

Gary T. Marx, with a little bit of help from his friends and indifference, or worse, from others. 7/23

Mission Statement for Restructuring University of
Colorado, Boulder Sociology Department 1992-93

When I was hired in 1992 to chair a challenged department the dean had considered eliminating, I offered a vision of the kind of department I would like to help build and be a part of. It is reflected in this statement. The statement reflects my values and take on the field after 30 years and coming of age in the 1960s. It identified a niche for a department that could not compete with the fuller service private (and a few public) giants of the time. The department sought to benefit from the increasingly fragmented and decentralized field sociology was becoming. It extended department's strengths in criminology, qualitative studies, and disaster/environmental studies.

An article written for those starting out in the field describes the ideal department and community I would like to have been a part of (mit.edu/gtmarx/37moral.html). Yet as Mose Allison sang, "it didn't turn out that way, it just didn't turn out that way." Life constantly upstages Camelot, even as one needs a dream. But Florence wasn't built in a day and the four years spent in Boulder was a beginning and an ending.

A letter describing the new directions of the department was widely circulated: graduate applicants increased as did their and the faculties attendance at professional meetings; degree requirements were tightened and standardized with greater emphasis on scholarship and creating a collegial culture; several colleagues who had been tenured retirees were encouraged to actually retire; new policies for hiring and promotion were developed, along with those for increasing departmental visibility and accountability. Inter-disciplinary work across departments and schools was encouraged, leading scholars were invited to lecture and national conferences on George Simmel and new surveillance and communication technologies were held. Two highly distinguished scholars were hired, as well as two who became highly distinguished. I was glad for the use of the hall and slept well (especially after leaving).

This is not the place to analyze that experience. As with many 19th century voyagers, Colorado for me was a stopping point on a migration further west. I am grateful for what I learned there and for the chance to publicly stand for principle, something that academics with their secret ballots, anonymous reviews and the security of tenure rarely seem to do. Salman Rushdie has observed that "our lives teach us who we are." Seeing what I was against helped me become clearer about

what I was for and to see the fragility of, and the centrality to, a democratic society of the liberal arts ideal.

There are many aspects to the story – an elected and highly politicized Board of Regents, non-supportive taxpayers who looked with suspicion on the university, a hostile legislature, a controversial (and eventually fired) President who exploited tensions on the campus and in a conflict ridden, inbred sociology department (a department that never quite got out of the 1960s), insulated and tired administrators lacking the courage to speak out or to lead. But a central theme is summarized in the following question, "How many chairs does it take to change a sociology department?" Answer: "Only one, but the department has to really want to change."¹

¹ The last paragraphs are drawn from an article at web.mit.edu/gtmarx/geis.html. Some related thoughts prior to the mission statement are at web.mit.edu/gtmarxjobtalk.-ucsc-1988.html

3. Statement of Purpose

3.1 Fundamental Sociological Concerns

The fundamental concern of the department of sociology is the study of social order and change. How is social order possible given the variety of social interests and values? Who defines order and disorder and by what legitimations? What are the forms of power and when does power become authority? What is the nature of social solidarity, and what are the threats to it under pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial societies? How are patterned social relations created: in everything from face-to-face conversations to organizational structures, to regional and world systems? What basic macro and micro structures and processes are involved? These questions concern processes of conflict, cooperation, communication, socialization, stratification and social change. These questions guide our research and teaching. We study the origins, forms, distributions, maintenance, consequences and changes in social patterns. Of necessity this involves an interest in philosophies of knowledge, ways of knowing and methods for understanding group life. Sociologists consider a series of dualities: social structure and social process; consensus and conflict; integration and disintegration; conformity and rule-breaking; organization and disorganization; solidarity and cohesion vs. alienation, anomie, and dissensus; culture and structure; the past and the present; and continuity and change.

The scholarly concerns of many of us are often driven by an interest in social problems and issues—particularly questions of equality and hierarchy, justice and injustice, the dignity of the person in a technological society, and in the physical environment. We ask about the consequences of different social relations for the health and well-being of individuals and groups. We ask not only what is and why, but also what should be. We are interested in the creation and maintenance of the good community and threats to it. Our systematic empirical research often informs our value judgments and our questions about values often direct our empirical research. A moral vision of a democratic and just society underlies much of what we do.

Sociological scholarship at the University of Colorado seeks to capture the richness of social life using a variety of methods and theories. Sociology belongs to social science as well as the humanities. We seek to creatively bridge the gap between them. Science is a method not a subject matter. Natural science methods and quantification are well suited to much of what we study. Yet social life is experienced, as well as measured. Our subject matter must also be understood through participation, empathy, and imagination. The study of how meaning is socially constructed offers sociologists unique opportunities. We nurture a variety of understandings, and try to create methodological and conceptual links between different ways of knowing the world.

3.2 Sociology for the 21st Century

The field of sociology and our Department are in transition. The discipline of sociology, founded in the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, has rested on certain assumptions regarding, (a) the nature of individual and collective identity, (b) the impermeability of certain personal, social and physical boundaries, (c) the centrality of physical co-presence for social interaction and organization, (d) the autonomy of reason and rational action, (e) the sovereignty of the nation-state, (f) the integrity of individual consciousness (and conscience), and (g) the meaning of citizenship.

The study of social order and change and the nature of the social bond have been at the core of modern sociological inquiry since its founding in the 19th century with the onset of industrialization and urbanization. In emphasizing this we are part of a rich tradition. However social life does not remain constant. We acknowledge the historic concerns and advances of our discipline but seek to root them firmly in contemporary realities. Consider technology as an example. It grows out of a social context and it has major social consequences. Recent developments in science and technology (e.g., biotechnology, communications) move us into a society facing issues beyond those studied by Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Simmel.

Many of the assumptions that have guided social organization and personal identity in industrial society are being challenged by current developments: the emergence of new states in eastern Europe

and elsewhere which question traditional ideas regarding the nation and identity and the boundaries of the public and the private; the appearance of "virtual communities" divorced from the exigencies of contiguous geography and the fixity of time and place; extractive technologies that pierce the information boundaries that traditionally protected the integrity of the group and person; the increased availability (or beliefs that they are available) of both the past and the future from developments in computerization, artificial intelligence and DNA analysis; the ability to invent (and even own) new forms of life and the changing meaning of gender, parenthood, and family in the face of developments in biotechnology and new cultural definitions; the aging of the population and the appearance of an increasing cohort of the "old" old.

While these developments emerge from the past they suggest new forms of social organization and new meanings as well as a rich agenda for social research and education. Increasingly, sociological research and insight will have to be brought to bear on emergent problems such as:

- a) the continuing importance of the nation state as an organization and symbolic focus of personal and collective identities (as opposed to the development of "world citizenship" and new forms of international cooperation between individuals);
- b) the transformation of traditional ideas of work and industrial organization in an interconnected and interdependent world economy;
- c) the re-structuring of personal identities (e.g., a truly protean self?) in the face of greatly expanded opportunities for new forms of social participation and identity creation;
- d) new forms of rules, rule violation and social control,
- e) new forms of social stratification based on the information rich and the information poor (i.e., new forms of hierarchies based on matrices of information control—rather than traditional resource monopolization),
- f) the re-emergence of ascriptive bases of social solidarity within newly defined territorial units,
- g) the disappearance or significant alteration of traditional centralized bureaucratic forms of organization.

h) the emergence of social problems and needs on a global scale

We seek to move from a late 19th century to an early 21st century agenda. We hope to become an important center for the study of post-industrial society. This would link us to other units on the campus such as the global studies initiative, the Political and Economic Change and Population Process, and Environment and Behavior programs in IBS, the cultural studies program in English, the Department of Communications, the School of Journalism and Mass Communications, and the College of Engineering. It would also link us with people in Women's Studies and CSERA who are studying changing conceptions of identity and value.

Our intention to forge a 21st century agenda emphasizes comparative international studies. A number of our faculty are already involved in comparative and macro level studies, focusing mainly on Latin American and Europe. While such an approach requires understanding the increased interdependence between developed and developing worlds, our strength is in the former. Comparative international studies will become increasingly important in a world where space and time are shrinking and where many forms of social and economic organization transcend national borders. This agenda also builds on the work of those on our faculty who study the relations between technology and society and the sociology of the future. Most sociology departments are still very much tied to industrial views of the world. We have a good opportunity to create a department finely tuned to contemporary social developments. We seek to approach the study of social order and social change with both a foot in the past and an eye on the future.

In developing this statement we have thought not only about the present but about where higher education is going in the next decade. New forms of communication will be important whether they involve computer networks and electronic publishing, or classes taught via satellite and computer. We have a double opportunity here. First we want to make the best use of the new technologies for research and teaching purposes. Second we want to study the use of these technologies. Our new computer lab offers many opportunities for doing both. Colorado has already become the center for a

world-wide, electronically based network of scholars (Appendix 7) concerned with many of the issues of change discussed above. We hope to pioneer the use and understanding of these technologies.

We envision the sociological building (and the building of sociology) at CU to involve three major columns. The columns are intended to represent abstract, theoretically unifying conceptions involving the study of norms, social structure, change and conflict, and qualitative/interpretive theories and methods. The work of a majority of our faculty clearly fits within one or more of these columns. These

Overarching Theme: The Study of Social Order and Change*

I. Three Major Columns of Sociological Specialization

A. Norms

Criminology and Delinquency (Adler, Elliott, Hunter, Mileti, Regoli, Williams)

Deviance and Social Control (Adler, Leo, Marx)

Sociology of Law (Leo)

Sociology of Religion (Pinto, Seligman)

B. Social Structure, Conflict and Change

Political Economy - Global and Regional Change (Bartos, Flores, Gimenez, Mayer, Pampel, Seligman, Wehr)

Collective Behavior and Social Movements (Cress, Downton, Marx, Mileti, Wehr)

Conflict Process and Management (Bartos, Leo, Wehr, Williams)

C. Qualitative/Interpretive Theories and Methods

Ethnography (Kjolseth, Adler, Cress, Facio)

Cultural/Feminist/Post Modern Studies (Wanderer, Marx, Kjolseth, Nielsen, Gimenez)

Visual Sociology (Kjolseth, Rivera, Nielsen, Wanderer)

*This is not intended to capture all of the areas faculty work in, but illustrates how the Department will be organized around the theme of social order and change through three broad fields. This conceptualization is more inclusive than the previous concentrations and has a clearer integrative rationale from the center. Faculty interests are of course diverse and they change. But this framework captures major strengths and areas of research.

are the areas in which we seek to grow. This organization gives us maximum leverage and corresponds to the central intellectual and organizational elements of our discipline.

However this framework does not exhaust faculty interests and strengths. Cutting across these columns are some traditional substantive strengths of the department involving the study of stratification (in particular hierarchical differentiation based on class, gender, race, ethnicity and age); demography and health; and social problems and social issues. We value the work done in these areas and will use it to inform and strengthen our three major fields.

Our proposed organization with three broad themes and cross cutting supporting interests gives us flexibility and will permit linking faculty who have not previously worked together (e.g., those working on inter-personal violence and on group conflict, on deviance and religion, and on social control and the environment). It also offers a more inclusive framework relative to our current concentrations.

This organization is consistent with the vision developed above. It builds on strengths we already have and takes advantage of current social and intellectual developments that give us an opportunity to become a leading department of sociology in our chosen areas. Through re-organization and a modest infusion of new resources we can assume a position of leadership. The organizational changes we propose are discussed next.

Rather than a radical break or a risky gamble, these changes are conservative in the sense that they build on and seek to strengthen what we already have. We want to streamline our efforts and direct them toward our three major concerns. Rather than the diffuse and fragmented efforts of the past, we seek centripetal movement toward the core concerns of the discipline. Because the discipline is large and diverse (there are more than 30 substantive sections of the American Sociological Association) we can become very competitive in our chosen areas through this reorganization and modest growth.

3.3 Proposed Organizational Changes

In response to prior PRPs, the department was organized into concentrations in conflict, criminology, demography and sex and gender studies. Each concentration had its own course requirements in addition to general departmental degree requirements. In many respects the

department was built around these concentrations; even though over half of undergraduate BAs and graduate degrees are in sociology without a concentration.

The concentration strategy worked reasonably well as the data on our undergraduate and graduate programs indicate. Two concentrations became nationally known and many graduate student applicants chose the University of Colorado specifically because of the course offerings, strong faculty and research opportunities identified with the concentrations. The concentrations served to marshal resources, and gave coherence and direction to a department that was somewhat anomic. They also contributed to the creation of institutions such as the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, the Conflict Resolution Consortium and the Women's Studies Program.

However, they have outlived their usefulness as currently conceived. While they still make a positive contribution, this is frequently at the cost of fragmentation, specialization with insufficient connections to broader concerns, exclusion of faculty and students not sharing these concerns, and a lack of resources to mount full fledged programs in each of the areas. Many students were dissatisfied once they got here because the reality did not match the catalog, especially in the Conflict concentration. In other cases such as Health, there were not enough graduate students for a full-fledged concentration. With the appointments since the last PRP (Flores, Facio, Williams, Pampel, Marx, Seligman, Cress, Leo, Milette) and the granting of tenure to Rogers and Adler, the Department has gained new strengths and a changed climate. It is no longer necessary for the concentrations to have direct control over curriculum matters. We need one department, not four. The department should lead the concentrations rather than the reverse.

Our intellectual organization should reflect changing times, new concerns and the department's goal of being nationally competitive. To this end we propose abolishing the concentrations as administrative units and redesigning them as intellectual specializations that can better take account of our needs and opportunities. As an earlier PRP report noted, given resource constraints we can not begin to cover the field of sociology in all its richness and diversity. Beyond offering the basics in theory and methods that are at the core of the discipline, we want to marshal our resources and be strong in a limited number of areas that are important to the growth of the discipline. What follows is an outline of our overarching themes and a discussion of the proposed re-organization.

3.3.1 Norms

With the first area we propose to broaden the criminology concentration to the more abstract idea of rules. Norms --whether expressed in manners and custom, bureaucratic policy or judicial and legislative rules are central to the ordering and disordering of social relations. These in turn may be grounded in religious values.

Norms are constantly changing and subject to negotiation. Norm violations are common. The study of conformity as well as deviance and social control are central to the field. Social organization and community are bound together by expectations and these expectations cohere in statuses and roles. These in turn combine to form organizations and institutions.

The study of norms includes criminology and delinquency, social control and deviance, and the sociology of law. It also touches upon the sociology of religion, the sociology of gender, social problems and social change. This conceptualization is more inclusive and theoretically based than the prior concentrations.

A broad-based, theoretically informed, systematic study of norms with their multiple forms and consequences, using the most advanced sociological methods would give our department a clear identity. It would also give us a competitive advantage as a result of trends set in motion several decades ago.

For much of this century the study of norms was at the heart of sociology as it was carried out at the University of Chicago and Harvard. However, in the late 1960s and 1970s federal funds were offered for the creation of criminology and criminal justice schools. Criminology, which had previously largely been a subfield of sociology, emerged as a more distinctive discipline. This development largely depleted sociology departments of scholars interested in the study of rules. This is unfortunate because the study of crime and its control should be integrated with broader theoretical inquiries.

We have on our faculty strong scholars working in the area of criminology, criminal justice, deviance, delinquency, corrections, social control, and the sociology of law and religion. This is a unique and powerful base for a program. Only a few other sociology departments have as diverse, empirically sophisticated and theoretically-grounded approach to the study of rules and their violation.

Creating a program in the study of norms will not require any new faculty resources (although we might consider adding a theorist and/or someone with comparative interests in the future and retirements may create new needs).

3.3.2 Social Structure, Change and Conflict

Our second major area also expands an already existing concentration, that of conflict. We suggest organizing this into several areas and strengthening it to take account of recent (and proposed) hires. The study of post-industrial society in comparative perspective is central here. Within this area we include 1) political economy with an emphasis on global and regional change 2) collective behavior and social movements 3) conflict process and management.

Political economy is a dynamic and growing field. Regional and global interdependencies become daily more significant and the political landscape and many of our basic assumptions about power, work, citizenship, and the state are being challenged. Elements of these changes were discussed above and need not be repeated here.

We have strength in the historical and comparative analysis of change, the analysis of class, race and gender, and in social and economic theories of change. However we do not have anyone who specializes in the macro-sociological concern of bringing it all together at the level of world systems or civilizational analysis.

We need a prominent scholar with expertise in world-systems theory and research whose comparative- international interests can bring both international visibility and leadership to this area. The department could profit immeasurably from one additional hire of a major scholar with a well defined research agenda grounded in current processes of global change. This would enhance the image of the department, further strengthen the climate of professionalization and provide needed opportunities for support and mentoring to graduate students.

We propose to hire a person concerned with the collective identities, institutional structures and forms of community which produce social order within and beyond the confines of a given national boundary or time period. Market forces, political-legal structures and belief systems are central for understanding this.

Contemporary social political and economic landscapes—both locally and internationally are being transformed. We now live in a world characterized by a new international division of labor; the rise of stateless corporations and concomitant decline in the power of states to control their economic future; the decline of U.S. hegemony and the rise of trading blocs; the growing polarization of income in every nation state; the collapse of the socialist bloc; and the rise in the economic power of Japan and its political-economic sphere of influence in the Pacific. These changes have unleashed massive international migration flows changing the population composition of every nation on the globe. Understanding these changes is a major task today; this is why we consider an appointment in this area so vital to our effort to understand social change.

There is a need for empirical research on areas such as a) the nature and depth of global transformation, whether or not we are in the threshold of qualitative change or simply in the presence of a more efficient international capitalism; b) the process of incorporation to the world-economy of the Eastern European countries and the former Soviet Union and the extent to which they will replicate the Western European path to capitalism or will stagnate as the Latin America of Europe; c) the question of rising nationalisms; new social movements and local efforts to resist or facilitate the impact of global economic changes that increase the power of stateless corporations; d) the impact of global restructuring on the decline of labor aristocracies in the rich countries, the emergent need for international labor organizations, and the economic and political effects of the concomitant processes of racialization, ethnicization, and feminization of the lower strata of national work forces.

An appointment in this area is vital to our effort to understand social change at the end of the 20th century. Change can be seen as the historical evolution of culturally and socially constructed forms of integration. The processes of broad change are open-ended, contentious and uneven. Yet overall trends and patterns of social transformation can be identified. These occur at multiple levels whether interpersonal interactions, households, neighborhoods, communities, organizations, cities, regions, states, or transnational institutions and global structures.

We need a sociologist with breadth and vision who studies the interaction of these forms of integration over large structures and time periods. Such an appointment, in acknowledging the importance of political, economic and historical factors is consistent with our goal of reaching beyond

the confines of sociology as narrowly defined. It fits with the University's interdisciplinary goals and with building departments in such a way that they enhance the common good. In that light we would be very open to having this be a joint appointment with IBS, Political Science, Economics, or History.

The second sub-area of the social structure, conflict and change specialization is at the mezzo and micro levels. It involves collective behavior and social movements. Its focus is on social change (or what is called emergent behavior) in situations that often involve face-to-face interaction. Examples include behavior in disasters, crowds, fads, and fashion. It also includes the study of social movements. More by accident than design, three of our last four hires (Marx, Cress, Miletto) work in this area. Joining their concerns with those of faculty already here studying social movements, such as Downton and Wehr, offers us the possibility of fielding a very respectable sub-area. This will require no new appointments, but it will require the development of some new courses and an effort to build community around this shared interest.

The third sub-area of this specialization is conflict process and management. This builds directly on our current concentration's concern with the analysis, management and resolution of conflict. There is demand for persons trained in conflict management and as we noted, graduate students continue to be drawn to the department because of this emphasis. The social benefits of understanding how to avoid destructive conflict and to produce peace are self-evident. The proposed reorganization will bring the conflict area closer to the mainsprings of the discipline. While the study of conflict has long been a focus within sociology, the discipline has not yet adequately connected this with teaching and research in conflict mediation and violence reduction.

The last PRP recommended that an additional hire be made in the conflict area. This has not happened directly, although several recent hires touch the area indirectly. This sub-area would be strengthened by hiring an expert in the analysis of conflict processes at the interpersonal and intergroup level.

Such an individual could teach the Practicum and the Conflict Management Seminar and develop courses on mediation and particular kinds of conflict. This would require a general background in sociology. The study of micro-conflict processes needs to be linked to the central concerns of

elucidating and elaborating and micro bases for social structure and social process. No thorough understanding of social order and change can be rooted solely in a macro, top-down understanding. This micro perspective will help us ground our broader departmental goals in the empirical reality of everyday life. This must be connected to meso and more macro levels of understanding and analysis.

The field offers a vital and growing presence, and is represented in all sociology departments. There has been strong growth of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction and the now quarterly publication of its flagship journal, Symbolic Interaction. There has been a proliferation of other interpretive/ethnographic journals and such work is also represented within the major journals of the discipline. Its practitioners answer questions that tend to be overlooked by those using quantitative methods or working at the macro level. These relate to issues of social process, social meaning, interpretation, and causality. While other approaches can glean a broader overview of what is going on in social life, the qualitative perspective lends insight into what people actually do and how and why they act as they do in concrete situations.

The area of interpretive and ethnographic research has grown considerably over the past ten years. Originally developed and still strongest in the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, ethnographic research is now represented in the fields of management, communication, education, family studies, marketing, geography, linguistics, and political science, among others. This renaissance has led to new epistemological developments and applications and renewal and revitalization in the field.

Qualitative and interpretive sociology had its birth in the joint department of sociology and anthropology at the University of Chicago in the early 20th century. The first and leading department in the field, it pioneered the exploration of the empirical world from a subjective, ethnographic bent, and co-joined this with interpretive theory, fusing pragmatic philosophy with social behaviorism to create symbolic interactionism. Interpretive theory and method were centered at Chicago until the 1950s, when Herbert Blumer and Erving Goffman went to UC Berkeley and founded an interpretive center there. Many of the UC campuses then developed centers of this work, but the core group arose at UC San Diego in the 1970s, with five major senior scholars (Gusfield, Davis, Wiseman, Douglas, and Berger). Other centers of a less concentrated nature were located around the country.

Interpretive sociology, although a long-standing and respected branch of sociology, underwent a resurgence with the demise of Parsonian sociology in the 1970s and the diminution of federal funding for major quantitative research. The field broadened, from one dominated by a hegemonic theoretical and methodological perspective, to one housing several vibrant streams of intellectual development. Interpretive sociology was one of these.

The 1980s and 1990s has seen the strong flourishing of this branch of the field. Interpretive sociology is accepted and represented within the major scholarly journals and university press publishing houses. Taking an overview of the top ten journals in the field of sociology, as recently ranked by Footnotes, the newsletter of the American Sociological Association, we find a good representation of interpretive work. Although it is rarer in the heavily quantitative or demographic journals such as American Sociological Review, Social Forces, and Demography, qualitative and interpretive work is better represented in American Journal of Sociology, Social Problems, Administrative Science Quarterly, Sociology of Education, Social Psychology Quarterly, and Sociological Quarterly. The latter group have qualitative and interpretive scholars on their editorial boards, have such scholarship regularly published in their pages, and have devoted special issues to topics designed to encourage the submission of interpretive work. Further, the two major university presses in sociology, University of Chicago Press and University of California Press, have even stronger representations of scholarly interpretive monographs. Their primary lists are replete with ethnographic studies. In addition, there are strong holdings of qualitative or interpretive work in the primary lists or series of such well-respected scholarly presses as Rutgers, Temple, SUNY, and Columbia.

Recent developments in sociology over the past ten years have brought the work of qualitative and interpretive scholarship to the fore. The major, interdisciplinary, intellectual movement with which this field has grappled has been postmodernism. Interpretive sociology has been strongly engaged in this discourse in two main ways. First, the reflexive focus on the rhetoric and discourse involved with the production of scholarly texts that arose out of literary studies and was strongly advanced by the New Anthropology, has been actively enjoined by qualitative scholars. This began as a critical movement, where we deconstructed the classic form of our texts, and flowered into a major creative movement, inspiring many new forms and genres through which data are gathered and scholarship is produced and

analyzed. Second, the postmodern movement led from deconstructionism and post-structuralism into theoretical development in the areas of the postmodern self and society, and cultural studies. These areas are the current progenitors of earlier symbolic interactionist work, and engage in theorizing and analysis about the nature of the individual, the culture, and society in a postmodern age. In these two major advances of the discipline, qualitative and interpretive scholars have led intellectual development.

The cutting edge of interpretive sociology is strong in the postmodern movement, and it takes several forms. One area of great interest is that generated by the "new anthropology," encompassing the work of such proponents as Gertz, Clifford, Marcus, Fischer, Van Maanen, and Atkinson. This draws on literary theory to regard ethnographic productions as texts and to pay greater attention to the way ethnography, as a genre, is written. While this area began as merely critical, in the past years people have moved into the constructive arena by responding to the creative challenge with alternative ways of producing ethnographic texts. Very exciting work is now being done in this area in the narrative, dramatic, poetic, introspective, fragmented, and other genres.

A related aspect involves "cultural studies" (in its new incarnation, as opposed to the study of art and literature from the past), which examines society, interpretively, through cultural texts it produces, such as movies, books, and other cultural products. This includes deconstructionism and rhetorical analysis, as done by scholars such as Denzin, Couch, Clough, and others.

The postmodern movement is also relevant as it involves the realm of the subjective and the use of the self for ethnographic/interpretive work. This can range from the things anthropologists are doing with the introduction of the self and self-reflection into the text, to the use of systematic sociological introspection and the sociology of emotions, to the explorations of subjectivity done by existential sociologists. These three theoretical areas are currently the major areas in interpretive scholarship.

We are particularly well-suited to develop this as a major area for the department because of the unprecedented demise of the leading sociological center for qualitative/interpretive sociology: the University of California, San Diego. Sociologists within this tradition now lack a place to send their best undergraduates for interpretive/ethnographic training. There is a growing national demand for persons working in this field who have it as their major concern, rather than just one of several areas. With the

proper direction and resources, we can easily become the pre-eminent program in the country. To build such a program we would need at least one additional hire.

We propose to build our interpretive specialization by lodging it in a strong core and working outward through our other strengths. We have a good base in this department in the area of mainstream qualitative/interpretive ethnography on which we build (Adler, Cress, Facio, Kjolseth, Marx, Rivera). Appendix 8 discusses the kinds of courses that would be offered and that could be taken elsewhere on the campus.

We need to supplement faculty here with a person in new and exploratory areas not now covered. For example this could be someone working on postmodern issues or issues of gender or racial identity. Or it could be someone who is active in writing about and could teach at the graduate level in interactionist theory (self theory, identity theory, symbolic interactionism).

Beyond those in the department doing interpretive and ethnographic work, there are other departments (e.g., anthropology, communications, education, women studies) upon which we could draw and where we could make an interdisciplinary contribution. We are very open to joint appointments and cooperation across disciplines. Over the last five years the department has been actively involved with the Arts and Sciences' Committee for Ethnographic Research. This committee, through its ongoing scholarly agenda, its interdisciplinary training of graduate students, and its highly successful, bi-annual mini-symposia, forms a backdrop of concentrated interest and support unparalleled in the country. The program of studies we envision will be interdisciplinary and will draw on the resources already at the university.

To develop this program and attain national prominence, we need a major, senior interpretive theorist with a strong scholarly reputation who can play a leadership role and give the program instant visibility. This person should be familiar with contemporary social theory focusing on one or more of the following areas: postmodern theory, cultural studies, contemporary European social thought, symbolic interaction, self and identity theory, dramaturgy, phenomenology, or social constructionism. Ideally this person will also be an experienced empirical researcher and will have written about qualitative epistemology.

While intellectual development within this sub-area is rich, the major centers where this work was concentrated have waned. Partly due to the retirements of a cohort, and partly due to the economic crises of the University of California schools, qualitative and interpretive scholars are scattered throughout many departments in the country, but concentrated in very few. A need exists for some department to come to the fore to fill the void created by the recent retirement of the full San Diego cohort. Supported by the campus' active interdisciplinary Committee for Ethnographic Research, Colorado is poised to readily rise to the fore as the pre-eminent department in this branch of sociology.

We would judge our success in this area by our ability to attract outstanding graduate students and place them in good positions, by strengthening interaction among the scholars in the department and beyond it concerned with the area, and by our ability to see increased publication in the leading journals.

The final sub-area within this specialization is visual sociology. Unlike the effort to strengthen traditional and well established areas of qualitative studies as expressed in ethnography and interpretive approaches, our proposal to develop a third sub-area of visual sociology (or perhaps it might better be called the sociology of the visual) is a gamble.

Absent well established markers within the discipline and competing interests it may fail. For that reason we are approaching it conservatively. We ask for no new resources here and instead will reorganize based on current faculty. We will offer some additional undergraduate courses; a graduate seminar; a summer program; and a symposium in conjunction with the campus-wide Committee on Ethnography's next conference here on visual ethnography. The symposium would focus directly on the contours, needs and future direction of this field. If these efforts are successful we would then approach foundations about funding to help support a graduate training program.

Sociology has traditionally relied almost exclusively on verbal and numerical data, excluding a rich means and source of information. Visual sociology refers to the use of sight as the central method in the investigation and interpretation of meanings in society. Goffman for example in examining the imagery of print media advanced our understanding of how a society depicts gender roles. Other investigators produce their own filmic (photographic, cinematic, or video) records as a research tool. Others study contemporary public policy issues such as the nature of the link between images (e.g., of violence and pornography) and behavior.

The process of producing social research based on visual materials (whether a video, slides, etc.) not only yields a product that can inform others, it can help the student understand that the social reality we experience, like the video, is itself a social construction.

The field has developed in sociology only in the last decade. The International Visual Sociology Association holds an annual meeting. The number of scholars working in the area is increasing as evidenced by book publications, articles in standard journals, and the founding of new journals.

While there are small networks of very good scholars working in the area, it has not yet become a well established part of the conventional sociological discipline. Such researchers are scattered and most must find support outside of their discipline. They are atomized and the few courses that exist tend to be at the undergraduate level.

In sociology, words and numbers are the basic form of communication and images are infrequently, or superficially used and analyzed. Sociology in a sense has a large hole in the left side of its brain. However, this may change. We can play a major role in doing this without the addition of new resources. There is still no graduate training program in visual sociology in the United States. The Department has a rare opportunity to fill a need by becoming a graduate center for the study of visual sociology. Through a coincidence of time and place, we are offered the possibility to gain rapid national and international attention by developing a PHD specialization in the area of visual sociology.

We can do this without the current addition of new resources, although it will require the development of new courses and community building. The program would, however, be enhanced by provision for guest lecturers and a scholar-in-residence and by grants to purchase equipment, especially in electronic imaging. Yet this is not now necessary.

At least six faculty members are currently involved in research on aspects of the topic (Kjolseth, Marx, Nielsen, Rivera, Rogers, Wanderer). They are enthusiastic about coming together to create this entity. Several of them are collaborating on offering a new course "Visualizing Society". (Appendix 9) Professor Kjolseth teaches a practicum on "the Uses of Photography in Sociological Research". PhD students are beginning to use visual materials in their research (e.g., visual images of feminism and the analysis of advertisements for surveillance technology).

Apart from its own courses, this sub-field could serve as a resource for others in the department by providing ideas and materials about the visual. This work differs from that in art history or film studies because it applies the explanatory theories and concepts of sociology. Its interest is not in the visual as an end in itself, but in what it can tell us about society.

Finally there are other units on campus that we could learn from and contribute to. Examples include anthropology, fine arts photography, film studies, journalism, mass communication, cultural studies in English, CSERA, women's studies and engineering. Preliminary discussions with specialists in these areas indicate strong enthusiasm for our plans. To a greater extent than with our current PhD areas, specializing in this field would necessitate work in other departments. We would establish appropriate faculty liaisons and a university-wide steering committee.

Boulder has some additional resources which make this a very attractive site. The library recently acquired one of best collections of photographic imagery in the world. The Tippit Photobook Collection contains over 8,000 titles and 600,000 images. This is an enormously important archive and would be very attractive to potential students and visiting scholars.

The new Social Science Data Laboratory of the Departments of Political Science and Sociology with its IBM 6000 workstations is a valuable resource. With a new Kodak CD system, digital imaging makes image archives readily accessible for teaching and research. Consistent with our other plans we could create the first center of an international computer network and bulletin board dealing with visual sociology.

9. General Goals

Our program statement assumes the general goals shown in this section and that future hires will reflect these goals. In pursuing these we seek to build the best possible program we can. There is room for improvement in many areas.

It is unrealistic for a program such as ours that is roughly in the middle of the approximately 100 PhD degree granting institutions in sociology (Change, Nov. 1992 based U.S. News and World Report data) to expect to move into the very top echelon of schools in a short period of time — even if an enormous infusion of new resources was available. But it is realistic to expect that with modest support over a 7 year period we could rapidly move up to being within the top 20 schools overall. As our report will note, in our three broad areas of specialization we can become among the very best places to pursue these inquiries. Here we refer to national leadership, not just national recognition.

Ranking graduate programs is hardly a science. There is disagreement among sociologists about where programs fit. Subjective rankings are limited. Few people have the familiarity needed to rank the large number of programs. There is often a lag between reputation and reality. When objective measures are used, there is disagreement about which standards are most appropriate and how these should be measured and weighed. Given the large number of specializations, no one department can excel in everything, yet rankings are generally done for overall departments, not for particular substantive areas of strength.

We of course seek to move up in national rankings. But beyond an effort to move up to some mythical place in an abstract national rating system, our goal over the next 7 years is to create a particular kind of environment.

In this environment standards are high; the advancement of knowledge and scholarship are central; intellectual excitement is rampant; we communicate with, learn from, and respect each other. Although firmly rooted in sociological methods and ideas, we reach out to give, and receive, from others in different disciplines and places; we recruit highly talented faculty working on the forefronts of

knowledge; we recruit first rate graduate students nationally and internationally; we educate them in a supportive environment so that they are able to do original research that is sociologically and socially important; they finish their degrees within a reasonable period of time and find good jobs; and our undergraduates receive a rigorous general introduction to the field of sociology from good teachers --this helps them to think critically and clearly and aids them as citizens, workers and/or students in professional and graduate schools. In doing this we become a true academic community.