinary people and disadvantaged groups instead of political leaders and elites in political history. To ensure the representativeness of samples and the generalizability of study, quantitative and demographic methods are widely used in social history. Even in qualitative social history, sampling and generalizability are still important.

Few educational historians identify their method as political history. Political history here doesn't equal "history of politics". Instead, it refers to a methodology that focuses on power, policymakers, leadership, and institutions in history (Fielding, 2007). This study, as political history, will identify key actors, processes, and documents in the historical change with a focus on the turning point of attitudes towards archives. Critiques of elitism exist regarding a political history approach. But political history does not necessarily focus on elites, which implies its appropriateness for this study. This dissertation looks at sociologists and officers as the ASA members. Are they elites? Considering their relative academic credit and cultural capital, perhaps the answer is yes. But in the context of pursuing federal funds after WWII, which is emphasized in this study, sociologists were anything but elite in the academy; Riecken (1986) even used "underdog" to describe them. Though the sociologists played important roles in this history, they were ordinary people who were burdened by academic and administrative work. Interest in their actions, attitudes, and interactions is not elitist. Additionally, in the documentation of this history, I pay attention to their interpersonal interactions such as writing letters, negotiating with officers, and applying for funds. The emphasis on daily-life details regarded academic elites as normal people.

Elton (1968) characterized political history with three concepts: change, event, and particularity. This study follows the principle of these concepts. First, this study deals with the shift of American social science, with the heralding of the ASA, from a humanistic paradigm which emphasized history and archives to a scientific paradigm which emphasized positivism and fundraising. The key focus of history is the documentation of change. This study documents the change in the attitudes towards a social archival collection. The archives were sometimes described as valuable data sources of the past of American social science, and sometimes a waste of money and efforts. The archives solicited funds, and finally got aid from the prosperous association. The archives used to be accepted by the governmental library, but then they were de-accessed. The transformation of the attitudes towards archives mirrored the what was valued in social science.

Second, following Elton's approach, this study deals with the events associated with the ASA's attempts to establish an organizational archive which failed several times. Elton (1968) argued that history dealt with the event rather than a state or status. Historians treated things as steps in a chain of events, or as a matter that explained a sequence of happenings, rather than static conclusions. In the social history approach, there were many studies on the different circumstances of social science before and after WWII. This study avoids describing status A and status B, but documents the story that unfolds from A to B. In other words, rather than the description like "ASA archives got no funding in 1972 but $1000 in 1983", this study prefers "Basler from Library of Congress asked politely about the possibility of a grant in 1974, and Ruckel from ASA mailed a $1000 check in 1983". Political history tradition believes that change happens in events.

Finally, this study deals with the particularity of this case. Elton (1968) explained particularity as individual rather than unique. He argued that historical events should be treated "not as indistinguishable statistical units and elements in an equation; but linked and rendered comprehensible by kinship, by common possessions, by universal qualities present in differing proportions and arrangements" (Elton, 1968, p. 11). To be specific, there can be multiple ways to move from status A to status B historically. In a single event, historians deal with one particular way from A to B which is not necessarily unique or generalizable. But whether causal, or coincident, or coexistent, or even purely temporal, the event is always historical and real. In the case of ASA archives, challenge might sometimes be an accident, sometimes retribution, sometimes the result of irrelevant concurrent events. The mission of political history is to carry those all. It is not right to document only destined changes.

Case study

This dissertation utilizes a case study method. Merriam defines case study from the perspective of its specificity and delimitation: "the case as a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are

boundaries" (2009, p. 27). A case can be "a person, a program, a group, a specific policy and so on" (Yazan, 2015, p. 139). The strength of focusing on a single case is to enable researchers to look in depth into "phenomena within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between a phenomenon and context are not clear and the researcher has little control over the phenomenon and context" (Yin, 2014, p. 18). A case study approach is ideal when coping "with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis" (Yin, 2014, p. 18). Thus, this history of the ASA archives, haunted by a loss of data and the divided sources of necessary information, will definitely benefit from the triangulation and cross-examination of evidence in the case study approach.

Case studies are always challenged by the issue of generalizability (Taber, 2000). History does not happen twice, and thus it is particular, neither always patterned nor always unique (Elton, 1967). In the particular case of the ASA archives, some events may be identical to existing patterns in previous theories, and some may look accidental or messy, which is a characteristic of history. But the charm of a case study is not in its pattern but in its providing instances "through which researchers make sense of complexity" (Rabbi, 2017, p. 78). A case study shows "how theoretical perspectives and principles manifest themselves in a given circumstance" (Lea and Street,1998, p. 4) or not. As Max Weber (1949) stated, "Historical research faces the task of determining in each individual case, the extent to which this ideal-construct approximates to or diverges from reality" (p. 90). This specific task constitutes the strength of case studies to show practice in situated contexts, which cannot be substituted by large-scale quantitative approaches (Rabbi, 2017). In the study of the development of American social research after WWII, this dissertation focuses on people, their efforts, and their faults. Case study serves perfectly to reveal "intraindividual variation at any given time and over time, as well as significant variation across individuals in terms of developmental patterns and processes" (Duff, 2014, p. 235).

The choice of case

This study chooses the ASA because it is the largest professional association of sociologists in the world and one of the most influential organizations in the history of American social science. The ASA was founded in 1905. A history of over 100 years means it has experienced most of the history of American social science. It currently has over 13,000 members including the most prestigious social scientists worldwide. The ASA publishes more than 10 influential peer-reviewed journals like the *American Sociological Review* (ASR), *Sociological Methodology, and Contemporary Sociology*. The most famous of these, the ASR, owns an impact factor of 5.063, which ranked 3rd out of 146 sociological journals in 2017.4 The ASA also hosts a grand annual conference with nearly 600 sessions and more than 6,000 participants.5

Also, the ASA participated in most historical milestones of American social science. During WWII, the ASA urged sociologists to engage in federal service. In 1950, the ASA lobbied for social science joining the National Science Foundation. At the end of the 1960s, many ASA members got involved in the civil rights movements. Even when American academia experienced a low tide in the 1970s, the ASA was accompanied by its largest deficit (Rhoades, 1981). The ASA later recovered and gained a budget balance in 1990 when the American scientific funding overall increased (Rosich, 2005). To conclude, the development of the ASA reflects the trends of American social science.

This research chooses a story of establishing archives because it mirrors the situation of the ASA records as qualitative records and projects in an era towards scientism and quantification. After WWII, the wartime research system changed academia and increased federal funds in science. Following natural science, social disciplines adopted methodological rigor and quantitative tools to pursue federal

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4 https://g.co/kgs/yLZBQu
5 All data except the impact factor are from the ASA website: http://www.asanet.org/about-asa

investments. More humanistic and qualitative approaches to social science research waned. The progress of quantification accelerated when the ASA tried to establish the archives. Though sometimes archives can refer to quantitative data, the ASA archives are definitely qualitative. The tortuous story of the ASA archives provided a real circumstance to reflect upon what may have been obscured in the quantification of social science disciplines.

Archival approach

This study is a historical study using archives. The bulk of research material comes from the American Sociological Association Records located in the Special Collections at Pennsylvania State University. To locate relevant material in this huge collection, I first searched the online finding aids with "archive". This search helped me locate Box 1 with Folder "ASA Archives, 1983--", Box 426 with "Archives gift agreement, 1971-1995" and Box 410 with CUSS (Community and Urban Sociological Section) archives. The above folders provided a brief story line but details of events were not there. I then identified key players in the history of the archives based on Rhoade's (1981) and Rosich's (2005) historiography including Matilda Riley, John Riley, William Sewell, Edmund H. Volkart, Jay Demerath, Alice Myers, Charles H. Page, Robert E. L Faris, Otto Larsen, William D'Antonio, and so on[6]. Searching these names in the finding aids helped me locate Boxes. Next, I collected committee reports, Council meeting minutes, executive officer files, and administrative officer files in relevant years.

There are three kinds of organizational records related to the history of the ASA archives: official documents, correspondences, and financial records. Official documents of the ASA include "instruments of gift" (documents exchanged between the record owner and archival repositories), reports composed by

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[6] Hinkle, Cahnman, Barber, Sica, and other important advocates are not listed here because they do not have folders with their names in the finding aids. I'll explain their expertise without executive power in Chapter 3 and 4.

the committee of archives, and minutes of the ASA council meetings. These documents communicate the ASA's public stance regarding archives.

A second kind of records is correspondences between the ASA members. The correspondences include official and unofficial communications between the ASA officers and their outside relations. They provide relatively personal attitudes of stakeholders in the history of the ASA archives. Also, letters allow for "understanding of the letter-writers and their relations with one another" based on "a knowledge of the conventions of the day" (Fogel & Elton, 1983, p. 86). The third kind of document is budgetary and financial records. Annual financial reports reveal how the ASA appropriated funds, how much the ASA archives cost, and how that cost compares to the cost of the ASA's other projects.

Aside from the ASA organizational archives, this study also employs information from the ASA website, the ASA reports, and proceedings published in the ASR, and the Footnotes (the ASA member newsletter). The ASR published the ASA proceedings bimonthly. The submission, acceptance, and rejection of the proposal of establishing an archive showed up here. Footnotes are more casual. They publish statements of a willingness to establish archives from new-coming officers, informal scholarly discussion, and appeals to call for attention to record preservation published as disciplinary news. The ASA website, after the update from 1995 to 2000, collected assorted academic and organizational information like access to the ASA histories, introductions to past presidents, secretaries, and executive officers, and a wide-ranged sociological library of relevant journals.

Chapter 3

History of the American Sociological Association Archive

This chapter provides a brief history of the ASA archives. Though I will explore a more fully-detailed story based on the official records of the ASA in six subsections in this chapter, the milestones are presented in Table 1 below.

Table **3-1**: A chronology of the ASA archives.

1950	Matilda White Riley first advocated for an organizational archive of the ASA.
1966	Ohio Valley Sociological Society suggested ASA should establish a nationwide archive. The ASA council rejected the recommendation.
1969	Roscoe Conkling Hinkle Jr. and Werner J. Cahnman submitted a proposal in favor of the ASA archives. The ASA council tabled the proposal.
1970	President William Hamilton Sewell appointed the ad hoc Committee of Archives. Charles H. Page chaired and worked with Jessie Sarah Bernard, Robert E. L. Faris, and Polly S. Grimshaw.
1972	The Page committee submitted a final report on the ASA council meeting. The ASA council accepted the report and discharged the committee with appreciation.
1974	The Library of Congress contacted the executive officer Otto N. Larsen to establish a repository. The ASA council responded positively and contacted past officers for materials. Larsen received a contract from the Library of Congress and proposed to revise it. Material delivery was delayed.
1983	The ASA brought up the archival issue again, paid $1000 grant to LoC, and delivered records.
1991	Bernard Barber and Stephen Park Turner suggested a centralized archive of social disciplines should be established.
1992	The LoC returned the ASA archives. Alan Sica helped move the materials to Pennsylvania State University.
2004	The ASA and PSU archivists visited each other and carried on deeper cooperation.
2012	PSU returned part of the restricted document on publication to the ASA.
2014	Sica appealed to preserve the returned publication archives.
2015	The data archives of Spalter-Roth and her CSSR team were funded by the NSF.

2019	The CSSR held a workshop granted by the NSF "Who Gets Accepted and Who Gets Rejected."

Prologue (1950-1960s)

The prologue from 1950 to the early 1960s initiated the awareness of the need for an official archive of the American Sociological Society (ASS), the previous name of the ASA before 1959. The 1950s was named as the "golden era" (Rhoades, 1981, p. 42) of the ASS. This golden era was brought about by the funding increase after WWII and the following development of American social science. Natural science played an important role in American WWII involvement and gained wartime support from the federal government. After the war, governors and scientists cooperated to maintain such wartime funding tunnels and continue such glorious scientific development (Geiger, 1993).

Social science got a smaller scale of advancement and funding compared to natural science, but the amount was still as huge as 300 million dollars (Bell, 1982). The postwar scientific prosperity was later upgraded by the stimulation of Sputnik and continued in the early 1960s.

The ASS actively participated in the war effort and its aftermath and shared such a golden era. Early in 1939, the Society appointed a Subcommittee on the Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency Program for the war. In 1943, the Society appointed E.W. Burgess the Chair of a Committee on Training and Recruitment for postwar planning. The Committee reported in 1944 recommending a change in graduate education after WWII. Their suggestion included quantitative methods, research experience, and preparation for "industry, journalism, and public administration" (Rhoades, 1981, p. 35). After the war, the ASS was involved in the establishment of the National Science Foundation (NSF) which was important in American academic history because it initiated federal engagement in civil sciences. In 1945, the ASS President Taylor appointed a committee to "make every contribution possible" (Rhoades, 1981, p. 38) in the establishment of the NSF. Talcott Parsons reported for the committee in 1946. He emphasized that "the urgency of the social problems being generated by the technological

developments" (Rhoades, 1981, p. 39) and an urgent role of social scientists in the solution. In 1959, a subcommittee on Sociology in the Federal Government addressed the concern of the Society's relationship with the federal government. The report indicated that many ASS members had served as consultants and experts in Washington, but the Society had never made a planned endeavor to systematically get involved in governmental affairs. The report called for the ASS's official auspices on governmental involvement. In 1962, The ASA "received a $25,000 grant from NSF and a $50,000 grant from the American Council of Learned Societies" to help host the Fifth World Congress of Sociology in Washington (Rhoades, 1981, p. 56).

The ASA's enthusiastic participation was rewarded with the expansion of membership, publication, and funding. Membership rose from 1,034 in 1940 to 2,673 in 1949, to 6,436 in 1959, and more than doubled to 13,357 in 1969. Attendance at the Annual Meeting increased from about 500 in 1949 to more than 1,400 in 1959 and doubled to 2,888 in 1969. The number of papers presented in the Annual Meeting went from less than 100 in 1949 to about 250 in 1959. In the 1940s, only "one deficit did occur, but a reserve fund began accumulating" (Rhoades, 1981, p. 33). Between 1949 and 1959, total income rose from $22,556 to $145,406. For publication, three journals were prepared to be added to the publication program in the 1950s and nine publication ventures were undertaken in the 1960s. From 1949 to 1959, "submissions to ASR jumped from about 200 to 1,000 per year, and non-member subscriptions rose from 1,352 to 2,339" (Rhoades, 1981, p. 42).

The enlargement of the organizational commitment brought complications in academic and administrative information. The quantity of records of academic institutions increased quickly. In the following story, sociologists and administrators suggested establishing archival collections. It looked like a great opportunity for the archives to begin developing in this golden era.

The story

The first voice for an ASA archive was a glancing mention from Matilda White Riley. During her term as the ASS's first executive officer in 1950, Riley recommended that the ASS should have its own organizational archive (Sica, 1995, p. 72). Given the executive officer was the most important administrator of the ASA, Matilda Riley's suggestion should have drawn attention. But it didn't. Except for her personal talk with Sica, no record of such a recommendation was found in the ASA collections, including meeting minutes and project proposals. Neither did Edmund H. Volkarts's counting of the ASA archival milestones in 1970[7] mention Matilda Riley's recommendation. The advice was not taken seriously because the ASA had not developed a good archiving tradition. The ASA secretary-treasurer, 1949-1954, John Winchell Riley, Jr., who was also Matilda Riley's husband, remembered that in 1949, the entire body of records for the society was "a total of four drawers" (Turner & Turner, 1990, p. 151). Given the Society was established back in 1905, it was hard to imagine a well-preserved record of 44-year history was "a total of four drawers" (Turner & Turner, 1990, p. 151).

The second voice for the creation of the ASA archives came from a regional section of the ASA and at least got an official denial. On August 30, 1966, archival affairs first appeared in the ASA council meeting. Ohio Valley Sociological Society (OVSS, now named North Central Sociological Association), a regional sociological association born as a result of an American Sociological Society meeting in 1924, wrote to the ASA to recommend establishing a national repository of records and archives for the OVSS and other regional associations. The OVSS had been "a small, relatively primary-like group of Ohio enthusiasts, retaining its local character and informal structure" (Terzola, 1969, p. 88) in its past years. But in 1965, the OVSS established a Publication Committee and published its official journal, *the Ohio Valley Sociologist*. Preservation of the journal was the OVSS's primary motivation to propose for

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[7] Volkart was the executive officer of the ASA (1966-1970). In 1970, he wrote to William Hamilton Sewell listing several proposals and discussions of founding an ASA archive.

archives. Unfortunately, the ASA council didn't take the suggestion seriously. The decision on meeting minutes read: "Motion defeated, but with acknowledgement that the recommendations had been received" (Minutes of the Second Meeting of the 1966 Council, Miami Beach, August 30, 1966). And no reason was provided in the meeting minutes to explain the denial.

A third voice happened in 1967 and got refused again. On January 29, 1967, the Council received another suggestion that the ASA should establish historical archives of sociology. This suggestion was disregarded even more than the OVSS proposal: we couldn't even see the name of the proponents from the minutes. The decision was simply written as "President Loomis was authorized to write the proponent to the effect that this was beyond the capabilities of the Association at this time" (Minutes of the 1967 Executive Committee Meeting, January 2, 1967, Washington, D.C., p. 108). But no record of the correspondences from President Loomis were found in official records.

As the above rejections of archives went on, complaints about trouble in finding official records kept happening. Also, papers presented at Annual Conferences were lost. Scholars had to contact the author to obtain the full presentation. In 1966, for example, the Library of Continuing Education at Syracuse University used to order copies of the papers read at the annual convention in 1963. But unfortunately, the ASA didn't keep those papers at all. Thus, Mattie L. Maynard of the Reprint Permissions at the ASA advised the library to "write directly to the author for a copy of the paper you require" (Correspondence, From Maynard to the Library of Continuing Education, February 23, 1966). In 1967, executive assistant Myrna L. Brantley met trouble in reconstructing the list of officers "particularly with reference to expiration dates" (Correspondence, From Brantley to the ASA section chairmen, February 24, 1967). To help, Brantley wrote to all the ASA section chairpersons to ask them to "complete the enclosed form and return it" (Correspondence, From Brantley to the ASA section chairmen, February 24, 1967). Even after years, again on September 30, 1973, Martin J. Warmbrand of the Bronx Community College wrote to Matilda Riley for her presentation "Sociology of Government Commissions: Synthesis and Generalization" at the concurrent Annual Meeting (Correspondence, From Warmbrand to Matilda

Riley, Sep 30, 1973). Though these incidents did not draw attention from the ASA officers, it did indicate for sure that record-keeping seemed to be an issue that hindered communications.

The analysis

Why weren't the ASS/ASA archives established in the 1950s or the 1960s? Two possibilities could be excluded. First, it was not because the Society had no need for an archive at all. The organizational expansion required systematic depositing of institutional records so that officers would not lose their memory of past issues and information, which raised some consciousness for archivization. The only way out was to collect organization records for preservation and archiving. Second, the suggestion did not fail because of any financial difficulties. The 1950s featured the prosperity of academic funding after WWII. Nourished by the expansion of grants and membership fees, the budget of the ASA in this decade was solid. Why didn't archives get supported in such good circumstances?

A possible reason that could be identified was that the supportive voices were too weak. In the first voice from Matilda Riley, her willingness for archives was significantly distracted by other important commitments in her daily job. The work of the ASA executive officer before 1963 was trivial, burdensome, and underpaid. For example, the circumstances for the executive officer was so bad that the elected ASA president in 1962, Everett C. Hughes, wrote a letter to all ASA members and identified the executive office as the number one crisis confronting the Association. He wrote: "The Executive Office is understaffed and not well paid. We sociologists have provided our staff with neither pension, health plan, nor any sort of system of rewards for overtime work (of which there is plenty at the time of our meetings). We are housed in miserable quarters, part of which we have on uncertain tenure" (Rhoades, 1981, p. 57). It was quite understandable that Matilda Riley, distracted by all kinds of institutional activities, failed to bring up archives again through her 11-year term of office. What was more, the academic identity of Matilda Riley was as a gerontologist, behavioral scientist, and sometimes market researcher and

economist.[8] None of these identities were relevant to archives or history. In 1986, Matilda Riley came back to the ASA to serve as the 77th ASA president. During this term of office, the ASA archive experienced its most peaceful years in the Library of Congress, which did not give Riley any space for any presidential intervention on archives.

The second voice was weak because of the tiny size and local character of the advocate, the OVSS. As a regional society, the OVSS had neither an administrative authority nor intellectual advantages facing the ASA, but vice versa. Plus, the ASA took an organizational transformation in 1961 under Robert E. L. Faris's reorganization of the ASA from an association of association to an association of individual scholars, which weakened the voice of local associations (Faris J, 1998).

By and large, the strong advocate failed to focus on archival issues and the focused advocates failed to be effective because of their limited executive power. The weak voice advocating for the ASA archives did not survive even in the golden era of the ASA in the 1950s and 1960s. Good funding opportunities were missed.

But as the urgent need for official records called for an organizational archive, the attention of concerned people brought the next official proposals for ASA archives. In the following events, the interest in establishing ASA archives got stronger and attracted more focused advocates.

The Hinkle proposal (1969)

The first formal proposal for the ASA archives came in 1969, which may have been unfortunate. The American society had just farewelled the Golden Age of the 1960s and was marching towards the stagflation of the 1970s (Geiger, 2017). With the end of the War on Poverty and the Great Society, the American economy was "battled by inflation, unemployment and low productivity" (Rhoades, 1981, p.

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8 From 1942 to 1944, Riley worked as a market researcher and an economist for the War Production Board during World War II. Information from Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matilda_White_Riley#cite_note-5

62). Financial pressure burdened all branches of the 1970s American academia: withdrawn federal support for graduate training, stagnated funding for basic research, and a drop in college enrollments, which Kerr (1991) straightforwardly called "an Age of Survival" (p. 131). American social science and the ASA also experienced budgetary pressures.

In the 1970s Age of Survival, the ASA had a financial crisis. The rise of the budget could not keep pace with inflation. Social science seemed no longer on a solid funding foundation. The 1971-1972 executive officer, Nicholas Jay Demerath III, attributed the crisis to rising costs and declining income:

> Our financial crisis was the long-term product of a rise in fixed costs plus an accumulation of expansive commitments, both coupled with a rather sudden contraction of income. Grant overhead suffered a sharp drop-off with the end of the NSF secondary school project. Advertising and subscription revenue declined, as both the publishing and higher education industries began to feel the economic pinch (Official reports and proceedings, Aug 1972).

The 1972-1975 executive officer, Otto N. Larsen stated that

> The general economic downturn, the sluggish academic labor market, the reluctant nonacademic labor market, the emergence of labor unions on the college scene, and the public disenchantment with science and scholarship are leading some observers to predict a decade of retrenchment for the learned societies, including the ASA (Rhoades, 1981, p. 64).

To solve the problem, American academia tried seeking "additional revenues through processing and registration fees, subscription and advertising rates, and the dues structure" (Rhoades, 1981, p. 64) and shrinking existing publications and projects. Geiger (1993) observed that the 1970s stagflation made scientists and college departments more cautious with new research topics or commitments. Scientists stuck to guaranteed grants, publications, and faculty appointments. And departments became more specialized "in order to emphasize their strengths and enhance their visibility" "instead of trying to cover every field" (Geiger, 2017, p. 272).

The same shrinking of commitments happened in the ASA. The Association withdrew from the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel in 1970, broke away from the Program "Sociological Resources for Secondary Schools" in 1971, and ended the Visiting Scientists Program for

Sociology in 1972 (Rhoades, 1981). By and large, the 1970s were not a promising era to engage the ASA into a new commitment - the archives. But it did happen then. Here is the story.

The story

In the summer of 1969, social theorists Roscoe Conkling Hinkle Jr. and Werner J. Cahnman together composed a proposal for an archive for American sociology and submitted it to the ASA Council. Their suggestion was inspired by Cahnman's friend Johannes Winkelmann mentioned in their letter, who served as the "Direktor of the Max Weber Archiv" (spelling as original) and was trying to enlarge the archives into "an Archiv für die Geschichte der Sozialwissenschaften" (Archive for the History of the Social Sciences). Cahnman sincerely desired "an American counterpart" to facilitate "international cooperation" (Correspondence, Cahnman to Sewell, February 25, 1970).

Figure **3-1**: Correspondence, Cahnman to Sewell, February 25, 1970.

Hinkle and Cahnman kept a good friendship with the ASA elected president William H. Sewell. They asked the executive officer, Edmund H. Volkart, to keep Sewell (and the retiring president Reinhard Bendix, a German-American sociologist) copied on all correspondences concerning archives

(Correspondence from Cahnman to Volkart, 1969). Sewell used to work in the Russell Sage Foundation and the University of Wisconsin thus he knew about the American Psychological Association archives at the University of Akron (Sica, 1995). He continued following archive issues for years.

Volkart politely exchanged several letters with Hinkle and Cahnman but revealed some disdain towards the idea of archives in his rhetoric. In a letter drafted to Hinkle on June 19, 1969, he quoted the 1965[9] executive committee's refusal of an archive proposal: "while it could not sponsor such a project, it would make available to any reputable scholar the historical files and records of the Association." After composing this draft, Volkart sent the carbon copy to Sewell but soon realized that revealing this real reason (availability of privacy) of refusal might not be appropriate. To compensate, he sent an enclosed note on the next day to Sewell saying that "Unfortunately, this carbon was mailed while the original letter was still under review, and I ask that it be destroyed in favor of the one accompanying this letter" (Correspondence from Volkart to Sewell, June 20, 1969). In the reviewed version of this letter, Volkart euphemistically rephrased his wording as "this would be an extensive activity, with many implications, I think this will require much discussion by the ASA Council before any other action is taken" (Correspondence from Volkart to Hinkle, June 20, 1969). And the quoted reason of the 1967 (which was the correct time) refusal was articulated as: "This was beyond the capabilities of the Association at this time" (Correspondence from Volkart to Hinkle, June 20, 1969). But the carbon was not destroyed as Volkart asked. Sewell kept all three letters in his files (Figure 3-2).

[9] 1967, in fact. Volkart misremembered the date and then corrected it in a later letter.
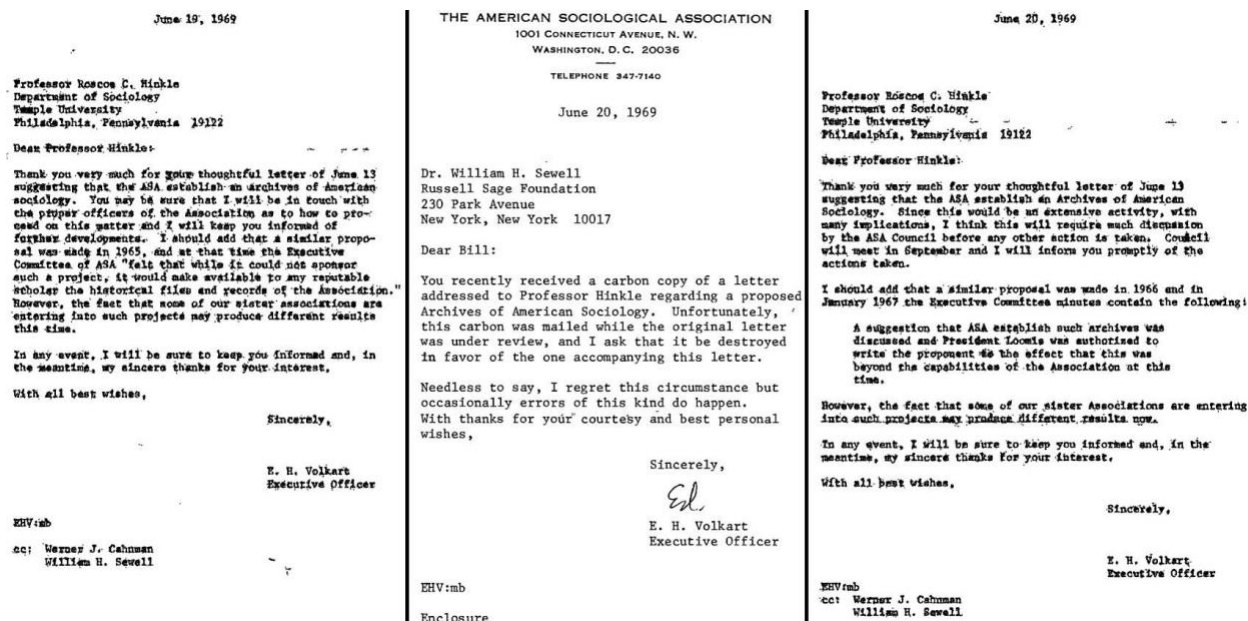
Figure **3-2**: Three Correspondences, Volkart to Cahnman and Sewell, June 19-20, 1969.

In the council meeting on September 1, the Hinkle proposal was "tabled": "This proposal was received as communication to Council and placed on the record" (Minutes of the 1969 Council Meeting). Volkart's words were more straightforward: "Council simply accepted the proposal, took no action, and made no provision for any further consideration" (Correspondence from Volkart to Sewell, Mar 4, 1970). Hearing the failure from Volkart, Cahnman wrote to Sewell on February 25 in 1970 to suggest at least creating a committee to investigate the feasibility.

Sewell referred this issue to Volkart and within ten days got his straightforward reply: it would be recommended to ignore the issue. For some unidentified reason, Sewell missed this response and asked Volkart again two months later on May 13, 1970. Volkart replied within a week in a much more tactful voice and more detailed persuasion with the same opinion. He stated the history of the archive issue and argued that archives "involve too much staff, too much expense, and too much time in the Executive Office" where Volkart worked. Volkart did not follow through with Sewell's suggestions because Sewell was not to take the presidential office until August, when Volkart would leave his position as ASA

executive officer. Thus, Volkart furthermore recommended Sewell to pass the issue on to the next

executive officer, Nicholas Jay Demerath III, who would succeed Volkart in August.

Despite disagreement from others, on November 19, 1970, President Sewell appointed "ASA -

committee on archives" including Robert E. L. Faris, Jessie S. Bernard, Polly S. Grimshaw and Charles

H. Page, chairman. Very unfortunately, Sewell forgot to inform Hinkle or Cahnman of the committee

until Cahnman wrote a serious letter to ask about the process in March, 1971. Sewell replied about the

committee and copied Hinkle.

Figure **3-3**: Correspondence, Cahnman to Sewell, March 22, 1971.

The analysis

In this period, the proposal for the ASA archives still failed. But it took a small step forward from

the previous stage in the way that the proposal was at least submitted formally and accepted by the ASA

Council. Also, the archive issue was brought to the attention of the elected president Sewell, which

opened access to the next endeavor for archives by the Page committee.

The advocates in this proposal held a much stronger voice than the previous ones (Matilda Riley

and the OVSS): Hinkle and Cahnman were both famous scholars, and they got support from the ASA

president Sewell. What was more, they were more focused on and dedicated to the archive issue. Seen

from the correspondences they wrote, their long-term efforts were moving. Also, they worked more on

the rationale for an archive: history of the discipline, German model, and international cooperation.

Why did the archive still fail? Three possible reasons are identified: 1. The conflict between fiscal

deficit and the ambitious scope of an archive; 2. The conflict between advocates influenced by continental

sociology and the overwhelmed officer; 3. The concern of privacy issues in public archives.

The conflict between fiscal deficit and the ambitious scope of an archive

The end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s were the most impoverished era of the ASA

(Sica, 1995), but Cahnman and Hinkle proposed an ambitious and costly picture of archives for American

sociology overall. The prosperity of the ASA budget in the 1950s ended in turmoil and crisis throughout

American society from 1968 on. The worst deficit happened in 1970 and was $76,500 (Rhoades, 1981).

In such a recession, it was imaginable that the ASA council would not support an expensive project

without any sponsors or rewards.

If archive advocates could have downsized the proposal into an institutional archive of the ASA,

it might have been feasible. Looking back into the letter of Brantley in the past period, the calling from

officers was for convenient organizational records of official information rather than an academic

database. Although a database might be more valuable to advocates who were scholars, the ASA archive

needed more proponents among administrators and academicians in its early difficult time.

In comparison with the ASA, the planning of the American Psychological Association (APA)

archives was much more feasible. From a financial perspective, the budget of the APA was much larger

than the ASA when American psychology gained huge development and financial increases after WWII

(Gilgen, 1982). The APA established its archive collection in the Library of Congress (LoC) as early as

1966 (the date of the Instrument of Gift). The initial collections of materials were transmitted by mid-

1968. The Archives occupied 60 linear feet of shelf space which consisted of 50,000 items. The APA

granted the LoC a $2,500 gift "to facilitate the work of the Manuscript Division in arranging and making

ready for use the records to be deposited" (Hildreth, 1969, p. 968). The APA also established an ad hoc

Committee on Archival History with members Charles W. Bray, Leonard Carmichael, and Max Meenes,

chairman. Even in such proliferation of material and organizational resources, the committee was quite

aware that the scope of archive collection must be bounded. The archives were

> limited to APA-related materials, such as papers of officers, boards and committees,
> journal editors, and possibly divisions. In other words, the emphasis is on the APA
> governing structure, not upon individuals, although the 1969 Report of the Ad Hoc
> Committee recognizes that there may be cases where an individual psychologist's entire
> papers might appropriately be incorporated in the APA Archives (Hildreth, 1969, p. 968).

A well-defined collection range and sufficient financial and institutional support altogether

ensured the success of the APA archives, which was made by the practical strategy of the APA archive

advocates. The ASA advocates still had a long way to go in formulating their advocating strategy.

The conflict between advocates influenced by continental sociology and the overwhelmed officer

Though advocates in 1969 had a much stronger commitment to archives, their executive power

and authority in the ASA were still not well-built. Hinkle and Cahnman were distinguished scholars in

their fields: Hinkle was a historian of American theory and Cahnman was a German Jewish theorist and

Ferdinand Tönnies expert. Their academic capability was acknowledged by peers, but they didn't serve in

any renowned positions in the ASA. The only position of Cahnman was the chairman of the Ferdinand

Tönnies session of the 62nd ASA annual meeting in 1967, which reflected academic prestige but not

executive power. The support of Sewell looked strong but without any use before he took office. That's

why Sewell had nothing to do with the denial of the Hinkle proposal by the ASA Council in 1969

September and could only establish the Page committee on archives after he became president in

November of the same year.

Hinkle and Cahnman desired the archives partly because of their academic identity. For both a

historian (Hinkle) and a Tönnies theorist (Cahnman), archives provided cherished data and materials for

their research. Their academic approach, characterized by deep reading, speculation, and qualitative

material, was very much German Verstehen (Apel, 1982). Cahnman's framing of the American archives as a German counterpart (Correspondence, Cahnman to Sewell, February 25, 1970) strengthened his connection with this strong German paradigm. "Before the First World War Germany was the academic center of the world. German scholars of that period could, according to their fuliginous lights, be courtly, but they really did not regard foreign science or scholarship (except perhaps in Islamic studies or mathematics) as worthy of serious consideration" (Shils, 1970, p. 788). The German-style history of social thought used to influence American sociology greatly. But this German paradigm was declining in the midst of the 20th century (Shils, 1970). American scholarship rose and called for a new paradigm. "As the United States became a dominant world power, American sociology's international fortunes rose accordingly ... (W)hat were once the great metropolitan centers of sociology fell under American influence" (Birnbaum, 1970, p. x). German-style theorists became less popular after the shift. After the emergence of the quantitative paradigm during WWII, scholars of this style were even "difficult to find employment" (Turner & Turner, 1990, p. 124). Perhaps it is more than coincidence that both Hinkle and Cahnman have no English Wikipedia page today, but pages in German and Portuguese respectively.[10]

The third reason - the concern about privacy - was the direct reason why the ASA council said no to the Hinkle proposal. As revealed in Volkart's letter, the ASA staff was concerned that "it would make available to any reputable scholar the historical files and records of the Association" (Correspondence from Volkart to Hinkle, Jun 19, 1969). In the following history of the ASA archives, we will see the restriction of privacy protection haunted the ASA archive again and again.

[10] The current Wikipedia page of Hinkle were created in April 2020 which happened after my investigation.

The Page committee (1970-1972)

The story

As introduced at the end of the last event, on November 19, 1970, President Sewell appointed a "Committee on the Feasibility of Archives" including Robert E. L. Faris, Jessie S. Bernard, Polly S. Grimshaw and Charles H. Page, chairman. This was the first formal consideration of the ASA archives implemented by insiders. Compared to previous events whose records were scattered in chronological files, this committee was systematically archived and documented. The steady barrage of correspondences among committee members were preserved in official records in specific folders. Every report was recorded in the official proceedings in *The American Sociologist*.

Let's begin with the profile of the four committee members. The chairman, Charles Hunt Page (1909-1992) was a noted sociologist and educator. He worked as a field secretary for the National Refugee Service from 1940 to 1941, a lieutenant commander with the Navy in the Philippines from 1942 to 1946, the sociology chairman of Smith College and Princeton University, the first provost of Adlai Stevenson College, the president of the Eastern Sociological Society from 1965 to 1966, a consulting editor for Random House, and the author or editor of numerous articles and books in the field (Obituary on New York Times, February 23, 1992). With regard to the ASA, he was in the ASA Council from 1958 to 1960 and from 1961 to 1963 and the editor of the *American Sociological Review* from 1958 to 1960.[11] He also served on the ASA's Committee on Committees, Committee on professional ethics, Committee on Nominations, Official representative of the AAAS section K, Journal of Health and Social Behavior, and Committee on regulation of research.

Jessie Shirley Bernard (1903-1996) was a noted feminist sociologist and Luther Bernard's wife. She served as a social science analyst for the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the president of the Eastern Sociological Society and the Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP), and vice president of the

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[11] Information from Prabook website: https://prabook.com/web/charles_hunt.page/1696150

ASA. Her specialty was in family, sexuality, and gender.12 In 1977, the ASA Council established the Jessie Bernard Award to honor her enormous influence on the study of gender. Jessie Bernard served on the ASA's Committee on nominations, the Classification Committee, Committee for the award for a distinguished scholarly publication, Committee on freedom of research and teaching, Distinguished Contributions to Teaching Award Selection Committee, and as Section officers.

Polly S. Grimshaw was the wife of the sociologist Allen Grimshaw and a librarian and curator at Indiana University. The American Folklore Society offers the Polly Grimshaw Prize in honor of her. Indiana University created in 2001 the Grimshaw Lecture using a generous endowment from Allen and Polly Grimshaw. This was her first time to serve the ASA, but her husband Allen Grimshaw was an intimate friend of the ASA. He was the chair of the Section of Sociology of Peace and War, the editor of *the American Sociologist* and served *the American Sociological Review*, *Sociometry*, and *Social Psychology Quarterly*. He also served on the Committee on Committees, Program Committee, Committee on Public Policy, DuBois-Johnson-Frazier Award Selection Committee, Committee on Awards Policy, and Membership Area Representatives.

Robert Ellsworth Lee Faris (1907-1998) was a famous sociologist with expertise in deviant behavior, social psychology, and organization theory. He served as the chair and one of the cornerstone members of the Department of Sociology at the University of Washington. His father, Ellsworth Faris, was a renowned sociologist at the University of Chicago and the 27th president of the ASA in 1937. A later ASA executive officer, Otto Larsen, was his colleague and friend at the University of Washington.13 Robert Faris was the 51st President of the American Sociological Association in 1961 and during his tenure he made one of the most significant transformations in the ASA's organizational history: changing

12 Information from Jewish Women's Archive: https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/Bernard-Jessie
13 Information from the Seattle Times:
http://community.seattletimes.nwsource.com/archive/?date=19980304&slug=2737620

the ASA "from an association of associations to an association of individual scholars. This made the ASA much more professional and influential in the discipline of sociology" (Faris, J., 1998, P. 8). He also served the ASA's Council, Committee on certification in social psychology, and Committee on organizational relationships. Faris had "a steadfast commitment to sociology as an enterprise of objective scientific inquiry - a discipline" (Faris, J., 1998, P. 8). That might be why he cared about preserving disciplinary archives.

The administrators of the ASA implied no supportive attitudes in the archival issue. The two most important officers, Jay Demerath, the executive officer, and Alice Myers, the Administrative Officer, both confirmed that "there is no funding set up for this committee" (Correspondence, Page to Faris, Jan 27, 1971). Also, the scope of archives, in the officers' mind, should not be much expanded: Myers used to warn Jessie Bernard that: "the charge of our committee was limited to archives of the ASA rather narrowly defined" (Correspondence, Bernard to Page, Mar 13, 1971). Faris expressed his anger directly in his letter: "I tried to sense, from your remarks concerning Demerath's statement about no financing in sight, whether there is apathy about this matter in the Executive Office or even in the Council. From my distance, which may give a distorted view of course, it seems that money is being tossed about on less important objectives" (Correspondence, Faris to Page, Sep 10, 1971).

Despite the negative attitude from the administrator, the committee members worked hard. They wrote to almost everyone to ask for ideas. They wrote to each other to exchange planning ideas. They wrote to administrative staff (Demerath and Myers) to request resources. They also wrote to outside members as Leo Paul Chall (Jessie Bernard used to suggest him joining the committee, but Page refused, Correspondence, Page to Faris, Bernard, and Grimshaw, Mar 14, 1971), Ely Chinoy (the chairman of the Committee on Publications), and John Popplestone (who established the Archives of the History of American Psychology at the University of Akron).

Funding, as the biggest issue, appeared in almost every letter. Page had to give up the idea of a face-to-face meeting in January of 1971. He then suggested one committee member visit the ASA

Washington office to identify possible archival material because "presumably, this could be funded" (Correspondence, Page to Faris, Jan 27, 1971). This bargained plan was unfunded when Page later wrote to other committee members to note that "Jessie Bernard (who lives in Washington) has kindly volunteered to investigate..." (Correspondence, Page to Faris, Bernard, and Grimshaw, Mar 14, 1971). To compensate the funding gap, Faris "would even cut the size and number of issues of *The American Sociologist* if necessary, to save some papers of much more lasting value than the contents of that wordy and vanity-displaying publication" (Correspondence, Faris to Page, Sep 10, 1971). Even after three years, Faris still remembered how he "got a brush-off" (Correspondence, Faris to Larsen, July 31, 1974) for the question of the archives. Finally, Page got "annoyed… by the utter silence … concerning the financial problems" (Correspondence, Page to Faris, Bernard, and Grimshaw, Mar 14, 1971). He expected to find funding information at the 1971 ASA Denver conference but got rejected.

Despite the committee's dedication to the job, the shortage in funding and organizational support seriously limited the fruitfulness of their product. Page, as the chair of the committee, gave two reports on council meetings. The first interim report was published in the Official Reports and Proceedings dated November 1971. This report was a very short one with only 211 words in which half of the paragraphs were about the personnel of the committee and the counselors. It provided three suggestions: "(1) ASA archives should be established as soon as possible; (2) the archives should be located at the ASA headquarters; (3) oral history should be undertaken" (Page, 1971).
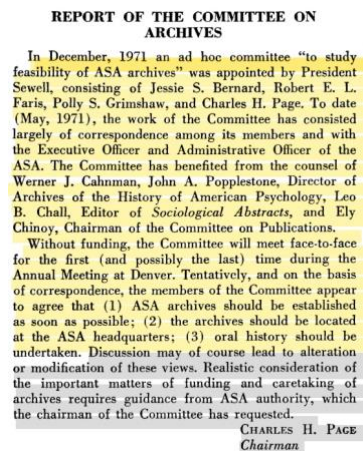
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ARCHIVES

In December, 1971 an ad hoc committee "to study feasibility of ASA archives" was appointed by President Sewell, consisting of Jessie S. Bernard, Robert E. L. Faris, Polly S. Grimshaw, and Charles H. Page. To date (May, 1971), the work of the Committee has consisted largely of correspondence among its members and with the Executive Officer and Administrative Officer of the ASA. The Committee has benefited from the counsel of Werner J. Cahnman, John A. Popplestone, Director of Archives of the History of American Psychology, Leo B. Chall, Editor of *Sociological Abstracts*, and Ely Chinoy, Chairman of the Committee on Publications.

Without funding, the Committee will meet face-to-face for the first (and possibly the last) time during the Annual Meeting at Denver. Tentatively, and on the basis of correspondence, the members of the Committee appear to agree that (1) ASA archives should be established as soon as possible; (2) the archives should be located at the ASA headquarters; (3) oral history should be undertaken. Discussion may of course lead to alteration or modification of these views. Realistic consideration of the important matters of funding and caretaking of archives requires guidance from ASA authority, which the chairman of the Committee has requested.

CHARLES H. PAGE
Chairman

Figure 3-4: The first report from the Page Committee (Page, 1971).

The final report of the committee was presented in the ASA council meeting on February 27, 1972. Before giving suggestions, Page emphasized his awareness of the financial limitation on archives: "The Committee is aware of financial difficulties faced by the Association, and of the possibility that these may preclude the establishment of archives, in the near future, by the ASA. We believe, however, that this project, on both scholarly and professional grounds, warrants high priority in the activities of the Association. The financial situation is taken into consideration in the following observations and proposals…" (Page report, 1972). It was expected that the committee, after knowing the fact of no funding for their meeting or investigation at all, asked for a moderate level of financial support for the archival collection. But after reading the following suggestions from the committee, it was highly suspicious how much the committee was aware of the budget and organizational limitations.

Page provided "two principal procedures for the establishment and maintenance of archives for American sociology: the project can be undertaken by the ASA itself (assuming the availability of resources); or archives can be developed as part of a multi-disciplinary, social science enterprise involving economics, political science, anthropology, and perhaps other social sciences, as well as sociology" (Page report, 1972). It was difficult to believe that under such a budget, the committee proposed for an expanded multidisciplinary archive and claimed it was "viable" (Page report, 1972).

Regardless of previous financial refusal from ASA officers, Page 's expanded plan would put too much

load on the ASA (Page report, 1972).

For the ASA-only procedure, Page gave five recommendations:

(1) a standing committee on archives be established; (2) archival activities, preferably, be
located at the Association's national office; (3) a professional archivist, with experience
in the social sciences, be employed (full-time for about a year and part-time thereafter--
see the following paragraph) , together with a clerical assistant; (4) as a consultant
concerning developing technology and future possibilities in archival methods, the advice
of a qualified 'informational scientist' be sought (who might be a member of the
proposed standing committee); (5) provision be made as soon as possible for obtaining
oral histories from senior sociologists (Page, 1972).

Most of the recommendations (a standing committee, located at ASA national office, a

professional archivist, a qualified informational scientist, and oral history projects) were reasonable but

not detailed enough. Suggestions 1, 2, and 5 had already appeared in the interim report, but no further

elaboration was shown in the final report. Also, these conditions almost included all elements that the

committee imagined for an ideal archive in their correspondence, but none of them added feasibility to the

plan based on the current level of financial and institutional support from ASA.

Page considered solid financial support for this ASA-only plan: a one-year grant of about 25,000

dollars from the Office of Informational Science of the NSF and the Russell Sage Foundation. Given

Hugh Cline, the president of the Russell Sage Foundation, 1972-1976, was among the list of the

acknowledgments, it was highly believable that the funding would be guaranteed.

But the further financial plan sounded unrealistic. The report furthermore estimated that the

budget for "an efficient and up-to-date archival system" would be "approximately 100,000 dollars per

year" (Page report, 1972) which was four times the NSF or Sage grant. Page made "a long-range plan for

permanent archives, including preparation of an application for a three-year grant of about 300,000

dollars" (Page report, 1972) without identifying a specific source of this huge sum. As noted earlier, the

1970s saw the hardship of the whole American academia, in which the federal budget shrank. Even after

11 years in 1983 when the financial problem got easier, ASA only paid LoC $1,000 for archiving. It seemed that the difficulties of establishing this archive were highly underestimated in the Page report.

At the end of the report, Page suggested full preservation of the ASA records: "it is recommended that ASA officers, editors, and committees regularly maintain 'full' records. (...ethical problems may be involved in the preservation of 'total' records--sometimes the protection of the living may stand in opposition to the interests of the future historian)" (Page report, 1972). As a social theorist and editor, Page was thoroughly aware of the possible risk of the revealing of "sensitive" academic records. But he paid full respect to the "fullness" of historical material. Lastly, the committee requested an honorable discharge.

The reaction of the council was hardly better than in 1969 to the Hinkle proposal. The good thing was that the receipt of the report appeared on the council meeting minutes. The council "discharges the ad hoc committee with appreciation" (Council meeting minutes, Feb 27, 1972) and declared that motion carried. But no council action was carried within two years. Neither was any standing committee established nor did ASA staff keep full preservation of their records. After two years, when the Library of Congress decided to collect the ASA records, the stakeholders in the Page committee made some contributions: Sewell mailed five boxes of archival materials which might be the largest ever personal donation; Jessie Bernard provided contact information of an archivist at the Pennsylvania State University to get Luther L. Bernard's official files during his presidency; and Faris suggested names for future oral history projects.

The analysis

The Page committee was the best-documented event in the history of the ASA archives. In this event, the archival advocation achieved much progress. First, the appointment of the ad hoc committee was the first institutionalization of the archival issue. Second, the two reports provided documents on the

feasibility of the archives. Third, the proposal of the NSF or Russell Sage Foundation provided a possible funding source for future proposals.

Was money the most important limitation in this event? Maybe. As Sica (1995) pointed out: "The ASA was in severe financial straits in 1970 - in fact, running a deficit. It, therefore, allocated no money for the archive committee" (p. 73). Rhoades (1981) also described the difficult circumstances in the 1970s: "funding for basic research was not keeping pace with inflation...The economy was battled by inflation, unemployment and low productivity. And science was no longer a pedestal" (p. 62).

But on the other hand, the committee did identify a reasonable funding source for the primary implementation of the archive establishment. According to the correspondence among Page, Sewell, and Hugh Cline (the president of the Russell Sage Foundation) the ASA archives would be very likely to get the one-year grant of about 25,000 dollars from the Russell Sage Foundation. But no following application for the grant was found. Thus, the monetary issue could explain why the feasibility committee was limited, but not why following actions were not taken to establish the archive collections.

Uncooperative administrators

The opposition from the administrator played a role in the twists and turns. The reason was not personal at all. In fact, there was evidence showing the personal relationship between Demerath and the archival advocates was good, at least better than Volkart with them. (In the last event, Volkart suggested Sewell talking to his successor when Sewell asked him to prepare for the archive committee.) Demerath and Sewell made jokes in their correspondence: "the presidency may have worn out the seat of your pants" (Correspondence, Demerath to Sewell, Oct 14, 1971). Demerath and Page worked together well at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Thus, the opposition came not from the personal relationship, but from academic orientation and resources.

As introduced above, the archive advocates were mostly "old-fashioned." Many of them explicitly identified themselves as "theorists." Page (1982) even made a clear statement that sociology

should be "a theoretical discipline" (p. 259). As an experienced editor of the ASR and at Random House publisher, he was "far less concerned with the field's scientific status than with its contribution as an interpretive and, at its best, an artistic endeavor" (Page, 1982, p. 261). Page's above perception of sociology shaped his commitment to the ASA archives. He worried about the preservation of manuscript and disciplinary history. And he valued the humanistic subunit of sociology such as history, theory, and archive.

But the executive officer Demerath held a scientific academic orientation. When he served as the chairman of the sociology department at the University of Massachusetts, Demerath worked to bring the department into a positivist science trend. To achieve the goal, Demerath hired Peter Rossi together with his wife Alice Rossi in 1974, one year before Page's retirement. Rossi "brought substantial research funds from Johns Hopkins" which "reached almost $2 million by 1980" (Page, 1982, p. 246) and served as the director of the Social and Demographic Research Institute (SADRI). The fund and the institute soon established the department as one dominated by a quantitative methodology. The department at that time gained a "large expansion of empirical, collaborative, and evaluation research" (Page, 1982, p. 246). Page showed no positive attitude towards the trend. He politely praised Peter Rossi's promising prospect to become president of the ASA in 1979, as did Alice Rossi in 1982, and said that he regretted neglecting to "take advantage of the presence of these two distinguished sociologists" (Page, 1982, p. 248). As a dissertation advisor, Page observed that following Rossi's arrival, the "long-standing - and understandable - choice of relatively small-scale empirical projects became almost unanimous" (Page, 1982, p. 246). Page humbly complained about the quality of such subjects being "less ambitious" (Page, 1982, p. 246). Page's advisees, compared to the dominant trend, were atypical. Upon his retirement, Page "was serving on twelve dissertation committees (none of them a SADRI project, to be sure)" (Page, 1982, p. 248). He praised his advisee Alan Sica's hermeneutic dissertation "The problem of irrationality and meaning in the work of Max Weber" as "impressive," "rising star," and "excellent scholarly and

theoretical work" (Page, 1982, p. 246 & 261). After 23 years in 1995, Sica took Page's responsibility to protect the ASA archives.

The executive officer, the administrative officer, and the council all showed negative attitudes towards the archive issue, not only because of financial vacancy but also due to the scope of archives collected. The main concern of the administration was the occupancy of money and staff. The Russell Sage Foundation grant could address the problem perfectly if the ASA applied for the grant at all. But for staff, it was a reasonable concern because the Page report insisted that "archival activities, preferably, be located at the Association's national office" (Page report, 1972). Why wasn't there any suggestion to store the records in some university libraries like other archives?

The absence of university partnership

What was the role of universities in this event of the 1970 committee? Nothing at all. Why didn't the ASA seek help from any university? The APA archives, though deposited by the LoC, sought collaboration with the University of Akron. As mentioned in the analysis of the last event, the APA archives were an organizational archive that only collected files about the operation of the APA with no attention to the broad history of the overall American psychology. But the APA's Board of Directors "applauded the interest and initiative of the University of Akron in establishing a Psychology Archives" (Hildreth, 1969, p. 968) in 1966. With the support of the APA and other psychologists, the University of Akron established the Archives of the History of American Psychology. This repository now is "the world's largest repository of manuscripts, monographs, media, and artifacts relevant to the history of psychology and related human sciences."[14] It carries the important task "to educate the psychological world about the needs of history" (Popplestone & McPherson, 1971, p. 16). When the APA celebrated its

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[14] Information retrieved from the website of Cummings Center for the History of Psychology: https://www.uakron.edu/chp/archives/

75th anniversary in 1967, this Akron Archives was responsible for the "large exhibit of historic apparatus in honor of this anniversary celebration. Several thousand people saw this display, took away the catalog, and realized the Archives' role in this production" (Popplestone & McPherson, 1971, p. 15). The collaboration between the University of Akron and the APA showed that when the organizational resource was not enough to support an archival project, it was not a bad idea to ask for help from higher educational institutions. Why didn't the advocates of the ASA archives build any university partnership then?

Because the thinking of a university repository was denied due to severe concerns. Page mentioned in his letter that "Ely Chinoy, chairman of the Committee on Publications, has suggested the possibility of establishing an archival headquarters at a university which has been closely associated, historically, with the ASS (ASA)" (Correspondence, Page to Faris, Bernard, and Grimshaw, March 14, 1971). Page named Chicago as the first choice. And Columbia, Brown, or Yale might also be a possible repository. But concerns went with the university partnership: "getting university approval of such an arrangement (perhaps the big problem); financial support to build up and maintain archives requires some ASA support; adequate staffing (as Bob notes, a 'deeply interested person' would be needed); physical remoteness from ASA headquarters" (Correspondence, Page to Faris, Bernard, and Grimshaw, Mar 14, 1971, underlined as original). With these concerns, Page finally didn't bring up university partnership in his both committee reports but insisted the repository be in the ASA headquarters.

Two examples of problematic university partnership with sociology might illuminate the origins of the concerns. The first story was the ASS's rebellion against the alleged monarchic influence of the University of Chicago in 1935. In the first third of the 20th century, American sociology was dominated by the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago or the Chicago School (Coser, 1971). At that time, the ASS's official journal, the American Journal of Sociology (AJS), was operated totally by Chicago, which informally but powerfully granted "the Chicago department extraordinary centrality in professional communication" (Lengermann, 1979, p. 185). Also, in the last 11 years, "all but two of the

Presidents of the Society had been either Chicago Ph.D.'s or faculty members, or both; and, Herbert

Blumer, a Chicago Ph.D. and member of the department, had served as Secretary for some years"

(Kuklick, 1973, p. 3). In 1935, dissidents in eastern schools led by L. L. Bernard started a vote in the ASS

"to establish an independent journal for the Society, the American Sociological Review (ASR)"

(Lengermann, 1979, p. 185). This rebellion broke down the domination of Chicago and signified the

theoretical reorientation of American sociology away from Chicago's ethnography to "the structural-

functionalist perspective centered at Harvard and Columbia" (Lengermann, 1979, p. 186). Page

documented this episode in his autobiography, *Fifty Years in the Sociological Enterprise: A Lucky

journey*. This event happened at the beginning of his career when he "first began to attend annual

meetings of the national and Eastern sociological societies" (Page, 1982, p. 9). He agreed with the eastern

breakdown of the Chicagoan domination of sociology which was "marked by conflict between a

supposedly entrenched elite and opposing Young Turks" (Page, 1982, p. 8). After the relief from the

three-decades of the hegemony of Chicago, it would still be concerned to choose a single university to

signify the ASA's organizational authority and deposit the official archives. Because that might initiate a

new hegemony of resources. The choice of any university might be problematic and indicate the past

hegemony of Chicago again.

The second story was Page's difficult editorship in Smith College. Page was the editor of the

ASR in 1958-1960. At that time, the editor's office was located in Smith College. Page imagined the

return to Smith College as "a homecoming event, for Frank Hankins (a previous chairman of the

Department of Sociology) had been its (the ASR's) first editor more than twenty years before" (Page,

1981, p. 43). But he was disappointed. President Benjamin Wright, as a historian of political science,

"thought he saw little scholarly virtue in the new-fangled behavioral sciences" (Page, 1981, p. 43) and

hesitated to support it. Page described the editor's daily work was "unrewarding" and "quite apart from

budgetary consolidation" (p. 44):

The office, a room of no more than 300 square feet, served as headquarters for my faculty activities as well as the ASR. It housed a secretarial desk, a small table, and a few shelves for the book review editor, some ancient kitchen chairs, and a child's desk for the editor himself. A greater handicap, or so I assumed at the outset, was the location of the journal at an undergraduate college which lacked the institutional facilities and ready supply of sociologists available at larger universities (Page, 1981, p. 43).

Page also lamented how Smith College refused to temporarily store the editorial records of the ASR so that he had to burn them, which he called a "disqualifying crime of desperation" (Page, 1981, p. 47). In 1965 summer when Page had already left Smith College, President Thomas Mendenhall of Smith College telephoned him and declared that Page "must remove at once the several boxes of ASR files that had been stored in Tyler Annex… The space was needed, Mendenhall explained" (Page, 1981, p. 47). Page had to hasten to drive from Vermont to Smith College to shift the heavy boxes to his car without time even to greet his old friends in Smith College. But where could these boxes go? There was no ASA archival repository. And as Page remembered, when he left the editorship in 1961, "both the ASA Executive Officer and the Editor of the ASR had declined to take over the files" (Page, 1981, p. 47). Finally, Page had to desperately burn the routine files of volumes 23, 24, and 25 of the ASR in Ashfield's town dump, which he still remembered as a rainy day. He hadn't even told it to anyone until 1971 when he became chair of the ASA committee on archives. This bad partnership with Smith College hurt Page badly, which might indicate why he didn't suggest in the archive proposal to put all eggs in one university basket.

Distracted committees

As introduced at the beginning of this event, all four committee members were celebrities in American sociology. They had not only high academic fame but also strong personal relations. As Page (Mar 14, 1971) joked in his letter:

Moreover, our committee itself may be an important source of oral (or nostalgic) history: the membership includes a former president of the ASA (Robert Faris), the widow (Jessie Bernard) of a former president (L. L. Bernard), the son (Robert Faris) of a former president (Ellsworth Faris), former presidents of regional societies (Page and Jessie

Bernard), former editors of the ASR (Page), and so on (Correspondence, Page to Faris, Bernard, and Grimshaw, Mar 14, 1971).

Such should be a strong enough group to realize the archives. Why didn't that happen? What did the committee members do after the committee was dismissed? Did they continue to pay efforts to establish the archives? The answer might be found in the analysis of the career focus of committee members at this time.

The three years, from the dismissal of the ad hoc Committee on Archives in 1972 to Page's retirement in 1975, were busy for Page. On one hand, he served on the ASA Committee on Publications on which he previously served in the 1960s (Page, 1982, p. 217). On the other, his responsibility as a professor in sociology strengthened with the arrival of Jay Demerath (i.e., the executive officer of the ASA, 1970-1972) at the University of Massachusetts in 1972. Upon his retirement in 1975, Page "was serving on twelve dissertation committees (none of them a SADRI project, to be sure)" (Page, 1982, p. 248). Though Page was consistently committed to the humanistic or non-scientific orientation of sociology, he was too busy to advocate for the ASA archives.

Jessie Bernard's autobiography-style article, *My Four Revolutions: An Autobiographical History of the ASA Changing Women in a Changing Society*, marked four important revolutions in the ASA in her life history. The first was the advocacy for empirical research in the 1920s. The second was "the emancipation of the Society from the fostering protection of the University of Chicago" (Bernard, 1973, p. 773) in the 1930s. The third was to establish the Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP) in the 1950s. And the fourth was the feminist revolution in the 1970s. In this journal, Jessie Bernard talked about how she was one of the midwives at the birth of the Sociologists for Women in Society in 1970. She wrote long about how "to counteract the sexist bias in the discipline" which was her "own major concern and is the focus of the discussion" (Bernard, 1973, p. 774). She made the statement that "this (1973) is the time for the feminist revolution in sociology ... this is the time for an attack on sexism in our discipline" (Bernard, 1973, p. 776). The time period of this feminist revolution, 1970-1973, overlapped

with the Committee on Archives. From Jessie Bernard's documentation on the ASA, it was clear that she identified the main task of the ASA in these years as the feminist revolution, not the archives. These two things were not mutually exclusive of course. But as a feminist, identified by Jessie Bernard herself, she put more effort into the feminist movement. To compare, the archive-consumer identity (she did identify herself in the letter with Page on May 13, 1971) was a weak one without much collaborators and organizations to align with.

Robert E. L. Faris was busy giving a perfect closure with his leadership in the Department of Sociology at the University of Washington at the beginning of the 1970s. As a highly committed chairman, Robert E. L. Faris "never took a full year sabbatical" and always taught classes "more than the required load" (Faris, J., 1998, p. 8). His effort to consolidate the department was not only in academic aspects but also in interpersonal relationships. He developed a friendship with the faculty and invited them to his house to hold parties "into late hours with laughter, talk, and music" (Faris, J., 1998, p. 8). His hard work was well rewarded by the prestige of the department. Under his 13-year leadership, the department gained national recognition. In 1962, the Seattle Times reported that the department was rated among the U.S. top five by "high ranking outsiders". And the report emphasized the achievement was gained "under the guidance of Robert E. L. Faris, the present chairman" (Faris, J., 1998, p. 8). After fulfilling his responsibility and taking his retirement in 1972, Faris moved to Colorado with his wife Clara. The ending of leadership and later retirement stopped Faris from paying much attention to the archive affairs.

The Contracts with the Library of Congress (1974-1992)

The story

Two years after the Page Committee on Archives, another effort was made to establish the ASA archives. The Library of Congress (LoC) showed a willingness to preserve the ASA archives. But the cooperation of the ASA in this event was very passive and hesitant.

Before the 1974 contract, the LoC and the ASA cooperated well. As early as on September 21, 1966, the executive officer Volkart wrote a letter to the LoC to correct a mistake in the LoC publication *New Serial Titles* about the title of ASR. Even in 1974, the ASA editors were collaborating well with the LoC copyright office for the Rose Monograph Series. In fact, the 1974 archival issue might be the only case that the ASA-LoC cooperation didn't go successfully and effectively. The cooperation this time for archives was also initiated from the LoC's cataloging of the ASA information.

In 1974, a staff member of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Paul T. Heffron, who was later named assistant chief in 1975, visited the ASA offices and talked with Otto Nyholm Larsen, the executive officer, and Alice Myers, the administrative officer. Heffron urged the chief of the Manuscript Division, Roy Prentice Basler, to send an enthusiastic invitation to the ASA for the placement of the records in the LoC. In the letter, Basler stated the advantages of placing records in the LoC, promised careful preservation and detailed finding aids, and asked for a grant from the ASA which had been discussed by Heffron and Larsen (Correspondence, Basler to Larsen, May 30, 1974).

Larson reported the invitation to the governing council and then wrote back to Basler that "the response was very positive" (Correspondence, Larsen to Basler, June 13, 1974). The council not only authorized Larsen to accept the invitation but also granted $1,000 to the LoC to facilitate the organization of the ASA materials. Basler gave thanks for "the generous decision to make a donation" (Correspondence, Basler to Larsen, June 21, 1974).

On July 19, 1974, Larsen wrote to "all members having records bearing on the history of the ASA, including former officers and editors" (Larson, Report of the executive officer, Aug 1974) to invite them to send materials for archiving. The invitation indicated that the first deposits would begin in October 1974. Only a few members replied to Larsen's invitation. Among replies, the most passionate volunteer was the last President Sewell who established the ad hoc archives committee two years previous. Sewell authorized his secretary to mail 66 items (listed three pages) to Larsen for archiving. Another early contributor was the past editor Karl Schuessler who donated five boxes of correspondence with which he had "done much sorting and discarding" (Correspondence, Schuessler to Larsen, Sep 5, 1974). There were also negative responses from officers saying all records had long been discarded.

At the same time of collecting material, Larsen also worked to modify the Instrument of Gift to claim for the ASA better conditions in this endowment. On July 11, 1974, Peter H. Bridge, the Chief of Exchange and Gift Division, Library of Congress, forwarded Larsen a draft of the Instrument. Larsen carefully looked up the previous APA Instrument of Gift and on August 2, 1974, replied to propose a restriction on the verbatim minutes of the ASA Council (Correspondence, Larsen to Bridge, Aug 2, 1974). The LoC agreed and sent back the signed Instrument on December 26, l974 (Correspondence, Shutterly to Larsen, Dec 26, 1974).

No following correspondences or actions were found from 1975 to 1982. The archive issue stopped after the exchange of the Instrument with no identified reason. Based on the previous correspondence, it did not appear that the ASA had any dissatisfaction with the Instrument. Neither did financial difficulties stop the ASA, given the quick consent of making a $1,000 donation by the Council. The only possible reasons for the lack of correspondence might be that either Larsen didn't find enough records to donate, or he simply forgot the archival issue given the last response from the LoC arrived during the Christmas vacation.

It took nine years for the ASA to resume conveying records and to pay the $1000 they promised, which was not normal compared to the APA who started within two years. The check from the ASA was

enclosed in the letter dated July 20, 1983, from Jo Ann Ruckel, the ASA administrative officer then, to

Bridge. James H. Huston, the Chief of the Manuscript Division in 1983, wrote to William D'Antonio,

executive officer that: "We at the Library of Congress are pleased that the American Sociological

Association is now prepared to begin the conveyance of the archives described in the 1974 instrument of

gift" (Correspondence, Huston to D'Antonio, May 4, 1983). The first wave arrived with 25 boxes of

papers (Correspondence, Bridge to Ruckel, July 1, 1983). The second wave was forwarded in 1986 and

1987 (undated, PSU archives).

Figure 3-5: An undated document from the PSU Special Collections.

The analysis

Three versions of the instrument

An instrument of gift (or called a deed of gift) is "a formal and legal agreement between the

donor and the repository that transfers ownership of and legal rights to the donated materials. A legal

agreement is in the best interest of both donor and repository."[15] It "establishes, secures, modifies, or terminates rights, duties, entitlements, or liabilities."[16] In archive donation, both the donor and the repository need to sign an instrument of gift with negotiated terms regarding the access, uses, and disposal of the material. There are various essential elements of an instrument of gift: name of the donor and the recipient, title and description of the materials donated, transfer of ownership, access to the collection, transfer of intellectual property rights, separations, and other possible elements.

Three instruments of gift found in the ASA archive collections are relevant to the current event. The first instrument was signed by the APA and the LoC in 1966. The second and third were by the ASA and the LoC in 1974 and 1983. The basic conditions of these gifts were quite similar: 1. Access, 2. Photoproduction/Reproduction, 3. Disposal, and 4. Additions.

It seemed that the ASA failed to push the contract towards the direction it wanted. In comparison, the 1974 and 1983 instruments were exactly the same except that the 1983 instrument added one restricted item called "Minutes and back-up documents of the Committee on freedom of research and teaching." This uniformity seemed very strange because Ruckel explicitly asked for a new draft of an instrument in her letter on July 20, 1983 (Correspondence, Ruckel to Bridge, July 20, 1983), but no further revision was found.

The difference between the APA instrument and the ASA instruments was also interesting. The only different part - disposal - implicated the future conflict between the ASA and the LoC. The 1974 and 1983 ASA instrument simply wrote: "the Library may dispose of the materials…" The 1966 APA instrument, which was clearly signed earlier, contained additional details: "the Library shall notify the American Psychological Association of its intention to dispose…, shall either return the material to the

15 Achieved from the website of the Society of American Archivists: https://www2.archivists.org/publications/brochures/deeds-of-gift
16 Definition achieved from the website of the Society of American Archivists: https://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/i/instrumehttps://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/i/instrumentnt

Association, or dispose of the material in accordance with its procedure…" (Figure **3-6**) Given the

detailed one (1966) is much earlier than the brief instrument (1983), the circumstance was either that the

LoC learned to be more skilled to avoid controversy on disposal, or the APA staff paid more attention

than ASA to avoid their archives to be disposed of.

Figure **3-6**: Three Instruments with the LoC.

A collegiate repository v. a governmental one

There are two competing traditions of archiving: collegiate and governmental. This section seeks to describe each and demonstrate why the collegiate tradition works better than the governmental for the ASA archives.

Collaboration with the LoC first seemed a better choice to the ASA archives than with any university because of the powerfulness of the LoC. The LoC was claimed to be "an unparalleled world resource" "the largest library in the world, with millions of books, recordings, photographs, newspapers, maps and manuscripts in its collections" "the main research arm of the U.S. Congress and the home of the U.S. Copyright Office" and "the world's preeminent reservoir of knowledge."[17] The LoC deposits "more than 168 million items includes more than 39 million cataloged books and other print materials in 470 languages; more than 72 million manuscripts; the largest rare book collection in North America; and the world's largest collection of legal materials, films, maps, sheet music and sound recordings."[18] To compare, the PSU library's collection only "approaches 5 million items. Roughly 100,000 volumes are added to the collection annually."[19]

The LoC is powerful because it is governmental. As "the oldest federal cultural institution in the United States", the LoC "officially serves the United States Congress and is the de facto national library of the United States."[20] As an official archive, the LoC functioned more as statecraft than an academic database. Public archives, since its prosperity in the 19th century, had been related to the rise and progress of nation-states. The governance of modern states and increasing populations demanded systematic and measurable information which can be fulfilled by official archives (Featherstone, 2006). Also, the forging of national history and national identity were based on the content of archives (Milligan, 2002). Thus

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17 https://www.loc.gov/about/, http://www.loc.gov/philanthropy/index.php
18 https://www.loc.gov/about/general-information/#year-at-a-glance
19 https://libraries.psu.edu/about/general-information/history
20 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Library_of_Congress

public archives, as disciplinary power, needed to be supported and controlled by the national authority. The self-consciousness of the modern nation-state brought up requirements of the scope, criteria, and such processual practices of governmental archives which were different from archives of colleges and universities.

The college and university archives in the U.S. mostly followed the historical manuscript tradition. This tradition defined the core function of archives as supporting academic research. It was rooted in early librarianship of the 19th century and almost dominated American archive profession before the 1950s. In the historical manuscript tradition, archivists were historians and interpreters of material. The relationship with the academic community, especially humanities, was emphasized. The criteria of appraising material were based on its possibility to enable academic studies (Gilliland-Swetland, 1991).

On the other hand, American governmental archives after WWII, especially the LoC in the 1970s, followed the public archives tradition. This tradition regarded provenance as the primary responsibility of archives. It was rooted in the public archive system in France and Prussian and was imported into American official archives. After the 1950s, the prosperity of the American society called for scientific administration over the archives. Thus, the processual strictness of the public archives tradition responded to this calling. In this tradition, the role of archivists was the administrator or custodian. The archive profession was responsible more to the government than to academia. And the appraisal criteria were more administrative and secular (Gilliland-Swetland, 1991).

Table 3-2: The historical manuscripts tradition v. the public archives tradition.

	The historical manuscripts tradition	The public archives tradition
Root	Librarianship	The public archive system in France and Prussian

Dominating time in the U. S.	Before the 1950s	After the 1950s
The core function of archives	Research	Provenance
Role of archivists	Historian, interpreter	Administrator, custodian
Perception of the archive profession	Part of the historian community	An independent discipline
Description and catalog level	Item	Series
Repository	Mainly private and research-oriented institutions like colleges and universities	Mainly public and archiving-oriented institutions like the National Archives, the SAA and the LoC

The ASA, though not a college, was and is a professional organization rather than a governmental branch. The self-definition of the ASA is "a non-profit membership association". The missions of the organization include: "serving sociologists in their work, advancing sociology as a science and profession, promoting the contributions and use of sociology to society."[21] These missions can be found very similar to the missions of departments of sociology in universities, though not every department states its missions explicitly. For example, "the mission of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Northeastern University is fostering, through teaching and research, a systematic understanding of human societies and cultures."[22] Similarly, the Department of Sociology at Georgetown University is "committed–through our scholarship, teaching and service–to fostering imaginations that envision a more just society and which recognize the individual's contribution to the social production and reproduction of just and unjust practices and institutions."[23] Except for the teaching mission of universities, the ASA's scholarship and service missions are the same as departments of sociology at

[21] Achieved from the mission statement webpage of the ASA: https://www.asanet.org/about-asa/asa-story/mission-statement

[22] Achieved from the mission statement webpage of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Northeastern University: https://cssh.northeastern.edu/socant/about/mission-statement/

[23] Achieved from the mission and history webpage of the Department of Sociology at the Georgetown University: https://sociology.georgetown.edu/mission-and-vision/

universities. It is an academic association. The membership relevancy to the government is also very low: "most members work in academia, but about 20 percent work in government, business, or non-profit organizations."[24]

The governmental repository was not the ASA's ideal choice in its original planning. On the contrary, before the LoC contacted the ASA, all advocates proposed to deposit the records in either university repository or in the ASA headquarters. None had ever considered regarding the ASA records as governmental archives or finding a governmental repository. The shortage of funding and personnel postponed the plan of a collegiate repository. And the sincere invitation from Heffron and Basler pushed the ASA to accept the offer rapidly without cautiously comparing the differences between a collegiate repository versus a governmental one. By passively cooperating with the LoC, the ASA archives, in fact, lost the chance to cooperate with any university. Clearly, it was the LoC who chose the ASA rather than vice versa.

The discrepancy between the ASA as an academic organization and the LoC as a governmental repository implied failure. In the future event after only nine years, the LoC announced to de-access the material in the ASA collection. The ASA had to find a new repository for its records.

The Barber Committee (1990-1998)

The story

In 1990, Bernard Barber wrote to the ASA Council to urge the council to identify the archival resources that presently existed. He also made a $2,000 donation to the ASA in order to establish an official archive of American sociology (Sica, 1995). Urged by Barber's letter and donation, the ASA council appointed an Advisory Committee on Archives in the same year. The Committee was still ad hoc,

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24 Achieved from the wikipedia page of the ASA:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Sociological_Association

similar to the Page Committee. However, the Barber committee worked not only on feasibility of a possible archive but also dealing with the existing repository, identifying new sources, and establishing new archives. The Committee was chaired by Bernard Barber and included John Goering, Michael R. Hill, Barry Johnston, and Stephen Park Turner with the ambition of establishing a centralized archive for worldwide sociology (*Footnotes*, March 1991). The Committee did much work for the following years including discovering substantial funding, composing grant proposals, negotiating with university libraries, meeting with interested colleagues and the NSF officials, and attending successive ASA Council meetings.

The chair Bernard Barber was an American sociologist. He finished his undergraduate, master's, and Ph.D. degrees at Harvard and took sociology courses from Pitirim Sorokin, Talcott Parsons, and Robert Merton. He then became a sociology professor at Barnard College and Smith College, Columbia University, and chair of the sociology department. He performed the role of the president of the Society for Social Studies of Science in 1980/1981.[25] He was a foundational theorist of sociology of science in the U.S.. Barber emphasized academic collaboration and "believed in sociology as a community of scholars moving the discipline collectively toward maturity" (Alexander, Cole, & Zelizer, 2006, p. 15). He was very committed to the ASA. From 1963 to 1994, he served on the Committee on committees, the Committee on professional ethics, the Committee on Nominations, the Official representative of AAAS section K, the *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, the Committee on regulation of research, and the Ad hoc committee on archives at this time.

Stephen Park Turner was Bernard Barber's principal collaborator. He was a distinguished professor in sociology and philosophy. His Ph.D. dissertation was published in the famous Rose Monograph series of the ASA in 1980. History and philosophy of social science were identified as the main teaching and research interests in his CV, which implicated his dedication to archive issues because

[25] http://www.eoht.info/page/Bernard+Barber

archives provided reliability in history.26 As early as in 1975, the last year of Stephen Turner's Ph.D., he submitted a proposal of "Communicative distortion and authority in the community of sociology" to apply for the "Problem in the discipline" grant. Although this proposal was rejected with harsh reasons at that time ("the committee prefers to see funds spent to facilitate face to face interaction among those working on specific well-defined intellectual problems", Correspondence from Gary Marx to Stephen Turner, April 15, 1975), Stephen Turner's passion into the reflection upon the discipline continued. His later book *The Impossible Science: An Institutional Analysis of American Sociology* (co-authored with Jonathan Turner) focused on the identity of sociology as a discipline. He served multiple positions at the ASA including serving within the Comparative historical sociology section and the Nominations committee, 1984-1985, the Theory Section, 1986-1988, and the Archives Committee at this event. He also served on the editorial boards of *Sociological Theory* and *The American Sociologist*.

Michael R. Hill had contributed to the ASA archives back in 1989 by conducting an inventory of the LoC materials and created a finding aid together with Mary Jo Deegan granted by the Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline. He was a professor at the University of Nebraska - Lincoln with expertise in sociology, geography, discipline history, and archives.27 He was among the first members of the Section on the History of Sociology when established in 1997 and became the section chair in 2001.

The above three members all had an intimate relationship with the ASA. The other two members, Goering and Johnston, were for the first time to serve at the ASA on a committee.

To bolster attention to archives, Stephen Turner published "Salvaging Sociology's Past" on *Footnotes*, May 1991. In the article, Turner clearly identified the reason why sociological archives were so difficult to be taken care of: the scientific orientation. He cited William Fielding Ogburn's memo about the "false standards" to represent the severe bias against archives: "that if sociology was to become

26 http://faculty.cas.usf.edu/sturner5/turnercv.pdf
27 http://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/author/michael-r-hill

scientific it would be better to reduce past emphasis on scholarship, which has its place in the humanities, and particularly on the history of sociology" (Turner, 1991, p. 6). Ogburn concluded that it is a waste of time to "study of the history of sociology (and particularly of systems of ideas) in sociology departments" as well as to "study of alchemy in chemistry departments" (Turner, 1991, p. 6). Another reason for failure, that he pointed out, is that "historical researchers have been less of a community with recognized leaders than a collection of individuals with short-term interests and investment in the area" (Turner, 1991, p. 6).

Turner recommended three actions. The first was to identify the archival resources that presently exist, which is also the most important appeal from Barber. The second was to provide guidelines for preservation - a simple list of what to save and what might be valuable to future researchers. And the third was to nurture the discipline of sociological history. "Historical dissertations can be encouraged. Distinguish the history of sociology from 'theory' and assure that the history of sociology is taught by competent specialists, and there will be an improved employment market for researchers" (Turner, 1991, p. 6). Turner acknowledged the diminishing of funding: "At a time when resources are tight and the environment in which sociology competes is increasingly difficult, the history of sociology may seem to be a low priority" (Turner, 1991, p. 6). The reason he gave to support such an archive was legitimizing "the perceptions of the educated public of sociology and of its significance … the perceived historical significance of sociology will diminish. A science which hesitates to forget its founders may indeed, in Whitehead's dictum, be 'lost'" (Turner, 1991, p. 6).

The Committee worked slowly in its first year. They did discover a substantial grant for archiving, "but it can only be received by an already existing archival entity, and not one in the planning stages" (Sica, 1995, p. 72). To start up a new archive from nothing might be too ambitious. On the council meeting that the Barber Committee first made a report, the ASA president James Samuel Coleman urged reporters to "deal with routine matters expeditiously so that time would remain for

Council to consider new initiatives" (*Footnotes*, Feb 1992, p. 15).[28] To work efficiently, the Committee restructured itself during the Council meeting on Tuesday, August 27, 1991. The reconvened Committee aimed to "contact existing archival holdings and to solicit institutional interest in becoming centers for sociological archives" (*Footnotes*, Feb 1992, p. 15). Barber's initial purpose to establish a new central archive was replaced by this much more realistic plan.

On Jan 23, 1992, the LoC wrote to the ASA executive office to terminate their cooperation. As implied in the instrument of gift, the LoC decided to stop accepting the ASA archives because of its limited staff and storage facilities. To clarify, the existing collections would not be disposed of at this time. Other institutional archives at the LoC were also de-accessed though not disposed of, like the APA archives (Sica, 1995). The ASA was not a single case.

The LoC's termination of the ASA archives urged the Committee to speed up its work. The ASA council was in a meeting when it received the letter. To respond to the termination, the Committee changed its aim from collecting and establishing new archives to contacting existing university archives to call for proposals to deposit the newly-emerged ASA records. Stephen Turner reported to the Council the difficulties of finding a cooperative college:

> It was essentially an "ask" situation, in which the institution might allocate monies to handle the deposited archives given a sufficient level of interest in their acquisition value. A search for possible site produced a short list of interested institutions... (Turner, Apr 1993, p. 15).

In fact, the list of initial offers was as short as two names: the University of Illinois and the Pennsylvania State University. Stephen Turner made special visits to both universities. At the ASA Annual Meeting in Pittsburgh from August 20 to 24, the Committee met Robert Jones of Illinois.

Charles Page's dissertation mentee, Alan Sica, who was a faculty member at Penn State, was contacted by Stephen Turner for the archives. Sica became the "point man" for the archive project and

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[28] Coleman's critique was not towards the Barber Committee itself but generally towards all reporters. However, the Barber report was the last report before Coleman's critique. Plus, the main issues in Barber report were "routine matters".

found help from Frank Clemente, head of Penn State sociology, Diana Shenk, the Head of Historical

Collections and Data Archives at the PSU Library, and Diane Zabel, Penn State librarian. As the editor of

Sociological Theory, Sica also sought for support in the ASA's Publications Committee. Two ways of

donation were proposed by Penn State and discussed during the 1992-1993 Council meeting in August

1993. The first way was to give Penn State the material as a gift but for the ASA to retain the copyright.

Because this would be "a gift of material but not rights" (*Footnotes*, Jan 1994, p. 15), the ASA could still

control the access. This was a standard treatment seldomly disputed, and also used for Penn State's labor

collection. The second alternative was to make a specified contract over terms and agreements. In this

way, the arrangements and return of material would be dissolved over the intentions of the donor once

arguments arose. To make a better choice, the Committee would ask for help from the ASA attorney and

the 1993-1994 Council.

After reviewing the two proposals, the Committee agreed that Penn State was more passionate

and experienced. The Committee members reached "some consensus that Penn State's offer promised a

more active role" (*Footnotes*, Apr 1993, p. 15). The Council authorized the Committee to negotiate the

contract details with Penn State.

Years of inconclusive work exhausted the committees. The patron and first chair Barber began

sharing his chair responsibility with his friend Stephen Turner who performed as the co-chair starting in

August 1993. On March 1, 1994, Barber resigned amid the frustration of years of repeated labors. Lynn

Zucker was later promoted to be the co-chair working with Stephen Turner in March 1995.

Felice J. Levine, the ASA executive officer, was not enthusiastic but concerned about the legal

ramifications and troubles of founding an ASA archive. Levine joined the archives committee as the

Executive Office Liaison. She conducted a site visit in 1995 to Penn State with Turner and Hill to see the

facilities (*Footnotes*, Jul/Aug 1995, p. 15).

The ASA Council finally voted on August 22, 1995, to establish the ASA archives at Penn State.

The formal document was signed two years later on Jan 23, 1997. The ASA and Penn State sponsored a

symposium on February 28, 1997, to celebrate the opening of the archives. Both parties promised "state-of-the-art research and information technology to organize, manage, preserve, and make available holdings of the collections" (*Footnotes*, Nov 1997, p. 1). Diana Shenk planned to "make the ASA Archives a foundation to attract the papers of other prominent sociologists" (*Footnotes*, Nov 1997, p. 1). But the point man, Sica, was not invited to speak at the celebratory conference.

The vision looked promising, but the reality was not. Though Levine promised "scholars will be able to gain access to the repository during the next calendar year" (*Footnotes*, Nov 1997, p. 1), she took no action until late 2000 when about 300 boxes of material were shipped to Penn State. The quality of the material was "rather random and not a good basis for an institutional archive" (Anonymous introduction, undated[29]), which echoed Demerath's words "variety of odds and ends" (Correspondence, Demerath to Page, Mar 4, 1971) 29 years earlier.

Active consultation between the ASA and Penn State began in 2004 when the LoC collections began moving to Penn State. Penn State archivists visited ASA in 2005 to train staff and prepare records. It seemed that formal preservations and mutual collaborations had been established for a healthy archive.

The analysis

Lowering expectations

The Barber committee lowered their expectations gradually in processing the archive issues. At first, the committee had an ambitious vision for a centralized and official archive for American or even worldwide sociology. This aim had been tried and failed so many times, but no one had the knowledge to remind or warn them given the past stories were not even documented.

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[29] This material was a single piece of paper found in many ASA archive folders. It was a short introduction of the history of the ASA-Penn State archival collaboration. It was undated but believed to be written after 2005, possibly composed of by an anonymous Penn State archival staff. The scanned file would be shown in Appendix 2.

The Barber committee did not possess enough resources to support such an ambitious expectation. A centralized sociological archive needed abundant funding and institutional resources. As a reference, when the Page committee planned an archive in 1972, they proposed "a three-year grant of about 300,000 dollars" (Page report, 1972). In 2014 when the GMU proposed to the NSF to establish the digital archives, the amount they proposed was still $300,000. But the Barber Committee possessed a very limited budget. All revenue came from an individual donation - Barber's $2,000 - which was generous as an individual donation but not enough for a whole disciplinary archive. The committee members used this donation very cautiously and frugally. As shown in Table 5, the committee did not spend any money on administration and the direct expenditures were only several hundred dollars every year presumably for annual meetings. The committee might not be efficient in using time, but they did not waste any funds.

Table 3-3: Funds of the Barber Committee.[30]

	Deferred Revenue - Jan 1	Direct Expenditures	Admin Expenditures	Deferred Revenue - Dec 31
1991	2000	956	0	1004
1992	1044	262	0	782
1993	782	336	0	446

Though aiming at an ambitious goal of a worldwide archive, the committee worked slowly in reality. Failing to provide any achievement in the first two years, the committee was warned by the ASA president and restructured itself in 1991. After restructuring, the committee reframed its aim as a more specific and realistic one: "contact existing archival holdings and to solicit institutional interest in becoming centers for sociological archives" (*Footnotes*, Feb 1992, p. 15). To utilize existing materials

[30] Data retrieved from Footnotes, Sep 1992, Jan 1994, Summer 1994.

and repositories rather than to build a new archive from the ground, the new aim of the committee was the result of the consciousness of the realistic difficulties of building an archive.

The responsibility of the committee was forced to specify again because of the LoC's disposal of the existing records. To prevent loss aversion, the committee stopped looking for new archives and focused on rescuing the existing collections. In this emergency, the committee tried hard to avoid losing archives but found only two possible repositories.

It was striking to see the ambition of the committee get revised three times in only three years. From establishing a centralized worldwide archive, to identifying existing archives, to rescuing the LoC collections, to choosing between the only two options, this lowering of expectations might be seen as a frustration. But I would argue the gradual degradation of the archival aim of the committee demonstrated realistic and conscious planning.

Previous archival efforts that were unwilling to have realistic expectations all failed. Since the first official proposal from Hinkle in 1969, the ASA archives were described as an ambitious landscape. The 1969 proposal was inspired by the German "Archive for the History of the Social Sciences" and regarded as an American counterpart. The 1972 Page's report proposed "an efficient and up-to-date archival system" costing "approximately 100,000 dollars per year" (Page report, 1972). Though the LoC collaboration provided a reasonable scope of collection - organizational files of the ASA - as an example, the Barber committee still started over from a worldwide archive dream. A panoramic archive is a dream of sociologists. The Barber committee recognized that it was infeasible.

The lowering of expectation was, in fact, understanding what archiving specifically cost and how little money was available. The Barber Committee gradually realized that the funding was not enough for an up-to-date and worldwide archive, realized even the existing collections were not ensured, realized the archive was in an "ask" situation, and realized there were only two options for cooperative universities. The process sounded painful, but at the end of this event, the practical planning at least successfully got the records deposited at Penn State.

Classified editorial files and a new database (2012-)

The story

Well archived ASA records at Penn State special collections encountered another crisis in 2012. In reviewing the agreement between the ASA and Penn State, archivists found that 588 boxes of archived journal-related material which included submitted manuscripts, peer reviewers' comments, editors' letters to authors, and in some cases authors' responses in the collection could never be released for research. Double blind peer review process was protected by law and the files could not be accessed without legal request. The ASA lawyer, when making the agreement, believed "that those materials should never be seen by anybody other than ASA staff members due to ASA's confidentiality and ethics statements" (Email from Sica to ASA sociologists, February 2014). The library, with research supporting responsibilities, had no reason to keep materials that could not be accessed by researchers. After a discussion with lawyers and ASA officers, Penn State decided to return those boxes to the ASA.

At this time, the ASA did not have any standing or ad hoc units for archival issues. After Barber resigned from the committee, Stephen Turner and then Lynne Zucker took the chair, but the existence of the committee was not shown on *Footnotes* since 1998 (and the Penn State Symposium was the last appearance). At the centennial of the ASA (2005), the history and archive issue was brought up for celebrations. At that time, there was a Governance, Sections, and Archives Department that seemed relevant to archival issue given its name. Michael Murphy was the department head and the ASA archivist. However, the description of the department emphasized that it was "responsible for ensuring Association compliance with the ASA Constitution and Bylaws" (Rosich, 2005, p. 184). Nor did the department participate in the centennial publication "A Brief Centennial Bibliography of Resources on the History of the American Sociological Society/Association". The Governance, Sections, and Archives Department did not show much engagement with archival issues.

Michael Murphy was still in office as the ASA archivist during this time, but the Department of Governance, Sections, and Archives disappeared with no reason identified. The silent disappearance of the Governance, Sections, and Archives Department left no official units inside the ASA to deal with archival emergencies. Without any archival units to deal with the issue, the Executive Office handed the problem to the Committee of Publications.

The Executive Office and Budget Committee first discussed the issue and came up with the recommendation to destroy the boxes. Then Executive Officer Hillsman brought the report to the Meeting of the ASA Committee on Publications (CoP) on August 18, 2012. The CoP determined that "there were two issues—the cost of retaining the materials and the usefulness of the materials" (Minutes from the CoP, Aug 18, 2012, P. 2). These issues separated the attendees into two parties.

Attendees including CoP members and outside members split into two sides: Hillsman, Zussman, Edwards, and Wright emphasized the difficulties and controversies of preserving the archives and suggested destroying them; Sica and McCammon proposed further preservation. The former party was concerned about the controversy of confidentiality and cost. Hillsman clarified that the ownership of those manuscripts, reviews, and correspondences belonged to the authors rather than to the ASA. If the ASA wanted to use those materials, it had to ask every author to give permission. Edwards pointed out that there were authors that were not ASA members, which increased the difficulty for contact. Additionally, the confidentiality issue was not only difficult but also risky: the ASA "took a policy position" (Minutes from the CoP, Aug 18, 2012, P. 2) that promised the confidentiality of the reviewers. If the ASA were to ask for releases of classified information, the future reviewers could be concerned. Wright remarked that cost was the most pressing issue.

On the other hand, advocates for preserving the files admitted that those problems existed and tried to propose feasible plans. Alan Sica, a member of CoP and the point man for the ASA archives at Penn State, acknowledged that current copyright law went against preserving but a future change in law was possible. Those materials represented the 20-year history of the ASA and should be cherished. Once

destroyed, they could never be recovered. He proposed "going to the Penn State storage site, loading the boxes onto a truck, and storing them elsewhere and paying for it until ASA determines what to do with the materials" (Annual Meeting Minutes from the CoP, Aug 18, 2012, P. 2). McCammon proposed digitization which was a visionary proposal since it was both convenient and economical in the long run. But both proposals were doubted by questioners because of the initial cost. Finally, the CoP voting members decided to recommend the Council to destroy those boxes with five yes and one abstention.[31]

Three days later, the issue was handed to the decision-making unit of the ASA - the Council. At the Council meeting on August 21, 2012, the ASA secretary Berheide reported to the Council about this archive problem and mentioned that "both EOB and the Publications Committee recommend that the materials be destroyed" (Annual Meeting Minutes from the ASA Council, Aug 21, 2012, P. 7). The topics discussed were similar to the CoP meeting: cost and confidentiality. Berheide estimated that "If the boxes are stored in the climate-controlled facility in DC currently used by ASA, the annual cost would be around $15,000. It would likely take another $50,000 to digitize the materials, plus staff time" (Annual Meeting Minutes from the ASA Council, Aug 21, 2012, P. 9). Murphy reported that he attended a meeting concerned with archiving rejected manuscripts and peer reviews in July[32] sponsored by the ACLS on which "none of the member associations have been successful in finding an archive willing to accept these types of records. Those associations that retain them don't know what to do with them, are unclear about the risks associated with them, and are not storing them in an environment conducive to long-term preservation" (Annual Meeting Minutes from the ASA Council, Aug 21, 2012, P. 9).

When it seemed that the vote to destroy the records was going to be approved, Sica announced that he and his wife, Anne Sica, would donate $10,000 if the Council would delay destruction. Inspired by

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[31] The voting members were the CoP members which were different from the attendees who were mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph.

[32] The meeting was, in fact, a workshop held on June 15, 2012. The minutes might make a mistake about the date. Many thanks to Michele Hiltzik Beckerman at the Rockefeller Archive Center for helping me look up the Center calendar. Unfortunately, no minutes were taken during the workshop.

his generosity, the Council finally proposed to temporarily keep the boxes and referred the CoP to draft a policy proposal to deal with editorial archives. The motion was carried with 12 yes, 6 no, and 2 abstentions.

The CoP then created a sub-committee including Kelly, Cerulo, journal editors, and a representative from the History of Sociology Section. The CoP meeting on December 12, 2012, mostly repeated the previous discussion. Hillsman reported setbacks and the decision to destroy files. Sica appealed again for preservation, though Chair Cerulo clarified in advance that the committee would not revisit the decision. The only progress was that the CoP decided unanimously that to keep the peer-reviewing files for one year would not be enough. Ten-years preservation would be preferred for administrative purposes, which gained time for the files from being destroyed.

Three possible resources came into the archival vision. First, the ACLS was also looking at grants to deal with archival issues. Hillsman reported that she had discussions with leaders of other social science associations at the ACLS workshop in the previous June and they were encountering the same problems in archiving like "copyright parameters, implied contracts and ethical concerns regarding peer reviews, and historiography" (Annual Meeting Minutes from the ASA Council, Jan 26, 2013, P. 8). The ACLS was looking at a small grant from the Mellon Foundation to employ a group of experts to initiate discussion on archival issues. Hillsman suggested delaying destroying materials to allow time for listening to the ACLS experiences.

Second, the advancement of electronic publishing systems enabled future preservation and use of reviewing files. From 2010 on, the ASA decided to stop self-publishing its scholarly journals and start a partnership with Sage. Sage Publishing is an independent, academic and professional publishing company and one of the top five academic publishers who add up to control more than half academic publications (Larivière, Haustein, & Mongeon, 2015). It was founded in New York in 1965. Today, Sage publishes more than 700 academic journals among which over 100 are sociological journals. By collaborating with such a commercial publisher, the ASA had a great opportunity to enhance the capacity of its publication:

"to disseminate scholarship broadly, strengthen our journal portfolio, more effectively and efficiently manage journal operations, and generate revenue for mission-driven purposes" (*Footnotes*, Sep/Oct 2018, P. 1). The goal above to "more effectively and efficiently manage journal operation" lay on Sage's web-based peer review and submission system SageTrack. According to the ASA's response, SageTrack provided high-quality infrastructure on "the online submission and review system for each journal, printing and mailing issues to members and institutional subscribers, online access and distribution, management of rights and permissions, and advertising and marketing" (*Footnotes*, Sep/Oct 2018, P. 13). The web-based system provided huge convenience to preserve and use the reviewing materials. In contrast, the fee for the ASA to store those 588 boxes in the climate-controlled facility in Bethesda, Maryland (the current repository) was $5,000 (Annual Meeting Minutes from the ASA Council, Jan 26, 2013, P. 8), and in the ASA headquarters in D.C. would be around $15,000 (Meeting Minutes from the ASA Council, Aug 21, 2012, P. 9). Though the system was used from 2010 on and could not be applied with the files from 1990 to 2010, the fact that a 20-year history of academic publishing might be lost only because of the absence of a submission system seemed miserable.

Third, interested members kept pursuing possibilities for preserving. Sica together with Charles Camic at the Northwestern University set up a website called S.O.A.R. (Save Our Archival Records http://saveourarchivalrecords.org/ is currently unavailable) to raise donations to save the journal-related materials from destruction in summer 2014. As the chair of the Section on History of Sociology (HoS), Sica posted the S.O.A.R. calling for donation also called for donations on *Timeline*, the HoS newsletter (*Timelines*, Jul 2014, p. 2). S.O.A.R. finally raised about $28,000 in private donations. The SageTrack system could not be used to digitize past files, nor did the ACLS ever provide any funding for the ASA archives. It was the continuous appeals from archive advocates that stopped the irreversible destruction of those files.

The editorial file issues were divided into two actions: to preserve the past boxes and to enable using future reviews. For the future branch, the CoP sub-committee worked with the ASA research

director to design a survey about members' attitudes towards future studies on peer reviews. The survey

was implemented in 2015.

For the past preservation, Professor Alan Sica was authorized by the Council at its January 2013

meeting to conduct a sample survey of past authors and reviewers about their permission for future

studies of the manuscripts and reviews. Between July and December of 2013, Sica together with some

Penn State researchers employed a survey of authors and reviewers. The response was very positive:

> 88% of reviewers and 87% of authors agree that the materials should be preserved, and
> that an 'embargo' (of some years hence, with 50 to 75 often suggested) be placed on the
> materials so that no living scholar would be affected should the contents of their remarks
> become public (Sica, February 2014).[33]

After getting the results, Sica soon wrote a long and sincere email to all sociologists he knew to

appeal for support. In the email, Sica introduced the content and situation of the boxes, reviewed the

background, analyzed the controversy of confidentiality and historical studies, and appealed to

sociologists to write to the ASA Council to support the preservation of the boxes. He provided three

reasons why the boxes were important to the history of sociology discipline. Firstly, the period those

materials covered (1991-2010) was "precisely when computerization of scholarship supplanted the

traditional, paper-based methods that had been in place for centuries" (Email from Sica to ASA

sociologists, February 2014). Before 1990, the editors of the ASA were asked to destroy all editorial

documents. And after 2010, records were kept by SageTrack. Thus these materials in 20 years might be

the only available data documenting that era. Secondly, *the American Journal of Sociology*, the rival or

feud journal of *the ASR*, "had 'kept everything' back to 1967, with some materials long before that as

well" (Email from Sica to ASA sociologists, February 2014). Thus, if these ASA materials were

destroyed, the AJS would dominate the history of sociology during these two decades. Thirdly, the files

were unpublished manuscripts and reviews which consisted of as much as 94% of submitted manuscripts.

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[33] The email was posted by Brayden King on https://orgtheory.wordpress.com/2014/02/17/a-note-from-alan-sica-about-archive-preservation/ with Sica's permission.

The published articles, which were only 6% of submitted materials, were not representative of the history of sociology discipline. Destruction of the boxes was destroying the bulk of history. After this email, the ASA Council "received many letters, e-mails, and phone calls from members of the profession about the intellectual value of developing these documents into a disciplinary research infrastructure" (*Footnotes*, May/Jun 2016, P. 7).

At the same time, the Council encouraged interested members and parties to provide "a plan to Council at its Winter 2014 meeting that included appropriate funding for longer retention and an approach to resolving the ethical and legal issues if the files were not destroyed" (Meeting Minutes from the ASA Council, Aug 14, 2013, p. 10).

Different from humanities scholars like Sica and Camic, the ASA administrators who inclined to science rather than humanities had another plan for the editorial files – reframing it into a database. The ASA officer Roberta Spalter-Roth with her team at George Mason University submitted a proposal to the NSF for $300,000 to digitize the boxes into a research archive. The proposal was framed very well to satisfy the NSF funding standards with highly relevant keywords: scientific knowledge, empirically study, data, scientific community (*Footnotes*, Jul 2015, p. 2). The project got funded by the NSF in June 2015. This "big science" proposal was not well received by Sica, Camic, and other advocates. The controversy between science and humanities failed cooperation. The offer for help from Sica and Camic was ignored by the GMU team. The donation from S.O.A.R. was rarely mentioned by the Footnotes except one time as "restricted donations from ASA members" in the report (*Footnotes*, May/Jun 2016, p. 7).

The project team reported its planning of the database with five major steps on *Footnotes*.

1. Building a relational database of authors and reviewers with contact information, additional individual information (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, institution), and coded manuscript topics; 2. Securing permission from authors and reviewers to put their identified work in the archive; 3. Digitizing all manuscripts, reviews, and relevant correspondence with Optical Character Recognition (OCR) scanning so they can be searched; 4. Merging the database of author/reviewer information with the database of manuscripts and reviews, then de-identifying the records we do not have permission to

include in the research archive; and 5. Establishing the access requirements and publicizing the availability of the research archive (*Footnotes*, May/Jun 2016, p. 7).

In the implementation, the CSSR team met huge difficulties in step 2: getting permission from the 6,971 authors. The attitude of respondents was, in fact, positive: about 80% of the respondents agreed to allow the inclusion of their manuscripts. But the response rate was highly problematic: 28% (*Footnotes*, Jan 2017, p. 12). Spalter-Roth was renowned to work well on response rate: she tried hard on response and used to get the response rate top out at more than 60 percent (*Footnotes*, Jul 2014, p. 5). In these years, the team sent several waves of email to contact authors and reviewers to ask for permission. They also announced on the *Footnotes* (Jan 2017, p. 12) to ask for responses. But until now (2019), the low response rate still haunted the GMU team.

The analysis

Organizational affiliations of an archive

Where should an archive belong in an academic association? The ASA case gave multiple options in its history: an ad hoc committee, a standing committee, the executive office, a governance department, the publication committee, a database, and the Section on History. Who should be in charge of an archive? What level of organizational resources could an archive get when affiliated with those units?

The 1970 Page Committee and the 1990 Barber Committee were both ad hoc committees. Ad hoc committees in the ASA were mostly appointed by the Council for special events or aims and got disbanded when events ended. Existing in only a short time, an ad hoc committee had very limited organizational resources, which left no space for solid established support like a standing committee did. Especially in regards to funding, both committees went ill-budgeted. The Page Committee had no budget at all. Even meeting and site-examining had to be self-supported. The Barber Committee depended only on the $2000 donation that Barber made. What was more, the archive was never dealt with by a specialized standing committee as a long-term issue.

The executive office worked with archival issues. For example, in the LoC collaboration, the executive officer Larson was in charge of the negotiation. After Barber resigned from the 1990 committee, the executive officer Levine took charge. The ASA's executive office was established in 1949 and gradually became the unit of authority in the ASA. Though it holds good proactivity and authority that enable actions, the executive office has two problems that stop it from efficiently managing the archival issues: 1. It is too busy; 2. It is too distracted by other more immediate work.

The evolution of the executive office revealed why it was inappropriate to manage the archives. When it was established, WWII brought great disciplinary expansion to sociology and large responsibility of the ASS. The enlargement of duty called for more adequate staffing, which was believed to be "but one part of a much-needed integration and reorganization in the interests of the sociological profession" (Report of the Bowers Committee, 1948)[34]. To reorganize, the ASS applied for a $10,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation which was partially "used in 1949 to establish the Executive Office and to appoint Matilda White Riley as Executive Officer on a part-time basis" (Rhoades, 1981, P. 36). The early working environment for the executive officer was very overwhelming: "understaffed and not well paid. We sociologists have provided our staff with neither pension, health plan, nor any sort of system of rewards for overtime work (of which there is plenty at the time of our meetings). We are housed in miserable quarters, part of which we have on uncertain tenure" (Hughes, 1962)[35].

Hughes then appointed a Committee on Organization and Plans to solve the problems. The Committee, in early 1963, recommended promoting the executive officer to a full-time position, paying the salary "in the range of full professorships at leading universities" (Rhoades, 1981, P. 58), and leasing housing in D.C. for the ASA. Even after this reformation, the executive office was again buried by a huge amount of trivial daily routines such as answering letters and checking schedules. In 1983, a

[34] Rhoades, 1981, P. 36.
[35] Rhoades, 1981, P. 57.

reorganization of the ASA staff was brought to schedule because of the continuous expansion of the responsibility. At this time, the concerns were mainly "about the demand on Executive Office staff time by several of the interest groups within the Association" (Rosich, 2005, P. 6). In the president's report, James F. Short reported the need for reorganization: "Organization of both sociologists and the staff, authority relations and the division of labor among them, were often ad hoc… Over the years, conflicts had arisen and remained unresolved to the detriment of both interpersonal relationships within the office and of service to the Association" (*Footnotes*, Dec 1984, p. 1-2). The 1984 reorganization shifted key functional authorities from the Administrative Officer to the Executive Officer, which continued till today.

Given the executive officers were mostly burdened by daily administration and distracted by immediate affairs, they might not be appropriate to manage the archival issues on their own. For example, in the 1974 collaboration with the LoC, Larsen stopped communication with the LoC with no explanation. In the 1990s collaboration with Penn State, Levine focused on legal ramifications and rejected the establishment of the ASA Archives.

After ad hoc committees and executive officers, the ASA tried to attach archives to a standing unit: a department within the executive office. Around 2002, the executive office established the Department of Governance, Sections, and Archives. The Director of the Governance and Sections Department, Michael Murphy, is also the ASA Archivist. But except for the name and leadership, the department was rarely relevant to the archival affairs. The Department was always referred to as "the Governance and Sections Department" and omitted any reference to "archives" (Rosich, 2005, P. 184). The responsibility of the department was written as "ensuring Association compliance with the ASA Constitution and Bylaws" without mentioning archives (Rosich, 2005, P. 184). In fact, when Murphy participated in the processing of editorial files in 2012, the department no longer existed. From the beginning to the end, the department hardly contributed to the ASA's archival affairs.

Because of the disappearance of the archival unit, the disposal of editorial archives was dealt with by the Publication Committee in 2012. The Committee on Publications (CoP), established in 1931, was "responsible for all proposals for the establishment of new publications or for major modifications in an existing publication of the Association, subject to the approval of the Council."[36] As documented in the above story, the CoP insisted on destroying the archives. The reason was reasonable: confidentiality. The CoP claimed that the unpublished manuscripts belonged to the authors rather than the ASA. Plus, the revealing of review information would go against blind review rules and discourage the willingness of reviewers. The responsibility of the Publication Committee was to advance publications but not to preserve records, which determined that it was not the appropriate unit to manage archives.

Lastly, editorial archives found themselves as a database. The GMU group led by Witte and Spalter-Roth took a very smart framing of data to describe archives, which made it possible to apply for NSF grants. It was understandable to claim archives as data. In fact, the two terms were interchangeable in earlier times. It was the division between science and humanities that distinguished archives and data. The word "archives" was used more to describe qualitative, unmeasurable, and humanistic records in comparison to quantitative, measurable, and scientific "data". Once the categorization was structured, the humanistic records that were defined as "archives" were more and more seen as unmeasurable and nonscientific. In data science, though the word "archive" was still in use, it referred to historical data that was removed from its original location and not actively used.[37] The application of using the ASA's editorial archives to establish a quantitative-qualitative mixed database bridged the departure of science and humanities, and thus got funded by the NSF which was inclined to fund basic and scientific projects in social disciplines.

36 https://www.asanet.org/about-asa/governance/committees-and-task-forces/committee-publications
37 https://www.solarwindsmsp.com/content/backup-archive

Given the close relevance between archives and history, it was surprising that the Section on the History of Sociology (HoS) had never been in charge of the ASA archives. In 2005 when the ASA celebrated its centennial, the Section on the History of Sociology used to compile two Centennial Bibliographies, one on the history of the ASA (12 pages), the other on the history of American sociology (226 pages). Throughout these many pages, the ASA archival collection was only mentioned once in a footnote (Hill et al., 2005, p. 1). But it would be wrong to say that the Section on the History of Sociology did not regard the ASA archives as important academic resources. Section members made lots of contributions to archival issues: the 2001 section chair Michael R. Hill and council member Mary Jo Deegan together composed the finding aids for the LoC collections, and the 2008 chair Charles Camic and the 2013 chair Alan Sica played irreplaceable roles in the collaboration with Penn State and the preservation of editorial files.

Why didn't the Section get responsibility for the archives since Section leaders were so involved in archival issues? This had to do with the definition and function of the ASA sections. According to the ASA website, "sections are officially-recognized groups of sociologists who share a common interest in a specific topic."[38] Beginning from 1921, the ASA sections were sub-units based on research interests and mainly "formed to organize sessions for Annual Meeting" (Rhoades, 1981, P. 74). They were academic rather than administrative groups. Sections mostly got together for annual meetings or research projects. Archives were categorized as a clerical, routinely, and administrative affairs which belonged to archivists rather than sociological historians. But things changed in the 2019 section meeting. Stephen Turner brought up the archival issue and the possibility of "HoS to establish a 'Committee on Archives'" (*Timelines*, Jul 2019, p. 14). The HoS raised crucial discussions on the issue and proposed it to the

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[38] https://www.asanet.org/asa-communities/asa-sections

executive office as a service to celebrate the 20-year anniversary of the HoS. The activeness of the HoS might initiate a good era for the development of the ASA archives and the history of sociology.

Institutional collaboration

Roberta Spalter-Roth (nickname Bobbie) was a very close member and staff of the ASA. As early as in 1991, she served the Committee on Sociological Practice at the ASA. Later she joined the ASA's Sydney S. Spivack Program Advisory Committee and became the director of the Research Programs on the Discipline and Profession in charge of the Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline (FAD, originally called PoD as the Problems of the Discipline). In January 1998, she joined the Executive Office staff and became the executive center of the ASA. Spalter-Roth joined with a high-level commitment to "help build a functioning research department" and to "produce data and issue reports that are useful to our members and give reliable information about the discipline" (*Footnotes*, Jan 1998, P. 3). She carried "a direct, no-nonsense" (*Footnotes*, Jan 1998, p. 3) working style and worked 60 hours per week (*Footnotes*, Jul 2014, p. 5). From the beginning of her executive office term, her keywords of "research", "data", and "about the discipline" were very relevant to the later digital archive project.

Why would the archive project turn to the NSF for funding? This had to do with Spalter-Roth's long-term working affiliations with the NSF. The FAD that Spalter-Roth was in charge of was created in 1973 based on Hubert Blalock's design to "facilitate efforts by small groups of sociologists (probably three to six persons) to meet periodically, to exchange ideas, and to produce working papers . . . focused on basic theoretical and methodological issues in sociology" (Rosich 2005, P. 29). From June 1987, the FAD was supported by the NSF with $45,000 in support of a small grants program for 1987-1989. This award continued until today as the popularly known ASA/NSF Small Grants Program which "nurture(d) the development of scientific knowledge by funding small, groundbreaking research initiatives and other important scientific research activities" (Rosich 2005, P. 78). This funding program consolidated the collaborative bridge between the ASA and the NSF. Many managers of the FAD were affiliated with both

the ASA and the NSF. The FAD was directed by Executive Officer Levine as the principal investigator and the 11th Executive Officer of the ASA from 1991. Before joining the ASA, Levine served the Law and Social Science Program at the National Science Foundation as the director. In 1997, Patricia E. White (nickname Pat) at the NSF's Directorate for Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences was employed as a visiting staff sociologist at ASA for one year. She was also the Program Manager of the FAD from 1997 to 2012. Also, in 1997, Spalter-Roth became the Director of the Research Program on the Discipline and Profession and began managing the FAD as the co-principal investigator, which built up her long-term collaboration with the NSF. She collaborated with White on multiple projects such as a workshop "A Relational Model for Understanding Research in the Policy Process," the ASA' s working conference on "Social Science Knowledge on Race, Racism, and Race Relations", and the FAD. When White retired from the NSF, Spalter-Roth published an article on the *Footnotes* to remind her dedication to sociology.

Confidentiality v. advancement of archival science

The conflict between the availability of data and confidentiality of information existed long in archival issues. The future advancement of archival science brought the possibility to solve the problem.

For the ASA archives, the 1969 executive officer Volkart first brought up this concern to challenge the Hinkle proposal. He was concerned that once the archive was established, "it would make available to any reputable scholar the historical files and records of the Association" (Correspondence from Volkart to Hinkle, Jun 19, 1969). This was not a very strong contradiction because modern archival science provided a mature system of security classification which ensured confidentiality.

In contrast, the 2012 returning of editorial files was a real challenge. Double blind peer review had a long tradition in academic publication and played a vital role in advancing the quality of research (Das, 2016). It was reasonable both legally and ethically to worry about the violation of confidentiality by archiving peer review files, especially unpublished manuscripts and content of reviews.

But why didn't this issue come up before? Because it was the development of archiving consciousness and archive science that brought it up. Prior to 1991, like most publishers, the ASA commanded its editors to destroy all the editorial file documents after resignation. The ASA was not a single case. Since 1991 when the ASA started depositing its records at Penn State, new editors of the eight major ASA journals with consciousness of archiving kept their editorial files and handed them to the repository given there was classification reviewed by the ASA lawyers. But given Penn State was a research university, classified records with no possibility to be used in academic research could not be sponsored. The ASA had to face again the issue: how could peer review files be usable research data?

The advancement of information technology might provide a solution. The ASA's commercial collaboration with the Sage Press brought the ASA journals access to the electronic publishing system. It enabled the ASA to store submitted manuscripts, reviews, correspondence, and agreements online. Although currently, the editorial documents were still legally classified and not available to be directly used in academic research, the web-based system at least provided a period in which the files need not be directly destroyed but stored online. In scientometrics, there were many projects using review data but most of them only applied quantitative information like gender, race, and number of reviewers (Abramo et al., 2019). The particularity of the ASA digital archives was that it aimed to use qualitative data - the unpublished manuscripts and the content of peer review. The core technology - ensure confidentiality with releasing the text - would surely demonstrate the original contribution of the GMU research group.

By and large, the preservation of the ASA editorial files was finally enabled by the advancement of archival consciousness and informational science. The protection of privacy and confidentiality would no longer be at the expense of precious material and data under the insurance of science and technology.

Summary

The development of the ASA archives was full of twists and turns. Early advocacy for archives in the 1950s and early 1960s was failed by the weakness of archival consciousness. The Hinkle proposal in 1969 was suspended because of the conflict between fiscal deficit and the ambitious scope of an archive as well as the conflict between advocates influenced by continental sociology and the overwhelmed officer. The Page Committee investigated the feasibility of an archive and identified possible funding sources. But their dedication was heavily prohibited by uncooperative administrators, the distraction of other affairs of committee members, and the absence of university partnership.

In 1974, the ASA began conversations with the LoC about depositing its records. The accomplishment of the Instrument of Gift was an important milestone in the ASA archival history. But the contradiction between the historical manuscript tradition and public archives tradition indicated future risks that academic archives were not given enough attention in governmental repositories. The carelessness in dealing with the contract intensified the risk. In 1992, the LoC de-accessed the ASA archives. The Barber Committee collaborated with sociologists and librarians from Penn State and finally found a new repository in Penn State Special Collections. In 2012, the ASA discussed how to deal with the classified editorial files. The NSF-funded Data Archives began a "Big Science" era of the ASA archives. New electronic technology resolved the traditional confidential concerns.

The archivization of the ASA archives, as a knowledge production process, was not neutral because it was restricted by the context. At first look, the restrictions seemed very nuanced case by case. But patterns and themes could still be identified. The conflict between fiscal deficit and the ambitious scope in the Hinkle proposal and the Barber Committee, as well as the NSF-funded database were both relevant to monetary resources. The collegiate/governmental repository contradiction and the archival scope in continental sociology were relevant to the science/humanities bifurcation which was an issue of symbolic resources. The university cooperation, institutional partnership, and organizational affiliation

were issues of institutional resources. Last but not least, uncooperative administrators, distracted

committees, and expectations all referred to human will and manpower collaborations. The next chapter

will discuss the function of these four resources.

Chapter 4

Implications for Social Sciences

The establishment and development of the ASA archives were challenging, and mirrored the development of American social research after WWII. This chapter reviews previous studies and identifies four resources affecting the development of social sciences: money, research paradigm, people, and institutions. The chapter explicates the functioning and importance of each resource, while demonstrating that the determinant factor in the case of the ASA archives is not money or knowledge authority, but the collaborations among people and across institutions. The foregrounding of human collaboration in the establishment of the archives illustrates the potential of human agency in the development of social sciences. Much literature demonstrated the importance of funding and paradigms (Geiger, 2017; Solovey & Cravens, 2012; Bell, 1982; Gulbenkian & Wallerstein, 1996). In addition, there is existing research studying professors, scholars, and intellectuals but most of it focuses more on how intellectual life was influenced by the transformation of social science (Calhoun Ed., 2007; Jacoby, 2008).

Monetary resources

Funding after WWII

Social research funds increased sharply after WWII. It is widely acknowledged that scientists were heavily involved in the war effort during WWII (Backhouse & Fontaine, 2014; Geiger, 2017). The post era was when the wartime achievements got solidly institutionalized under highly supportive academic policies.

Previously, patronage support for American science occurred largely from philanthropic foundations like Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller. But after WWII, "the federal government became the foremost patron" (Geiger, 2017, p. viii) of scientific endeavors. For example, Sputnik drove federal agencies invested in education and research with large funds. Massive federal investment (Geiger, 2004)

and foundation grants (Geiger, 2017) together fostered American leadership in the worldwide scientific community.

The funding status of American social science was slightly different. The establishment of the Social Science Research Program of the NSF on August 1, 1957 opened the federal funnel of social science funds.[39] From 1958 to 1968, federal funding for social sciences increased sevenfold from 40 million dollars to 300 million (Riecken, 1971). Table 4 illustrates the distribution of federal funds for research and development from 1970 to 2003, according to the NSF survey.[40] As this Table indicates, for both physical and social sciences, R&D funding stayed stagnant in the first half of the 1970s and then increased continuously in the second half of the 1970s. In the 1980s, the federal funding of physical sciences steadily increased but the funds for social sciences stagnated until the last years of the 1980s. Another wave of increased funding began around 1990. The total funds for social science were large, though rarely exceeded one-quarter of physical sciences funds. Within social disciplines, economics received more funds than sociology. History, together with many other humanistic disciplines, received very limited funds before 1975, while information after 1976 was not available.

Table **4-1**: Federal obligations for total research, by detailed field of science: fiscal years 1970-2003 (Dollars in thousands).

Field	Physical sciences, total	Social sciences, total	Sociology	Economics	History
1970	946,246	212,262	37,803	77,707	4,631
1971	905,380	303,986	105,300	72,782	4,178
1972	1,020,342	306,894	119,378	81,766	4,548

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[39] https://www.nsf.gov/about/history/overview-50.jsp.
[40] https://wayback.archive-it.org/5902/20150629121821/http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/nsf04335/pdf/nsf04335.pdf.

Field	Physical sciences, total	Social sciences, total	Sociology	Economics	History
1973	981,740	298,790	102,073	88,144	4,890
1974	1,016,069	292,196	64,294	117,976	6,192
1975	1,096,644	301,816	54,907	126,238	6,955
1976	1,258,892	392,456	53,646	137,577	NA
1977	1,530,171	426,125	52,157	142,854	NA
1978	1,645,647	489,486	60,333	163,180	NA
1979	1,792,554	527,310	64,523	181,915	NA
1980	2,000,612	523,811	71,435	192,771	NA
1981	2,220,534	497,427	64,990	206,722	NA
1982	2,500,381	385,939	52,005	157,102	NA
1983	2,891,439	435,268	67,815	165,551	NA
1984	2,969,014	436,339	70,227	147,298	NA
1985	3,046,010	460,014	66,460	159,652	NA
1986	3,069,053	415,509	66,969	131,251	NA
1987	3,252,648	480,045	73,976	148,505	NA
1988	3,317,303	485,794	81,787	159,528	NA
1989	3,705,223	551,041	94,079	166,788	NA
1990	3,808,723	629,990	116,159	197,161	NA
1991	4,235,336	727,290	183,979	187,423	NA
1992	4,439,162	689,699	80,688	211,560	NA
1993	4,426,961	674,889	76,703	204,716	NA
1994	4,253,469	647,387	68,107	193,308	NA
1995	4,278,334	678,708	47,833	206,513	NA
1996	3,922,951	654,560	41,201	194,206	NA

Field	Physical sciences, total	Social sciences, total	Sociology	Economics	History
1997	4,149,179	696,334	25,868	205,229	NA
1998	4,209,679	806,129	100,831	230,450	NA
1999	4,066,156	854,873	83,832	216,560	NA
2000	4,787,950	1,050,392	90,608	249,492	NA
2001	4,600,770	1,008,632	95,471	234,064	NA
2002	5,145,158	1,027,186	NA	NA	NA
2003	5,200,445	1,050,327	NA	NA	NA

NA = Not applicable (indicates that the data collected for this table were not recorded at that level for that particular fiscal year)

The governmental contribution only consisted of about 35% of the total expenditure for all R&D social sciences which was 803 million dollars in 1968 (Riecken, 1971). Philanthropic foundations still represented the majority of social science research funding, especially from the big three: Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford.

Social and behavioral science was among the three main supporting aims of postwar philanthropic funds (the other two were medical and health fields and strengthening the system of university research). The funding strategy of Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford were slightly different. The fund from Carnegie had three characters: "1. Support for strengthening the social sciences was largely channeled into the SSRC...; 2. in accordance with the prevalent belief that applied social knowledge would only result from interdisciplinary investigations, 3. the corporation funded some research on enduring practical problems like race relations and voter behavior" (Geiger, 2017, p. 94). Rockefeller committed "$2 million in annual grants by the Social Science Division before and after the war" (Geiger, 2017, p. 94). In the budget tightening after war, president "Willits resolved upon a set formula: 35 percent

of the Division budget would be devoted to basic research to develop a science of social behavior; 35 percent would support applications of social science to social problems, including international relations; 10 percent would be reserved for fundamental moral and philosophical issues underlying social science; and 20 percent would underwrite the Division's longstanding backing of training, fellowships, and grants-in-aid" (Geiger, 2017, p. 99). The Ford Foundation, whose Behavioral Sciences Program (BSP) "sprang from the same perception of the social sciences that had motivated the other two foundations" (Geiger, 2017, p. 100), turned out to be the most influential source of funding. Technically, Ford Foundation implemented their expectation of attaining these goals to make social disciplines more scientific. Specifically, there were four ways of doing so: "1. increasing the number of 'competent behavioral scientists'; 2. making the content of the behavioral sciences more scientific; 3. improving methods of investigation; and 4. developing institutional resources" (Geiger, 2017, p. 115).

Though research investment for social sciences increased, complaints and concerns with the monetary limitation on the development of social disciplines never disappeared. For example, Klausner and Lidz documented the story of how social science became the loser (with natural science the winner) in the race for funding from the NSF. The case study (Klausner & Lidz, 1986) collected papers about a failed proposal of establishing the NSF social science section in 1950 and analyzed the nationalization of American social sciences through this case. They demonstrated that the consequence of pursuing national funds was "nationalization" which, in terms of methodology, referred to a positivistic and quantitative paradigm. In other examples, many of the federally funded projects were closely related to the cold war. The MIT's Center for International Studies and Harvard's Russian Research Center were both funded by the CIA (Saunders, 2013). Solovey (2013) elaborated the consequence of universities accepting funding. In his four cases, the national or private foundations condescended to social science by patronage. Those organizations included NSF, RAND Corporation, Ford Foundation, and so on. To gain monetary support, social science had to embrace scientism, adopt positivistic rigorous criteria, and exclude sensitive topics like race, sex, and politics. The "politics-patronage-social science nexus," once established, strengthened

itself by the continuous funding. Engerman (2010) reviewed literature on both "Cold War scholarship" such as area studies and critical studies against the sponsors' views such as the Smolensk Archive. He summarized the complexity of Cold War research funding and appealed for "middle-range contextualizations" (Engerman, 2010, p. 400) that avoided sweeping claim of the role of money in research.

Thus, though social sciences generally received solid funds after WWII, specific budget limitations happened differently case by case. It might be impossible to give sweeping claims of the importance of monetary resources to science, but looking into a single case could provide insights into "middle-range contextualizations" (Engerman, 2010, p. 400). The ASA archives' case provided a possibility to observe the funding conditions and impacts as shown in the following paragraphs.

Funds for the ASA archives

For the ASA archives, the budget was only problematic in the 1970s and 1980s, but not before the 1960s or after the 1990s. The funding status of the ASA rose and fell with the general American economy. But unfortunately, the archival calling and activity from the ASA advocates did not correspond with the budget status of each period very well, which caused difficulties in establishing archival repositories.

From the 1940s to the early 1960s, the U.S. experienced significant economic growth brought about by WWII. Wartime research nourished federal sponsorship for science and universities. The ASA also gained prosperity in membership, finance, and publications in this quarter of the century. But on the other hand, a few ASA members like Kimball Young, as the president of ASS in 1943, was aware of the complicity that wartime funding might bring. He was conscious of the amount of federal funding. But more importantly, he requested preparedness of the possible influence on research topics and

interpretations (Rhoades, 1981). Unfortunately, advocates for archives did not do much in the prosperous years. The only advocate in the 1950s, Matilda Riley, was ignored quickly.

From the end of the 1960s, the Vietnam War and civil rights movements cooled down the fever of federal sponsorship for science. Social research and scholarship budgets were dramatically cut: the National Institute of Education (NIE)'s funding was reduced because of political agenda; the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)'s was cut because it could not even ensure its own existence; and the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) proposed to eliminate all social research funding. From 1968 to 1975, the federal funds for social science kept stable around 300 million dollars (Table 4-1). Although the budget did not drop, inflation had the impact of making it shrink. Employment opportunities for sociologists dropped. Some universities even shut down or downsized their sociological departments. Moreover, the membership service became more and more costly. At this time, ASA was busy transitioning towards a professional association responsible for the development of the sociological discipline. The monetary support declined but the needs of activities and staff increased continuously. In 1970-1971, ASA experienced its largest deficit in history: $76,500. As noted earlier, this frugal era was when ASA archivists and historians became more conscious of the need to preserve the disciplinary archives. The OVSS proposal, the Roscoe and Cahnman proposal, and the Page committee proposal were all defeated or tabled because of funding limitations in this decade. Even the sincere offer to collaborate with the LoC only got support at $1000 and was delayed for nine years.

In the 1980s, economic competitiveness prompted the federal government and universities to cooperate with private industry to advance technology transfer. The increased industrial spending on R&D revived the research economy. The ASA also replied to the financial concerns very positively. The debt was reversed since 1986 and ASA achieved budget balance in the next four years. In 1990, the ASA income was $2,632,649, expenditures $2,523,222, both almost doubled the 1980's $1,161,886 and $1,175,124. With the budget, ASA exerted excellent official growth. The executive office explored assorted organizational expansion, some successful and some not.

Based on solid budget, the 1990s of ASA was a transformative decade. In this decade, Felice J. Levine, the 11th Executive Officer since 1991, led most of the ASA's organizational revolution. Under her leadership, the ASA moved towards a science emphasis and away from humanities and thus gained project funds from the NSF and the NIMH. Levine carried out the strategic planning based on her interpretation of organizational functions and objectives of ASA. She published the results of the planning "Moving Forward for Sociology" in *Footnotes* in February 1994. The key goals for ASA were defined as "serving sociologists in their work, advancing sociology as a science and profession, and promoting the contributions and use of sociology to society" (Levine, 1994, p. 2). Levine's interpretation explicitly pointed out that sociology was regarded as a science. What followed was the structural and systemic improvement adapting to the new mission stated. The ASA council focused "on setting policy and broad oversight functions and the professional staff assuming greater responsibility for implementing and achieving Council goals and framing issues that required policy guidance" (Rosich, 2005, p. 35). Under Levine's leadership, the executive office developed proactive strategies to make case-by-case advancement of ASA and the sociological discipline. The executive office identified the main challenges ASA faced: "demographic shifts in the profession, electronic communication and delivery of our work, international leadership in sociology, funding for research, interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary work, and de-professionalization of the academic enterprise" (Rosich, 2005, p. 37).

The financial stability enabled the ASA to respond confidently to LoC's 1992 disposal of archives: the council contacted Penn State University and set up agreements within two years. But the attention to archives was still very little: though past collections were shipped from LoC to PSU, ASA did nothing with PSU until 2000 when ASA shipped new records to PSU. The new records were viewed by PSU librarians as "rather random and not a good basis for an institutional archive".[41]

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[41] Comment from a page of undated and anonymous introduction to the ASA archives. Current librarians believe it was composed by a previous archivist after 2005.

Looking back to the above funding history of the ASA archives, one could observe that the archive did not survive some abundant era but succeeded in some impoverished years. Thus, the monetary issue was neither always there, nor the most determinant force of the story. Other influencing forces in the story needed to be identified.

<div align="center">**Symbolic resources**</div>

Scientific paradigm

Symbolic resources, by Turner's (1994) definition, refers to "the capacity of a discipline to display stores of accumulated knowledge, to maintain common definitions of important problems, to agree upon relevant procedures, and to develop (in the case of sciences) theoretical principles about crucial processes" (p. 44). Symbolic resources help a discipline to consolidate its scholar community and establish common goals, shared discourses, and standards. The allocation of symbolic resources in social disciplines after WWII experienced a huge transformation.

Social research in the 20th century was marked by a scientific/humanistic or quantitative/qualitative controversy. The scientific and quantitative side prevailed and possessed much more symbolic resources after WWII. The dominant themes of social sciences became survey research, experimentation, and measurement. The transformation was highly correlated with wartime funding and the growing bureaucratic and commercial interests in census and survey research (Platt, 1998). The content of the American Sociological Review gives a simple glimpse of the transformation. In the February issue of the ASR in 1936, there were three quantitative articles out of eight. In 2017, the proportion increased to six out of seven. (The count only measures the article session. The presidential address, editorial, reviews, and other forms of papers were not counted. Discussions are calculated together with the article.) Schweber (2002) analyzed the publication and review of The American Soldier as a classical postwar quantitative applied sociology research. He revealed the process of how a

quantitative research was renowned as a classical model of sociology, which was highly related to the postwar atmosphere. Bryman (2003) analyzed the rise of quantitative methods by counting the page number of each method in sociology textbooks. In the textbook in the 1960s and 1970s, sections on data analysis could take "some one hundred pages" while "participant observation can be found in a relatively short chapter on observational methods in which it is sandwiched between explications of structured observation" (Bryman, 2003, p. 2).

Figure 4-1: The comparison between the ASR Feb 1936 v. Feb 2017.

The scientific orientation improved the productivity of social research by efficiently controlling symbolic resources. Deutsch, Platt, & Senghaas (1971) made a list of leading achievements in the social sciences from 1900 to 1965. In their count, these 62 advances contained two-thirds of "quantitative problems or findings (or both),... and five-sixths of those were made after 1930...Completely nonquantitative contributions-the recognition of new patterns without any clear implication of quantitative problems-were rare throughout the period and extremely rare since 1930" (Deutsch, Platt, &

Senghaas, 1971, p. 456). Bell (1982) identified five reasons why social sciences advanced. Amongst these reasons, sophisticated techniques and the halo effect of science were the two most important.

But scientification also profoundly changed the discipline. Kuhn's (1970) perspective paradigm which corresponds to the symbolic resource framework regarded science as an activity exerted by a community of practitioners. His framework blurred the boundary between science and myth. In his view, scientific advancement was not continual accretion but periodical. The difference among different periods "was not one or another failure of method— they were all 'scientific'—but what we shall come to call their incommensurable ways of seeing the world and of practicing science in it" (Kuhn, 1970, p. 4). A scientific revolution is in fact "a transformation of the world within which scientific work was done" (Kuhn, 1970, p. 5).

Kuhn's framework was shared by other critics of quantification based on the paradigmatic change that quantification brought to social sciences. For example, Mills criticized sociology as having lost its "imagination" (2000, p. 1). He believed that when social disciplines imitated science, it killed sociological imagination. Social disciplines followed science in a problematic way. Mills listed the characteristics of the scientific social disciplines: technical, quantitative, a-theoretical, segmentalized, particularized, specialized, institutionalized, modernized, group-ized, and Americanized. Social disciplines used to be part of scholarship and "concern with the nature and functioning of society, learnedly studied public opinion" and "in broad historical, theoretical, and philosophical terms and wrote treatises. Today, teams of technicians do research projects on specific subjects and report findings... Today it is part of science" (Mills, 2000, p. 54).

One of the dominating academic paradigms of scientific social disciplines after WWII was abstract empiricism. One feature was that sociology turned its emphasis from the history of institutions and ideas to the concrete behavior of peoples. The techniques of abstracted empiricism were regularly joined with its bureaucratic use. After the methodological shortcoming of abstract empiricism, Mills demonstrated the bureaucratic usage of abstract empiricism in society: "the style has become embodied in

definite institutional centers: since the twenties in advertising and marketing agencies; since the thirties in corporations and syndicated polling agencies; since the forties, in academic life, at several research bureaus; and during World War Two, in research branches of the federal government" (Mills, 2000, p. 102).

The bureaucratic expansion changed the identity of intellectuals. The big research project needed expensive research costs and a research team, thus "a corporate control over a division of labor" came "to employ and the types of intellectual workmen it has recruited and trained (Mills, 2000, p. 55)." The administrative apparatus selected and shaped "new qualities of mind among the personnel of the school, qualities both intellectual and political" (Mills, 2000, p. 101). Intellectuals became "experts inside administrative machines" "both in and out of the university", which "undoubtedly narrows their attention and the scope of such political thinking as they might do" (Mills, 2000, p. 99). Mills listed two new sorts of the career in academia different from old-fashioned professors: intellectual administrator and research technician. Intellectual administrators were ambitious entrepreneurs who often became leaders of university affairs. They were "able to set up on the campus a respectably financed research and teaching institution, which brings the academic community into live contact with men of affairs" (Mills, 2000, p. 98). Research technicians were mostly young but methodical and dogmatic. They came to an extreme specialization in a certain academic field and took up social research as a career (Mills, 2000).

New identity brought new academic cliques. Mills pointed out how a clique accomplished its internal tasks: "the giving of friendly advice to younger men; job offers and recommendations of promotion; the assignment of books to admiring reviewers; the ready acceptance of articles and books for publication; the allocation of research funds; arranging or politicking for honorific positions within professional associations and on editorial boards of professional journals" (Mills, 2000, p. 107). Those resources helped to frame an academic tradition and helped young scholars grow up. The budget for scholars was quite small: three or four dollars for books and journals per year, minor office facilities and staff, which provided researchers a secure basis to enormously increase competence. Clique members

were much more likely than unattached scholars to a certain resource. And their growing-up, in turn, feed

the clique's prestige and reputation (Mills, 2000). Shaping the next academic generation was one of the

most important functions of academic cliques. There is competition among different cliques in a field of

study. Small and "unimportant" cliques might be ruled out from resource bargaining and even "die off

without having trained the next generation" (Mills, 2000, p. 109).

Did science help the ASA archives?

The ASA established its scientific orientation in the 1930s. The quest for scientific legitimacy

was one of its dominating organizational activities. A major drive to establish scientific identification was

made by the wrongheaded and disappointing public impression in the 1930s that "the Society is a

religious, moral and social reform organization rather than a scientific society" (Rhoades, 1981, p. 25). To

keep the scientific legitimacy pure, a group of sociologists led by Maurice Parmelee even argued for the

reduction in membership (for only who had a university degree). In WWII, because of wartime training

and recruitment of sociologists, the request for scientific legitimation deepened to the mania for

quantitative methods and research experience (Rhoades, 1981, p. 35). The establishment of the National

Science Foundation (NSF) was a milestone in the shift of paradigm in social disciplines. From the initial

planning of the NSF in 1945, the signified meaning and implied funding of this federal institution

attracted attention from many academic organizations including ASA. The ASA President Taylor

appointed an ad hoc committee and made strategies to confirm the scientific identity of sociology so that

the NSF could set up a division for social disciplines. Though the NSF gave up social sciences at the

beginning, it finally developed a program for social sciences in 1957. The scientific orientation of the

ASA was strengthened in the long-time struggle, while the humanistic style shrank. In the 1990s, Felice

Levine, the executive officer of the ASA, regarded science as the model of sociology. In her executive

report "Moving Forward for Sociology" on *Footnotes* in February 1994, Levine identified that the key

goals for the ASA should be "advancing sociology as a science and profession, and promoting the contributions and use of sociology to society" (Levine, 1994, p. 2).

The conflict between archive advocates and opponents mirrored the scientific v. humanistic controversy. As introduced above in the advocates' brief biographies in Chapter 3, many proponent scholars explicitly identified themselves as theorists, historians, and humanistic scholars. Hinkle was a historian of theory; Cahnman a Tönnies expert; Polly Grimshaw an archivist and curator, and Turner a theorist. Among them, Page (1982) probably made the strongest statement of his ideal of the sociology discipline: "a theoretical discipline" (p. 259). And he was "far less concerned with the field's scientific status than with its contribution as an interpretive and, at its best, an artistic endeavor" (Page, 1982, p. 261). The commitments to an archive, in fact, were the advocates' endeavor to construct sociology in a humanistic or theoretical style as "an American counterpart" to the German sociology archive (Correspondence, Cahnman to Sewell, February 25, 1970).

But the ascendancy of the scientific paradigm after WWII deprived symbolic resources from the archive clique. Postwar era as a transition period carried "new intellectual leaders, new levels of funding, new sources of funding, renewed student interest in sociology," but also "eliminations of the older category of 'history of social thought' from the standard descriptions of the division of labor in sociology" (Turner & Turner, 1990, p. 124). Theorists who could not take part in quantitative projects were even "difficult to find employment" (Turner & Turner, 1990, p. 124), which made the population of theorists shrank.

Also, fewer employment opportunities implied less of a voice in the field. Humanistic theorists failed to participate in the rapid organizational growth of sociology in this era. Specifically, in the archive case, we could observe that the administrative authority of archive advocates was not always high. Hinkle held no executive position in the ASA; Cahnman was the chairman of the Ferdinand Tönnies session of the 62nd ASA annual meeting in 1967. The Page committees were once in power: they served several standing committees and sections in the ASA, and Robert Faris even used to be the ASA president. But

the problem of the Page committee was that the members were almost all later-career when the archive committee was established in 1970. Page was 61 years old; Jessie Bernard 67; Faris 63. Their commitment to the archive soon was distracted by retirement. The Barber committee worked much better than its precedents partly because both Bernard Barber and Stephen Turner had served several ASA committees and sections and thus owned some executive power and personal networking.

On the other hand, it would be an exaggeration to say that science prohibited the development of archives. Firstly, the recent establishment of the NSF-funded database from 2016 showed a perfect case that modern archiving science and technology helped preserve humanistic records. The long-existed problem of privacy was also settled by coding and encryption technologies. Secondly, the public archive tradition, which was featured as more scientific, more modern, and more professional than the historical manuscript tradition, did give the ASA archives an opportunity to collaborate with the LoC. Though the cooperation was canceled in 1992, the chance to be preserved by a national library did bring the ASA archives some strictness and scientific provenance.

The gains and losses that science brought to the ASA archives demonstrated that there were simultaneously risks and opportunities for archives in the transformation of paradigm. The reallocation of symbolic resources did deprive some authority of the archive clique, but also provided chances for reorganization and growth.

Institutional resources

Organizational resources or institutional resources refer to "control over the agenda of the discipline" (Turner, 1994, p. 44) such as centralized administration and sub-organizations with clear rules and responsibilities. Institutional resources enable "the success with which a discipline (a) can develop coherent patterns of structural inter-connection and mutual dependence among its members; (b) create mechanisms of decision-making, administration, and control over its members; and (c) implement

effective means for reproduction of members" (Turner, 1994, p. 44). Turner's idea of regarding

institutional structure and arrangements as resources provided a perspective different from the traditional

way of seeing institutionalization as an aim or end. Zucker (1977) pointed out that institutionalization,

defined as embedding conception or norms in organizations or culture, was "a variable, with different

degrees of institutionalization" (p. 726). Abundant institutional resources within a discipline imply that

the discipline is well-organized and carefully designed in institutional arrangements.

Compared to a large amount of literature on material resources and symbolic resources, research

of institutional resources in the development of social science is relatively unorganized. Current literature

contains a paradox: when talking about the institutionalization of science or academia as a whole without

distinguishing social science from natural science, it is widely acknowledged that America developed a

highly efficient research system to ensure scientific productivity after WWII. But when analyzing social

disciplines particularly, lack of institutional resources appeared. The ASA archives provide a detailed

case demonstrating how integration or a failure of integration of institutional resources functions.

The institutionalization of American social sciences after WWII

The productivity of American science after WWII was ensured by the efficient utilization of

institutional resources such as the creation of research contracts, the departmental arrangement that

ensured the authority of faculty, and the new model of research universities. For example, Conant and

Bush, inspired by wartime federal funding tunnels, established the way that the federal government wrote

contracts and funded projects with universities, research institutes, and industrial laboratories (Geiger,

2017). Jencks & Riesman (1968) used the term "academic revolution" to define "the rise to the power of

academic profession" (Jencks & Riesman, 1968, p. xiii). Kerr (2001) created the word "multiversity" to

resemble the enlarged research university system. Parsons (1973) saw research universities as a protective

institution that provided functions like kinship to secure broad rights for "good faith" academic work and

made possible the supportive role of the university. Academic freedom and tenure provided professors with more space and security. Ben-David (1974) argued that the decentralized and competitive university system contributed to innovation. But controversies were there. Abbott argued that "the move to truly national status brought standardization and, to some extent, intellectual sclerosis" (Abbott, 1999: p.x). The above organizational layouts converged toward an efficient research system to support scientific investigations.

However, when turning to social sciences, those institutionalizations seemed to lose their power. There was certainly organizational enlargement of social research after WWII, but the integration of institutional resources was absent. As demonstrated in 4.1 and 4.2, the material and symbolic resources of social disciplines were quite scattered. For monetary resources, the unstable grants, enrollments, and job markets could not ensure the maintenance and expansion of social research. For symbolic resources, social science was too broad a category with different fields that did not share a paradigm with the same epistemology, methodology, or professional identity. Thus, to integrate resources and control the agenda of the discipline, social science needed strong institutionalization.

However, the practice of institutionalization was not easy. The lead departments in higher education were famous for academic authority, but they did not have control over national networks outside their universities. The formation of the ASS in 1905 was a trial to consolidate the institutional resources to integrate the discipline. But the membership, even at the beginning, was very divided in their academic beliefs. The two dominant academic sociology departments at the beginning of the 20th century - Chicago and Columbia, had very different beliefs in theory, methodology, and practice. The controversy directly caused the ASS to rebel against the Chicago school which was marked by the establishment of the American Sociological Review as the central journal of the ASS in replacement of the American Journal of Sociology (Lengermann, 1979). With such a split foundation, the ASA was not ready to accept the dramatic growth of scientific research after WWII. The ASA absorbed "co-optive strategy, creating

new sections, programs, and journals for any group willing to pay dues" (Turner, 1994, p. 47). Facing disciplinary expansion, there was nothing wrong with choosing differentiation and diversity, but integrative institutionalization was necessary to house those different niches in a unified discipline. The ASA failed. Academics "found that they could survive and prosper in narrow intellectual niches" (Turner, 1994, p. 47) and committed to their specific academic interests rather than the whole discipline which housed paradigms they did not acknowledge. What was worse, a reason for the ASA's severe financial deficit in the 1970s was caused by these expanded intellectual commitments which went against stagnated funding sources.

The institutionalization of the ASA archives

The ASA archives suffered from its obscure organizational strategies for a long time. Both the intra-organization and inter-organization status of the archive changed many times. The intra-organizational arrangement of the archive was influenced by the executive and administrative power of advocates. The inter-organizational strategy was affected by the design and ambition of the ideal of an archive. The absence of stably arranged institutional resources disabled the archive project.

The intra-organizational arrangement, as introduced at the end of Chapter 3, changed at least five times. The unit first in charge of archives was an ad hoc committee (1970), then an executive office (1974), then a department within the executive office (2002), then a Publication Committee (2012), and lastly an outside database (2015). What were the standards and rationales in deciding the organizational arrangements? The answer seemed to be convenience rather than careful, strategic decisions. The ad hoc committee, the department, and the outside database had hardly any executive power in the ASA. They were chosen to be in charge of the archives because the concurrent advocates held no authoritative position in the ASA and thus had to reside in very small sub-units to deal with the archives. On the other hand, the executive office and the Publication Committee, though administratively powerful, were not

chosen to take over the archival affairs intentionally. Rather, they had to temporarily look over the archive because of emergencies.

The inter-organizational strategy referred to the way the ASA archives cooperated with outside organizations. At first, the archive was imagined as an internal repository that belonged fully to the ASA. The feasibility was soon proved impossible: the Page report calculated the amount of funding needed to establish an archive which was beyond the capability of the ASA. Even so, the advocates did not actively search for outside resources. The first external cooperation was offered by the LoC. The ASA passively accepted the offer. A proposal to collaborate with universities arose after the LoC disposed of the archives. In the above early stage, archive advocates did not have much consciousness to seek external institutional resources. All inter-organizational cooperation was forced to be taken. The change happened in 2015 when the GWU team successfully developed a collaboration with the NSF. The contemporary functioning of the ASA archive database was ensured by the active utilization of external institutions.

To summarize, the internal institutional resources within the ASA were very limited, while the external institutional resources were large but needed conscious utilization and careful design. The early attempts of the ASA archives failed in the lack of both internal and external institutional resources. The disintegration of internal and external institutional resources continuously failed the archive project of the ASA. The exceptional final success of the NSF-funded database showed a great example of being aware of the limitedness of internal resources and the way to utilize external resources. The success or failure of the ASA archives was tightly related to the concurrent design and allocation of institutional resources.

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Manpower resources

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The founding fathers of scientific projects

Manpower resources, in my definition, refer to a field's capacity to attract individuals to be devoted to it. Though the development of post-WWII science was widely acknowledged to be the result

of social and historical conditions such as federal investment and cold war atmosphere, we can still highlight the important function of individuals when investigating milestone scientific projects. The fulfillment of many projects relied extensively on one person or on a small group of founding fathers' designs and devotion.

One of these founding fathers, Harry Alpert, designed the first NSF social science project. Though the NSF's inclusion of social disciplines had a broad base in epistemology and policy, the importance of an insightful leader must not be overlooked. Harry Alpert and his colleagues established the division for social disciplines within the NSF. The shaping of the NSF's social science policy was definitely linked to the historical background of the cold war and halo of natural science, but it also rested "upon the philosophy and policies established by Harry Alpert" (Hill & Martin, 1978, p. 142).

Harry Alpert was called "Vannevar Bush in social sciences" because Vannevar Bush was the founding father of the NSF as the reification of federal scientific engagement. Vannevar Bush recommended that the NSF be established to support scientific research and develop national science policy. His famous report "Science, the Endless Frontier: A Report to the President on a Program for Postwar Scientific Research" shaped the development of American science. The influence of Bush solidified that the importance of leaders existed not only in social science but also in natural sciences.

Regarding archive efforts more specifically, the birth of the National Archives of the U.S. relied heavily on the personal dedication of John Franklin Jameson. At the end of the 19th century, Jameson worked at the American Historical Association (AHA) and the Carnegie Foundation. In his working experiences, he became aware of the poor circumstances of the preservation of national archives. He lobbied for nearly three decades for an official depository of national government records. The National Archives established in 1934, in its design, could be called "the fulfillment of the Jameson concept" (Gondos, 1981, p. 429). The AHA dedicated a bronze plaque hanging on the wall at the Pennsylvania Avenue entrance of the National Archives Building to memorialize Jameson "whose persistence and wise

guidance led to the establishment of the National Archives" (Picture 7). The National Archive likely would not exist without the devotion of Jameson.

Compared to the National Archives supported by federal funds, discipline archives with fewer resources relied even more on dedicated founders. The creation of the APA archives, for example, thanked scholars Popplestone and McPherson. John A. Popplestone and Marion White McPherson together established the Archives of the History of American Psychology in 1965 with support from The University of Akron. After establishment, they became the first director and associate director respectively of the repository and directed the archives until their retirements. They were in charge of both collection and administration (Baker, 2014). When the ASA investigated the possibility of archives, Page asked Popplestone for help. Unfortunately, their correspondences were not found in the current archive collections.

The absence of leadership of the ASA archives

Who was the founding father of the ASA archives? Looking back through the chronology, it is easy to identify significant names but difficult to name one with a determinant role. For example, Riley first advocated for an archival collection in 1950. But she never brought up this issue again though she kept interacting with ASA and even was elected as the president in 1986. Also, Hinkle and Cahnman submitted the first archival proposal in 1969, but they were not involved in the Page committee appointed in 1970. Page composed his report in 1972, but after two years when the LoC collaborated with ASA, Page was not involved at all.

There were only two exceptions of repeated names. President Sewell, after appointing the Page committee in 1970, donated the largest quantity of material in 1974 when the executive officer appealed for collecting records for LoC. The other name is Alan Sica who helped ASA identify possible repository at PSU Special Collections in 1992 when LoC disposed of the ASA archives. Later in 2014, when PSU

archivists returned restricted records and ASA considered destroying them, Sica wrote emails and papers to seek the protection for cherished historical records; he and his wife also made a significant financial contribution to sustain the archives. But it is still difficult to call Sewell or Sica founding fathers. Sewell only appointed the committee but did not engage in any agendas. Sica showed up late in the history of the archive when it was already established. Navigating the history, we reach a frustrating conclusion that the ASA archives did not have a founding father. Why were the advocates distracted from the archive project?

The reason for distraction could be specifically identified with each person. Hinkle and Cahnman championed early for an archive but were forgotten by the Archive Committee because of poor execution and agenda. Page, Jessie Bernard, and Robert E. L. Faris were in their late careers when they were in charge of the Archive Committee. Sewell and Larson were in charge of the whole ASA and thus too busy to devote to the archives. Barber was dedicated, but the poor planning and challenging occurrence frustrated him very much so that he finally resigned from the Committee. Spalter-Roth is definitely the founder of the data archive, but her project only covers a very small part of the ASA archives - the editorial files.

The absence of leadership for the archives also was rooted in a lack of a unified identity of archive advocates. Among the main advocates for ASA archives, only Hinkle was clearly identified as a historian. Jessie Bernard and Sica both said they were archive users but only in correspondence or paper, not in their resumes or Wikipedia pages. At the same time, these three with a deep academic commitment to archives were not in dominant positions of ASA. On the other hand, advocates with dominant titles such as former presidents (Riley and Sewell) or executive officers (Riley and Levine) did not academically use archives as their main research approach. The lack of academic and administrative unified identity of archive advocates represented significant challenges indeed.

The absence of a powerful founding father led to the early disruption or failure of archive projects. There was no one strong leader who paid full attention and devotion to the ASA archives like the

National Archives or the APA archives. The Hinkle proposal, the Page committee's proposal, and the LoC collaboration were all compromised by the lack of a strong leader group. In turn, appeals for funding were not strong enough or strategic enough. The designs of organizational arrangements also were not consistent. Compared to other social science projects at the same time (introduced above in 4.4.1), the shortage of weak leadership limited any success for the ASA archives.

Leadership was important because the requirement of manpower had changed since WWII. Team effort, outside funding, and big science reinforced each other. The modern research schemes called for "interacting and liaising regularly with people outside the traditional realm of scholarly work" (Fleck, 2016, p. 5). Also, new funding bodies preferred "well-defined endeavors that are usually to be completed within clearly specified periods" which needed "a different kind of engagement" (Fleck, 2016, p. 5) of the team leader. The leader needed to be not only scholarly and informed but also capable of gathering participants. For broad support, they needed to frame their ideas "in ways that resonate with the concerns of those who inhabit an intellectual field or fields" (Frickel & Gross, 2005, p. 221). The personality of traditional theorist who read and wrote alone became an outgoing model which no longer matched the picture.

In the most recent milestone of the ASA archive, the Data Archive luckily possessed a strong leader group. Spalter-Roth and Witte appealed for the preservation of the editorial files with strong voices, quick actions, and familiarity with funding bodies. Leading their GWU group, they applied for the NSF funding and worked to digitize archives. The history of the ASA archives is still unfolding and hopefully will have a brighter future with professional leaders and dedicated people. Strong leadership is critical for success, though not the only important factor as this chapter has indicated.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This dissertation documents the establishment and history of the American Sociological Association archives. It takes a political history approach which focuses on power, policymakers, leadership, and institutions in history (Fielding, 2007). I have identified key actors, events, organizations, and documents in the development of the archive.

The ASA archives have a relatively short history. If counted from Matilda Riley's first suggestion in 1950, the idea of this institutional archive is only 70 years old. Five main events shaped the evolution of the ASA archives. The Hinkle proposal in 1969 initiated the ASA's official planning of archives and established an archival tradition in a scholarly rather than an executive style. This difference in styles foreshadowed the controversy between academic ambition and fiscal deficit as well as between advocating scholars and burdened officers.

The Page committee created in 1970 was a trial to explore the feasibility and possible resources for a future archive. This was a good beginning but failed because of the detachment of advocates and organizational resources. The cooperation with the LoC from 1974 to 1992 helped the ASA establish its original record collections. This collection turned the ASA archive project from the original collegiate design to a governmental model. But when the LoC decided to de-access the ASA archives in 1992, the ASA turned to universities again for a repository. The contract with Penn State finally provided the archives with a space. The controversy over the privacy of editorial files in 2012 began a new era of the ASA archives. The data archives project funded by the NSF indicated new possibilities of new types of records, new repositories of collections, new funding sources, and new archival technology.

Reviewing these five events, I find that the early planning of the ASA archives is neither continuous nor phased, but intermittent. Before the establishment of the collections at the LoC, those plans for the ASA archives such as the OVSS proposal (1966), the Hinkle proposal (1969), and the Page

Committee (1970), though they occurred within only four years, had hardly interacted with each other, not to mention exchange of ideas, information, or resources. The planning of archives was restricted by monetary resources and manpower resources. The advocacy from scholars and resistance from administrators presented the competition over the control of resources and executive power in the ASA. In the early planning stage, archive advocates neither gained executive authority of archiving affairs nor developed successful collaboration with administrators.

The establishment of the ASA collections at the LoC began the formal archivization of the ASA records. This beginning was not based on any previous planning but the sincere invitation from the LoC staff. The ASA archives passively followed the public archives tradition and lost its opportunities to cooperate with any collegiate repository because of the absence of strong advocates and institutional planning. The contradiction between the manuscript tradition and the public archives tradition indicates the future risk of being de-accessed.

Moving to Penn State provided the ASA records a stable repository. Penn State Special Collections, as a collegiate repository, fit more with the ASA as an academic association. But the organization and utilization of the archives still needed improvement. Chaotic coding system and the absence of online archives made the collection hard to access. The recent Data Archives project provided a good example of electronic archives. Traditional qualitative paper archives often used by theorists were still deposited in the university repository, while quantitative data were electronically kept online and analyzed by quantitative researchers. Sociologists from both the scientific paradigm and the humanistic paradigm had their repository for knowledge.

While examining the story of how the archive was founded, this dissertation identified difficulties and malfunctions in archivization. The archivization of the ASA records were limited by resources, though the reasons were diversified and particular for each event. Four kinds of resources were widely mentioned in the literature (Turner, 1990; Geiger, 2017) on post-WWII American social sciences: material resources (money), symbolic resources (knowledge authority), institutional resources

(organizational arrangement and rules), and manpower resources (human will and efforts). In previous literature, many scholars demonstrated the vital role of money and the authority of scientific paradigm in the development of social science. Institutional and manpower resources, though mentioned, were rarely emphasized as determining driving resources in science. The role of human will and efforts in the development of post-WWII American social science is a big topic. This dissertation takes the development of the ASA archives as a case of post-WWII American social science projects. A specific case with historical realness and scientific importance provides us abundant and nuanced evidence to reflect on the development of social science.

The ASA archives provided a particular case in which institutional and manpower resources played more important roles than material and symbolic resources. For material resources, the periodization of the ASA's budgetary deficit and its archival difficulties did not fully overlap. Thus, the monetary issue was neither always there, nor the most determinant factor in the story. For symbolic resources, the qualitative archives were aligned with a humanistic paradigm. The reallocation of symbolic resources did deprive some authority of the archive clique, but also provided chances for reorganization and growth. The driving forces in the ASA archives were human deliberation in institutional arrangements and collaboration. Navigating the short history of the ASA archives, all success was brought by simultaneous voice and actions from the advocates. The phased achievements such as the LoC repository in 1983, the PSU special collections in 1992, and the NSF database in 2015 were all ensured by dedicated appeals from humanity scholars, strong and professional leadership, well-designed organizational arrangement, and sincere institutional collaborations. On the other hand, the setbacks on the way such as the suspension of the Hinkle proposal in 1969 and the Page report in 1972 as well as the de-accessing of the LoC collections in 1992 were rooted in the absence of attention and cooperation among people and institutions. The analysis of this case emphasized the importance of institutional and manpower resources in social scientific projects.

The history of the ASA archives shed light on the importance of human will in the development of social science. Though the evolution of knowledge was limited by external backgrounds such as funding, policy, and authority, the ASA archives gave a lesson that continuous dedication and sincere collaboration among individuals and across institutions could still enable a project to proceed in unfavorable contexts. It is time to draw attention to individuals and particular cases in the study of post-WWII social science to find more relevant information.

Future research

The story of the ASA archives still goes on. The data archives established by Spalter-Roth and her GMU group opens a new era of digitization and quantitative records. The traditional editorial records were organized to be integrated with a quantitative database. I sincerely believe that the ASA archives have a bright future with fewer difficulties compared to its past. New advocates join in archivization. New funding sources may open. And new archiving technology enables new access to records. The documentation of this new story may take a new form such as oral history or participant observation.

My historical documentation also enables future interpretations of the story. Oral history approach and theoretical lens can be used to analyze the development of the ASA and its archives. The theory of scientific/intellectual movements (Frickel & Gross, 2005), a theory of knowledge and power (Foucault, 1972), and assorted organizational theories are applicable to part of the story. Cross-examinations and comparisons with other social science projects can also be facilitated. There are more than 400 professional associations like the ASA in the U.S..[42] The preservation and utilization of their records are worth further investigations using multiple lenses.

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[42] Wikipedia provides a partial list of 439 professional associations based in the U. S. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Professional_associations_based_in_the_United_States.

The ASA archives are not only the subject of study but also a source. As introduced in the beginning, the collection contains 359 cubic feet large and features sources concerning the development of the association, committees and sections, annual meetings, funded programs, the history of teaching sociology, surveys of sociology departments, and publication files. This story is almost fully found out of this collection, but it was not all this collection contains. The records left many stories of the ASA to be told. The ASA's collaboration with universities, the ASA's area study sections, and the ASA engagement in American diplomacy are three possible topics that I may look into in the future.

The archivization of disciplinary records is an important step of academic professionalization not only in the U.S. but also other countries such as China. China is now experiencing the professionalization of social disciplines with the emergence of multiple universities and academic associations. To document history, China needs to learn from the U.S. The story of Chinese early professional associations and their comparison with the ASA implies possible research topics in the future.

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VITA

Yu Sun
Higher Education Program, Pennsylvania State University
E-mail: moonartemis@163.com

EDUCATION

Institution	Degree	Date
· Higher Education Program, Pennsylvania State University	Ph.D. in Higher Education	2013-Present
· Institute of Education, Tsinghua University, China	M. A. in Education	2010-2013
· The Faculty of Education, Beijing Normal University, China	B. A. in Education Dual-B.A. in Chinese Language	2006-2010

BOOK CHAPTER

Sun, Y. An American Training Program for Chinese University Leaders: A Case Study. In Xin Xing, Meng Tian (Eds.) *Higher Education Transformation and International Mobility: Impact of Overseas Training Programs for 1500 Chinese Higher Education Institution Leaders*. Springer. (Forthcoming).

CONFERENCE PAPER

Duet Dance of Quality and Quantity: Bourdieu's Combination of Theory and Data
Presented in April 2015 at Harvard Graduate School of Education students research conference.

The Erosion of Academic Freedom of Higher Education in Race-sensitive Admission Supreme Court Cases
Presented on January 25, 2020 at the Diversity in Education Conference

Archive as Sympoiesis
Presented on April 10, 2020 at the Comparative and International Education Society virtual conference.

The History of the American Sociological Association Archives
Will be presented in August 2020 at the American Sociological Association annual conference.

The Role of University Partnership and Intellectual Identity in Archivization
Will be presented in May 2021 at the International Standing Conference for the History of Education.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Project: Technology for Academic Success in Law School, 2016
Presided by Professor Dorothy Evenson and Funded by The City University of New York

Project: Developing Culturally Inclusive Practices in Mathematics Education to Close Equity Gaps in STEM Fields, 2016
Proposing for NSF INCLUDES project presided by Dr. Alicia Dowd

Project: Value Education in the era of transformation of China, 2008-2010
Presided by Professor Zhongying Shi and funded by Chinese Ministry of Education

Project: Research on the Development Strategies of Social Science, 2013
Presided by Professor Fugui Ye and funded by Tsinghua University