

May 2017

## **Racial Integration and Institutional Change, 1965-1971: A Case Study of UW-Milwaukee's Human Relations Institute, Center for Afro-American Culture and Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute**

Toni Johns  
*University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dc.uwm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Education Commons](#), and the [Public Affairs, Public Policy and Public Administration Commons](#)

---

### **Recommended Citation**

Johns, Toni, "Racial Integration and Institutional Change, 1965-1971: A Case Study of UW-Milwaukee's Human Relations Institute, Center for Afro-American Culture and Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute" (2017). *Theses and Dissertations*. 3284.  
<https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/3284>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by UWM Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UWM Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [scholarlycommunicationteam-group@uwm.edu](mailto:scholarlycommunicationteam-group@uwm.edu).

RACIAL INTEGRATION AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE, 1965-1971: A CASE STUDY  
OF UW-MILWAUKEE'S HUMAN RELATIONS INSTITUTE, CENTER FOR AFRO-  
AMERICAN CULTURE AND SPANISH SPEAKING OUTREACH INSTITUTE

by

Toni Johns

A Thesis Submitted in  
Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science  
in Urban Studies

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2017

## ABSTRACT

### RACIAL INTEGRATION AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE, 1965-1971: A CASE STUDY OF UW-MILWAUKEE'S HUMAN RELATIONS INSTITUTE, CENTER FOR AFRO- AMERICAN CULTURE AND SPANISH SPEAKING OUTREACH INSTITUTE

by

Toni Johns

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2017  
Under the Supervision of Professor Amanda I. Seligman

This historical case study explores the development of the Institute for Human Relations, the Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. These three university entities demonstrate the evolution of class-and race-based policy development at UW-Milwaukee between 1965 and 1971. There is limited literature regarding the historical development of programs that served to racially integrate UW-Milwaukee. Much of the existing literature was written by former University administrators (Klotsche 1966, 1972, 1985, Cassell, Klotsche and Olsen 1992) and highlights the positive actions taken by the administration. Literature written by non-administrators (J. Rodriguez 2005, M. Rodriguez 2015) focuses on community movements at the city and county level. This thesis provides a critical view of the relationship between public higher education institutions and financial support from federal and private grants. I argue federal financial support was equally important to the narrative of higher education racial integration as student protests, sympathetic administrators, and an urban mission. This case study takes into account the University's response to federal policy initiatives, as well as the impact student and faculty activism had on the evolution of educational policy development.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Acknowledgements   | iv |
| Introduction   | 1  |
| Human Relations Institute: A Top Down Approach to Racial Integration       | 17 |
| The Center for Afro-American Culture: Faculty and Students Motivate Change | 40 |
| The Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute: A Community Movement for Access   | 60 |
| Conclusion   | 86 |
| Bibliography   | 98 |

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“If we are kings and queens, our teachers are king and queen makers.”  
-Kenya Brown (Shalom High School Valedictorian, 2015)

I would like to thank Professor Amanda Seligman, for pushing me beyond the limits I imagined for myself. She was a committed Thesis Chair. I appreciated her consistent communication and willingness to read through my drafts with thoughtful edits and questions. I would not have written a thesis without her encouragement, persistence and patience. I would also like to acknowledge Professor Joseph Rodriguez, I valued the knowledge I gained from his research and courses. His lessons helped me process my topic and increased the depth of my writing. I also want to thank Professor Erin Winkler who encouraged me to trust my instincts. I valued the discussions we had and her positive words.

Throughout my master’s program I was blessed to learn from many excellent professors in Urban Studies and several other departments. I want to especially thank Marie Sandy, Joel Rast, Frank H. Wilson, Ann Bonds, Rob Smith, Daniel McClure, Grace Schultz, Kent Redding, Julie Kailin and Florence Johnson. I am grateful for the strong network of educators UW-Milwaukee provided. I also received extensive guidance and encouragement in completing the thesis from Jonathan Bruce, a Writing Center tutor and associate lecturer in Ethnic Studies. I appreciated Jonathan’s willingness to provide advice and assistance for over a year. He is an asset to UW-Milwaukee.

This work would have been impossible without the UW-Milwaukee and UW-Madison archives. I want to thank all the archivists for pulling countless boxes and searching finding aides. Brad Houston’s finding aid on African-American student activism at UW-Milwaukee during the 1960s and 1970s was exceptionally useful. I appreciated David Null’s (UW-Madison

Director of Archives) time. Thank you for pulling budgets, transcripts of interviews and obscure boxes. I want to thank Jesus Salas for meeting with me and explaining in detail the connections between the federal government and community organizing in Wisconsin during the 1960s and 1970s. Salas's commitment to employment and educational access is still supporting students at UW-Milwaukee and UW-Madison today.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends. My mother provided limitless love and my father pushed me to "get it done." My friends forgave me for missing birthdays, celebrations and countless happy hours. I would like to extend a special thank you to Ben G. for always being in my corner, moving me forward and helping me finish. Through this process I learned the first draft is always more difficult than the last word. I hope this is just the first draft of many to come. Thank you all for helping me through the hardest part.

## THESIS INTRODUCTION

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee is the most racially diverse institution in the University of Wisconsin System.<sup>1</sup> This diversity stems in part from the institution's access mission. The mission aims to "further academic and professional opportunities at all levels for women, minority, part-time, and financially or educationally disadvantaged students."<sup>2</sup> Historically, UW-Milwaukee has been a resource for the state's non-traditional working class residents and promoted its urban identity. In 1966, J. Martin Klotsche, the first Chancellor of UW-Milwaukee published *The Urban University*, in which he described the special role an urban educational institution could serve for the Milwaukee community. Klotsche wrote, "The urban university can provide an outlet for the educational ambitions of these able youths and help bring into reality the promise of democracy that everyone, regardless of race, religion, or economic and social status, should be educated to the limits of his ability."<sup>3</sup> Despite Klotsche's idealism, in 1965 only 3% of the students attending UW-Milwaukee were from minority backgrounds.<sup>4</sup>

Klotsche's interest in expanding access to higher education reflected national policy concerns put forth by the Johnson Administration. In a 1965 message to congress President Lyndon B. Johnson stated "I have proposed that we set full educational opportunity as our first national goal. Every child must be encouraged to get as much education as he has the ability to

---

<sup>1</sup> "About UWM," University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/about/>.

<sup>2</sup> "UWM's Vision, Values, and Mission Statements," University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/mission/>.

<sup>3</sup> J. Martin Klotsche, *The Urban University* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1966), 127.

<sup>4</sup> According Klotsche, "About 3% (595) of UWM's student body for 1970-1971 were from minority groups, distributed as follows; Negroes--495; Latins-80; American Indians-20." Klotsche, *The Urban University*, 87.

take.”<sup>5</sup> In service of this goal, congress passed the 1965 Higher Education Act. In the *book Developing Colleges Program: A Study of Title III Higher Education Act 1965*, Lawrence Howard described the legislative intent behind Title III. Howard believed Title III was created to “improve institutions and to broaden opportunities for higher education for the many rather than restrict its advantages to the few it now serves.”<sup>6</sup> Howard saw it as a legislative “agent” that could bring about universal higher education through partnerships between various colleges and universities as well as with communities.<sup>7</sup> The 1965 Higher Education Act was accompanied by other governmental programs and legislative acts that supported an increase in higher education access. In the article “Overview of American Higher Education” Sandy Baum, Charles Kurose and Michael McPherson found access to higher education was established through government support during the 1960s but increased over several decades.

Many state colleges embraced the opportunity to reach more students during the 1960s and early 1970s<sup>8</sup> and created a variety of systems to increase enrollment and retention. This trend supported growth in the enrollment of African-American students. According to Martha Biondi in *The Black Revolution on Campus* “from 1970 to 1971, college enrollments for African-Americans expanded by 56 percent compared to a 15 percent increase for whites.”<sup>9</sup> Biondi

---

<sup>5</sup> Lyndon B. Johnson, “Educational Message to Congress,” January 12, 1965, LBJ Presidential Library: accessed April 18, 2017, <http://www.lbjlibrary.net/collections/on-this-day-in-history/january.html#12th>.

<sup>6</sup> Lawrence C. Howard, *The Developing Colleges Program: A Study of Title III Higher Education Act of 1965* (Milwaukee, WI: Institute of Human Relations, 1967), 1.

<sup>7</sup> Howard, *The Developing Colleges Program*, 1.

<sup>8</sup> John R. Thelin, “Success and Excess: The Contours and Character of American Higher Education Since 1960,” *Society* vol. 50, 2 (2013): 107, accessed April 18, 2017, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12115-013-9630-8>.

<sup>9</sup> Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012): 8, accessed April 17, 2017, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uwm/reader.action?docID=928946&ppg=8>.



argues racial integration of northern colleges and universities—such as UW-Milwaukee—was catalyzed by the second generation of African-Americans who had migrated from southern states and were socially active.<sup>10</sup>

During the 1960s Milwaukee was a growing metropolis. Historian Paul Geib describes a steady growth in Milwaukee's black population during the 1960s. The black population more than tripled between 1940 and 1960. The growth was due in part to employment in the industrial sector and a decrease in agricultural employment in southern states.<sup>11</sup> Milwaukee's Latino and Hispanic populations had also been on a steady incline since the end of WWII due to employment opportunities in tanning companies, foundries and canning factories.<sup>12</sup> UW-Milwaukee enrollment had not kept pace with recent increases in Milwaukee County's black and Latino populations.

In the late 1960s black and Latino residents of Milwaukee began to push for increased enrollment, financial aid and academic courses that reflected their cultures. The University responded. The development of the Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute were rooted in the political activism of Milwaukee residents as well as UW-Milwaukee students and faculty. In 1968, student pressure by the United Black Student Front and administrative support from Special Assistant to the Chancellor for Educational Opportunity Professor Ernest Spaight led to the creation of the Center for African American Culture. In

---

<sup>10</sup> Bondi, *The Black Revolution*, 8.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Geib, "From Mississippi to Milwaukee: A Case Study of the Southern Black Migrant to Milwaukee, 1940-1970," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 83(4), (Autumn, 1998): 240.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph A. Rodriguez, "Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center," (unpublished history of the Roberto Hernandez Center, UW Milwaukee, 2005): 7, accessed April 19, 2017 [https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view).

1970, sit-ins and hunger strikes by the Council for the Education of Latin Americans (CELA) led to the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute, in 1971.

However, UW-Milwaukee administrators had been considering the implications of urban racial migration and inequality in the city prior to student, faculty and community pressure. The University's early concern with educational access for the state's black residents influenced the creation of the Institute of Human Relations. It is unclear precisely when the Institute was created, but most of the correspondence from the Institute began in the mid-1960s. The Institute of Human Relations was concerned with issues regarding poverty and race. In its first years of existence, its primary function was to raise money from private donors and foundations as well as apply for federal funds to support academic and community programs for students of color.

The Institute of Human Relations predated the Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. Although its aim was noble, the Institute functioned without input from the community it purported to serve. The programs funded by the Institute were coordinated by UW-Milwaukee staff and at times lacked any connection to low-income residents or people of color. Correspondence regarding program participants described youth of color as lacking the "motivation or aptitude" to succeed at UW-Milwaukee.<sup>13</sup> Within two years, the director of the Institute stepped down. It was then coordinated by faculty members interested in race and poverty.

While under the leadership of the faculty, the Institute lacked financial and administrative support from UW-Milwaukee. It became a university clearinghouse where faculty, staff and

---

<sup>13</sup> Proposal for funding inner city visitations from Doris Ann Stacy to Dr. Charles Vevier, May 31, 2017, box 17 folder 3, Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

students came together to exchange ideas. After attending an Institute of Human Relations meeting, a group of students began to pressure the University administration to become more responsive to the needs of black students.<sup>14</sup> At the meeting, the students communicated their displeasure with a project proposal to bring inner city youth to campus. The students felt the proposal was inadequate and requested the opportunity to present their own proposal. After the students received advice from UW-Milwaukee staff regarding developing programs for youth of color, the group of students generated a proposal for a Black Student Union. This proposal led to negotiations with UW-Milwaukee administrators and eventually formed the basis for the Center for Afro-American Culture. Similarly, prior to demands for a Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute, faculty affiliated with the Human Relations Institute advocated for an educational outreach center in the Milwaukee community.<sup>15</sup>

This historical case study focuses on the creation of the Institute for Human Relations, the Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. These three university entities represent an evolution of class-and race-based policy development at UW-Milwaukee between 1965 and 1971. There is limited literature regarding the historical development of programs that served to racially integrate UW-Milwaukee. Much of the existing literature was written by University administrators such as former Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche and lacks a critical perspective. Literature written by non-administrators focuses on institutional change at the community level and student activism. There is room in the literature for critical

---

<sup>14</sup> Memo from Dean of Student records to Chancellor Klotsche, May 29, 1968, box 8 folder 40, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs Records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>15</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, 1967-68, April 18, 1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

research that considers the institutional response to student activism and the evolutionary nature of policy development.

In *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee: An Urban University*, former Chancellor and Professor of History J. Martin Klotsche described UW-Milwaukee's response to the low-numbers of black students attending the university in the late 1960s. In 1968, Klotsche created a special position in the Chancellor's office to focus on educational opportunity. He appointed Ernest Spaight, a faculty member in the School of Education, to recruit and retain young people from disadvantaged backgrounds.<sup>16</sup> According to Klotsche, Spaight worked to increase the enrollment of disadvantaged students by directing the Experimental Program in Higher Education (EPHE).<sup>17</sup> Initiated in the fall of 1968, the program admitted students who did not meet the normal admissions requirements and provided them with support services such as academic counseling and tutoring. The program was funded in part by the U.S. Office of Education and was described by Klotsche as successful in its aims.<sup>18</sup>

Missing from Klotsche's description were the political, social and financial influences that motivated UW-Milwaukee to take action and increase the enrollment of black and low-income students in the late 1960s. Klotsche's book does not discuss the institutional factors that led to low numbers of minority and low-income enrollment in the first place and instead focuses on the high attrition rate of black students. In this manner he moved attention from potential institutional barriers to perceived individual shortcomings. His narrative highlighted the actions

---

<sup>16</sup>J. Martin Klotsche, *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee: An Urban University* (Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1972), 87.

<sup>17</sup> Klotsche, *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*, 87.

<sup>18</sup> Klotsche, *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*, 87.

taken by administrators like himself to increase enrollment without community engagement or financial incentives from the federal government.<sup>19</sup>

Historian Mark Braun provides a well-researched and exceptionally detailed account of Milwaukee's Community Action Programs (CAPs) during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Braun argues the federal government supported the leadership of CAPs by Milwaukee County residents living in poverty. The Milwaukee County CAPs "empowered the poor by increasing their access to legal counsel, financial services, programming for the aged, leadership training, and employment."<sup>20</sup> The majority of Braun's dissertation focuses on the positive social benefits community-led CAPS provided to Latinos and African-Americans in Milwaukee County. Braun's work describes the experiences of black and Latino residents and CAPs, but he builds the strongest connection between Latino activism in the city and agitation for higher education access at UW-Milwaukee.

According to Braun, social action—in the form of demonstrations, federal financial support to low-income communities and mutual aid societies—played a central role in helping Latinos and African-Americans access employment and educational opportunities. Additionally, Braun argues the strength of political action coalitions was instrumental in generating social change in business and education. Latino leadership of El Centro, a federally-supported credit union in Milwaukee, provided a space for Latino residents to develop social capital<sup>21</sup> through networks among people of varying education levels. Braun suggests that Latinos and Hispanics with college degrees working in Latino communities inspired low-income residents to pursue

---

<sup>19</sup> Klotsche, *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*, 87.

<sup>20</sup> Mark Braun, "Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor: Poverty Representation in Milwaukee's Community Action Programs, 1964-1972" (PhD diss., UW-Milwaukee, 1999), iv.

<sup>21</sup> For the definition of social capital see Nan Lin and John Smith, eds., *Social Capital* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 19.

higher education. More importantly, Latino residents with established well-paying employment<sup>22</sup> pressured UW-Milwaukee, to increase access to more Latino and Hispanic students. Braun draws a direct connection between El Centro Credit Union's assistant manager Esquiel Guzman and El Centro's board of directors' Armando Orellano with the Latin American Union for Civil Rights (LAUCR).<sup>23</sup> LAUCR was one of the political coalitions that advocated for the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute at UW-Milwaukee.

Braun draws tangible connections between federally funded anti-poverty organizations such as El Centro and political coalitions that influenced policy change at UW-Milwaukee. But his research focuses more on activism at the community level instead of the university level. Professor of History and Urban Studies Joseph Rodriguez, in his paper "Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernández Center," provides a deeper account of Latino-university relations. In the paper, Rodriguez described UW-Milwaukee's mission as an urban university and the institution's perceived responsibility of offering expertise to the community. He argues the urban mission suggested the university could solve urban problems.

Some Latino activists believed university administrators viewed "Latino culture as an urban problem."<sup>24</sup> According to Rodriguez, in 1969 Latino and Spanish speaking students

---

<sup>22</sup> According to Mark Braun, 225, the staff at El Centro Credit Union were paid better salaries than most residents living in the south side near the credit union because jobs with anti-poverty programs were higher paying positions.

<sup>23</sup> Mark Braun, "Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor: Poverty Representation in Milwaukee's Community Action Programs, 1964-1972" (PhD diss., UW-Milwaukee, 1999), 222.

<sup>24</sup> Joseph A. Rodriguez, "Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center," (unpublished history of the Roberto Hernandez Center, UW Milwaukee, 2005): 25, accessed April 19, 2017, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view).

formed the Council for the Education of Latin Americans (CELA). Through CELA, UW-Milwaukee students and community organizers agitated for a UW-Milwaukee institute on the South Side; a GED program; an ESL program on campus and increased Latino enrollment and financial aid.<sup>25</sup> Although differences are drawn between the development, implementation and outcomes of the UW-Milwaukee black and Latino student protests, Rodriguez's paper provides an insightful history of local campus movements during the late 1960s.

The most comprehensive account of social activism at UW-Milwaukee between 1967 and 1968 is provided by J. Martin Klotsche in *Confessions of an Educator: My Personal and Professional Memories in Milwaukee*. Published in 1985, the book was the first to explore racial integration at UW-Milwaukee. Klotsche describes the administration's response to the low-numbers of African-American, Latino and Native American students enrolled at UW-Milwaukee in the late 1960s. African-American students represented the largest group of students of color on campus in 1967 and the largest in Milwaukee County. Prior to receiving demands for a Black Student Union, Klotsche described hiring Richard Davis to serve as Dean of Students in the School of Education. Through Davis's employment, Klotsche hoped to give the School of Education a "strong urban stance."<sup>26</sup> Beginning in 1965 UW-Milwaukee received federal anti-poverty funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to run several programs. Some of the OEO-funded programs included a training center for Head Start teachers in the School of Education; an Upward Bound program to support students of color and low-income

---

<sup>25</sup> Rodriguez, "Latinos at UWM," 13.

<sup>26</sup> J. Martin Klotsche, *Confessions of an Educator* (Milwaukee, WI: University of Milwaukee, 1985), 286.

students in their first years of undergraduate work and a National Teachers Corps unit to prepare non-education majors to teach in inner city schools.<sup>27</sup>

Klotsche provides detailed accounts of the sit-ins, petitions and protests that led to the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture, the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and resources for Native Americans. However, Klotsche's prose and its occasionally pejorative tone distract from the amount of detail he offers. When describing members of Milwaukee's black community, Klotsche simply refers to them as "the blacks." It seems he viewed black residents living in the state as a monolithic group of people with similar experiences and demands of the university. The Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Institute are described as relevant to UW-Milwaukee's urban university identity. Yet, Klotsche does not provide an explanation as to the university's definition of an urban institution or how it connected with black, Latino and Native American communities or potential students.

All of the programs discussed in Klotsche's chapter "Minorities Gain Attention" were established between 1965 and 1971. Klotsche does not offer an explanation for the unprecedented growth of opportunities for students of color at UW-Milwaukee between the late 1960 and early 1970s. In the first few paragraphs of the chapter, Klotsche suggests African-Americans were excluded from economic and political opportunities prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Yet Klotsche did not tie the acts themselves specifically to changes at UW-Milwaukee. He offered examples of financial support UW-Milwaukee received from the Office of Economic Opportunity and the US Department of Education to address the problem of "talent waste" during the late 1960s and early 1970s, but he

---

<sup>27</sup> Klotsche, *Confessions of an Educator*, 287.



downplayed the federal government's policy initiatives and focused on the actions of University administrators in creating programs to support urban initiatives.

The lack of information provided regarding federal policy initiatives and the relationship with state institutions like UW-Milwaukee and accessibility for black, Latino and Native American students is problematic. Klotsche described the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute within a short time frame. Klotsche does not attempt to explain the speed of their development. In regards to the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute, he acknowledged UW-Milwaukee representatives had prior relationships with Latino leaders from the South Side of Milwaukee, but he did not elaborate on the type of relationships that existed. Having more information about the interaction between UW-Milwaukee and black and Latino communities prior to student and community agitation would have added depth and clarity to the narrative.

Klotsche was diplomatic in his approach and at the end of the narrative acknowledged that "universities were slow to realize that the problems blacks and other minorities encountered were the result of a university conditioned by white, middle class values."<sup>28</sup> However, he presented a narrative focused on the shortcoming of low-income students, most of them black, and the strength of the university in attempting to remedy their perceived cultural and academic concerns.

In contrast to Klotsche's interpretation, this thesis provides a critical historical case study and explores events that led to the Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. These structures increased the enrollment of black and Spanish speaking students. I argue the relationship between public higher education institutions and financial

---

<sup>28</sup> Klotsche, *Confessions of an Educator*, 287.

support from federal and private grants was equally important to the narrative of higher education racial integration as student protests, sympathetic administrators, and an urban institutional framework. The endurance of student activists who engaged in lengthy demonstrations to access increased financial aid and course representation for black, Latino and Hispanic students is only one aspect of institutional change at UW-Milwaukee in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

This thesis follows the evolution of racially inclusive policy changes at UW-Milwaukee from 1965 to 1971. These policy initiatives led to the development of institutes, programs and university centers. They were funded by financial support from the federal War on Poverty and private foundations. The Institute for Human Relations was one of the first administrative entities at UW-Milwaukee to address the concerns of race and poverty. In its first few years of existence the Institute of Human Relations focused primarily on raising money to support programs that connected low-income and black residents in the city of Milwaukee to the University. The Institute attempted to appear “relevant to the issues of race conflict, discrimination and poverty in the city.”<sup>29</sup> The Institute of Human Relations represents the beginning of policy changes at UW-Milwaukee to increase the enrollment of black students at the University. The Institute received limited internal funding and administrative support from the university. The Human Relations Institute may have been created by the University of Wisconsin to attract federal and private grants to support programs concerned with race and poverty. The programs funded by the Institute were reflective of a missionary approach to social concerns. This approach was popularized during the Progressive Era but still had an influence

---

<sup>29</sup> Human Relations Institute Advisory Committee to Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche, April 18, 1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

on the developing University in the 1960s.<sup>30</sup> The University viewed low-income residents and non-white residents as individuals in need of remediation to fit into a dominant paradigm. It addressed educational issues at the individual level and lacked leadership by the people the programs were attempting to serve. The Institute was perceived by students and professors as problematic and ineffective. However, it was successful in bringing UW-Milwaukee faculty together to work around issues of race and poverty in the city of Milwaukee.

The second chapter recounts the development of the Center for Afro-American Culture. Leading to the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture UW-Milwaukee administrators responded to the demands of students from the Black Student Liberation Front. These students agitated for a Black Student Union and student control of all black studies curriculum and support services. The response by UW-Milwaukee administrators represents the second phase of racially inclusive policy development at UW-Milwaukee. UW-Milwaukee administrators worked with black faculty and students to create programs geared towards the recruitment and retention of black students and, to a limited extent, provided black students with influence regarding the creation of the Center. The development of the Center for Afro-American Culture ran parallel to an increase in federal funding to support programs for low-income students and students of color at UW-Milwaukee. Additionally, federal funding often required compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act which outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin.<sup>31</sup> Compliance was regulated by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The

---

<sup>30</sup> For information regarding the Progressive era and the settlement movement see Louise Carroll Wade, "Settlement Houses" *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*, ed. Janice L. Reife, Ann Durkin Keating, and James R. Grossman (Chicago Historical Society, 2005): Accessed April 10, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1135.html>.

<sup>31</sup> Martha J. Bailey and Nicolas J. Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity," *The Journal of Economic History* vol. 74, issue 2 (June 2014): 360.

federal government's regulation encouraged leadership by low-income, black and Latino residents in the implementation of education and employment programs created to increase their economic opportunities. The involvement of UW-Milwaukee students in the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture signaled a break from the approach taken by the Institute for Human Relations, which developed programs without direct input or leadership from the community it was attempting to serve.

The third chapter recounts the activism in Wisconsin and Milwaukee County during the late 1960s that generated intellectual and physical capital for Milwaukee's Latino and Hispanic social service organizations. The social and physical capital that the social service agencies accumulated provided a strong base to influence policy at UW-Milwaukee. The chapter focuses on the experiences of Jesus Salas as a migrant labor organizer, a leader in Milwaukee's South side social services agencies and a student organizer at UW-Milwaukee. The student and community activism which led to the creation of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute at UW-Milwaukee represents the third phase of racial policy development. The Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute was developed directly in response to demands from Milwaukee residents and UW-Milwaukee students.

The evolution of policy regarding UW-Milwaukee's urban mission and racial integration during the late 1960s and early 1970s illustrates the social, political and economic factors that contribute to institutional change. During the late 1960s UW-Milwaukee's urban mission assisted the university in gaining federal funding for urban anti-poverty initiatives. The University accepted federal funding and implemented programs to increase recruitment and

retention of low-income students and students of color. However, funding priorities have changed since Johnson's Great Society era.

The legacy of the Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute remains but has evolved with time. In the fall of 1971-1972 the Center for Afro-American Culture was authorized as a degree-granting department and housed in the College of Letters and Science.<sup>32</sup> In 1971, UW-Milwaukee's department of Afro-American studies became a degree granting program.<sup>33</sup> In 1980 the department established a BA degree program and in 1986 it offered a minor in Afro-American Studies.<sup>34</sup> The department is currently titled the Department of Africology. It was renamed in 1994 to reflect the international nature of the African diaspora. Africology received approval to confer PhD's by the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents in 2008 and accepted its first cohort in 2010.

The Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute has a contemporary presence as the Roberto Hernández Center. In the 1995-1996 academic year, the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute merged with the Latino Certificate Program (LSCP) and LSAS advising services.<sup>35</sup> Through this merger the Roberto Hernández Center was created. The development and sustainability of academic and support centers such as the Department of Africology and the Roberto Hernández Center came about due to the willingness of administrators to involve student and community

---

<sup>32</sup> Planned Program Changes 1971-1972, undated, box 1 folder 17, UW-Milwaukee Department of Africology records 1968-2011, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>33</sup> "Africology History," University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/africology/home/africology-history/>.

<sup>34</sup> "Africology History," University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/africology/home/africology-history/>.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph A. Rodriguez, "Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center," (unpublished history of the Roberto Hernandez Center, UW Milwaukee, 2005): 37, accessed April 19, 2017, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view).

members in the development of programs and departments. Negotiations that led to the creation of these university entities were powerful. Providing higher education access for low-income students and students of color has a great value to the state of Wisconsin. Although much of the willingness on the part of the University to act in the 1960s was catalyzed by financial incentives from the federal government, the educational opportunities created were important to the state. An exploration of what made the urban focus of the university important and why the state has a UW campus with an access and an urban research mission, can be of great value to current UW-Milwaukee administrators. This thesis provides information to begin to grapple with these questions as Wisconsin's political higher education landscape changes.

## CHAPTER ONE

### The Human Relations Institute: A Top Down Approach to Racial Integration

## CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1967, Vice Chancellor Charles Vevier brought together a group of professors interested in researching issues related to poverty and race in Milwaukee. The group was initially referred to as the “poverty and race group.”<sup>1</sup> The poverty and race group served as an advisory body to the Human Relations Institute—a University entity concerned with increasing the enrollment and retention of black students at UW-Milwaukee. At first the poverty and race group was willing to assist with the work of the Human Relations Institute. Yet in the spring of 1968, the committee of professors sent a memo to UW-Milwaukee Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche which described over a year of meetings, unfilled projects, and hollow promises to people living in extreme poverty in Milwaukee as well as other members of the academy.<sup>2</sup> The “hodge-podge” of successful projects developed by the committee were described as having little effect on the “community or the internal life of the university.”<sup>3</sup> The frustration, resentment and resignation communicated by the unidentified author—presumably a professor on the committee—is palpable.

After what appeared to be two years of work contributing to the Human Relations Institute, the ad-hoc committee of faculty threatened the Chancellor with their formal resignations unless financial support for the Institute was provided. The memo declared “[we] are at one of those always difficult ‘moments of truth’ that test everyone concerned for the reality

---

<sup>1</sup> Human Relations Institute Advisory Committee to Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche, April 18, 1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>2</sup> Advisory Committee to Chancellor, April 18, 1968, Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.

<sup>3</sup> Advisory Committee to Chancellor, April 18, 1968, Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.



of commitment that lies behind their words.”<sup>4</sup> The eloquence of the memo is equally important as its timing. Funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity was reported to have doubled in the 1968-1969 academic year from the previous year.<sup>5</sup> In the 1968-1969 Gifts, Grants and Contracts report, Chancellor Klotsche praised the work of the applied fields of social concern which reflected the urban nature of the university, and increased funding to the university.<sup>6</sup> It is unclear what accounts for the lack of financial support for a committee invested in issues of urban social concern.

To understand what appeared to be a contradiction of words and actions regarding urban social issues and financial support, it is important to explore the brief history of UW-Milwaukee’s Institute of Human Relations from 1965-1969. Based on current research the impetus from the Institute and the year it was established are unclear. The bulk of the initial correspondence began in 1965 and was written by Lawrence Howard. Howard is presumed to be the first director of the Institute. In 1966 Howard resigned from his position and a group of faculty was appointed to coordinate the efforts of the Institute and locate a new director. The Institute was coordinated by faculty until Victor Hoffman was hired as the second director and Dan Burrell as the assistant director, during the 1968-1969 academic year.<sup>7</sup> In 1970, Dan Burrell moved to the position of director, and Victor Hoffman was no longer associated with the

---

<sup>4</sup> Advisory Committee to Chancellor, April 18, 1968, Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.

<sup>5</sup> 1968-69 Gifts, Grants, and Contracts, Accepted by the Board of Regents, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, August 4, 1969, series 1/1/7, University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives Department.

<sup>6</sup> 1968-69 Gifts, Grants, and Contracts, August 4, 1969, University of Wisconsin Board of Regents.

<sup>7</sup> Wisconsin State Universities System Board of Regents, *Recommended Operating Budget for the Wisconsin State Universities, 1968-1969* (Madison: WI, The Board of Regents, 1968), 509.

Institute.<sup>8</sup> In less than a year, Burrell transferred to the directorship of the Center for Afro-American Culture. After his transition, UW-Milwaukee administrators proposed to discontinue the Institute of Human Relations.

Although the mission of the Institute of Human Relations seemed humanitarian in its aims as it was focused on addressing Milwaukee's urban poverty, the university used the Institute to raise money and appear "relevant to the critical issues of race conflict, discrimination, and poverty."<sup>9</sup> The various iterations of the Institute provide a context to understand the transitory and fluid nature of UW-Milwaukee's higher educational programs. These programs were developed to address the needs of underserved populations, generally urban residents with limited income or access to economic and political positions of power. The Human Relations Institute represented UW-Milwaukee's first attempt to address the limited enrollment and retention of black and low-income students at UW-Milwaukee. At first the Institute was managed and directed by University administrators, which generated a hierarchical path of change, focused primarily on raising money and appearing relevant without connecting to people living in the city of Milwaukee. Within a few years, the Institute was coordinated by faculty and a connection was built with Milwaukee residents through community projects. However, faculty involved with the Institute criticized administrators for failing to provide financial support to maintain the Institute's work. Projects developed through the Institute for Human Relations

---

<sup>8</sup> Wisconsin State Universities System Board of Regents, *Recommended Operating Budget for the Wisconsin State Universities, 1970-1971* (Madison: WI, The Board of Regents, 1970), 485-486.

<sup>9</sup> Human Relations Institute Advisory Committee to Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche, April 18, 1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

finally gained support and traction due to the advocacy and direct action organizing of UW-Milwaukee students, and community organizations in the late 1960s.

### **Theory of Human Relations**

The work of UW-Milwaukee's Human Relations Institute was similar in nature to Milwaukee Mayor Frank Zeidler's work on race and poverty during the mid-1950s. Zeidler created the city's Commission on Human Rights, which called for the remolding of the behavior of black migrants through education. In the book, *More Than One Struggle*, Jack Dougherty states that Zeidler believed "the roots of Milwaukee's racial crisis could be traced back to racism and greed."<sup>10</sup> Yet Zeidler, concerned with his political popularity, shifted his attention away from the structural aspects of inequality towards the individual aspects of behavior modification through education.<sup>11</sup> During this time period, the city and several community organizations promoted the ideas of economic and social equality but frequently focused on what were perceived as the inherent deficiencies of black southern migrants.

In 1954, Mayor Zeidler chaired the city's Commission on Human Rights. The Commission compiled and implemented trainings programs for Milwaukee police officers. One of the training pamphlets was titled "A Guide to Understanding Race and Human Relations" and was circulated outside the police department by the Commission. The training document focused on uprooting prejudice and the psychological aspects of bigotry through self-awareness of one's prejudice and self-knowledge regarding the impact personal self-esteem and aggression had towards others. It urged police officers to realize "that there are just as many different kinds

---

<sup>10</sup> Jack Dougherty, *More than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee* (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina Press, 2004), 57.

<sup>11</sup> Dougherty, *More than One Struggle*, 57.

of Negroes as there are different kinds of policemen.”<sup>12</sup> It argued, that until this point was understood by the Milwaukee police force, they would not be able to make intelligent decisions in their interactions with the public.

Although the training manual advocated for the equality of races, it did not discourage aggressive behavior based on the racist stereotypes it highlighted. The middle section of the pamphlet reviewed federal and local statues that protected the rights of people based on race and nationality. The pamphlet developed by the police department illustrated the city’s awkward attempt to fulfill federal and local civil rights legislation without disrupting the status quo. During the late 1960s Mayor Henry Maier utilized a similar philosophy in addressing racial discrimination. According to historian Ariana Horn, Maier was committed to employing the theory of human relations to address issues of race and conflict in the city of Milwaukee.<sup>13</sup>

Drawing from the theory of human relations, Maier believed communication and understanding would lead white citizen to voluntarily desegregate neighborhoods and schools, because they would understand prejudice was harmful.<sup>14</sup> In October of 1965, Maier began an “intensive, year-long experimental program” his goal was to change the distorted image “that some people have of members of minority groups.”<sup>15</sup> Maier titled his campaign “War on Prejudice.”<sup>16</sup> The War on Prejudice avoided addressing institutional factors that created

---

<sup>12</sup> The Milwaukee Police Department for Instructional Purposes, “A Guide to Understanding Race and Human Relations” (Milwaukee, 1954), 8.

<sup>13</sup> Ariana Horn, “Paved with Good Intentions: The Rise and Fall of the ‘Human Relations’ Movement in Milwaukee, 1934-1980,” (PhD diss., UW-Madison, 2015), 179.

<sup>14</sup> Horn, “Paved with Good Intentions, 179.

<sup>15</sup> Patrick Jones, *The Selma of the North* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 76.

<sup>16</sup> Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 76.

economic and educational inequality and instead focused on interpersonal relationships. Its main feature was a “voluntary public relations campaign to create a new civic attitude on race.”<sup>17</sup>

Similar in nature to the War on Prejudice, between the 1950s and the 1970s the theory of human relations located economic and political violence at the individual level instead of the institutional level. It was employed as a social remedy to address the outcomes of institutionalized racism and classism that were creating social and political unrest in several cities across the nation including Milwaukee. It was rooted in the concept of pluralism in which “no single explanatory system or view of reality can account for all the phenomena of life.”<sup>18</sup> In the book *Mapping Multiculturalism*, Avery Gordon and Christopher Newfield suggest pluralism in the United States has been translated into *e pluribus unum*, in which multiple groups are subsumed into a single whole.<sup>19</sup> Although in theory pluralism supports the idea of equality and respect for difference, in reality, it is used as a rhetorical device to affirm the concerns of oppressed citizens without disrupting the mechanisms of oppression.

In a similar manner, UW-Milwaukee’s Institute of Human Relations attempted to remedy educational inequality, as evidenced by low enrollment of black students, without acknowledging the roots of the inequality. The Institute had limited connections to school desegregation organizations in the city. In the first few years of the Institute’s existence, it supported programs that were led by people often disconnected from Milwaukee’s low-income residents and non-white residents. The University attempted to increase the enrollment of black students without addressing racism and educational inequality on campus and in the city.

---

<sup>17</sup> Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 76.

<sup>18</sup> Avery Gordon, Christopher Newfield, “Multiculturalism’s Unfinished Business,” in *Mapping Multiculturalism*, edited by Avery Gordon and Christopher Newfield (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 81.

<sup>19</sup> Gordon and Newfield, “Multiculturalism’s Unfinished Business,” 81.

## **UW-Milwaukee Research & Community Engagement**

Creating a balance between community needs and the University's focus on research presented a challenge for UW-Milwaukee. UW-Milwaukee developed through a merger between the Wisconsin State College and the Milwaukee University of Wisconsin Extension.<sup>20</sup> It was the first campus transferred from the State College System to the University of Wisconsin System and was authorized by the legislature in 1956. As a member of the University of Wisconsin System, UW-Milwaukee was expected to uphold the community-engaged traditions established by the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison has been dedicated to community education since the establishment of UW-Extension in the 1800s. In 1862, the federal government provided a grant of land to each state, through the Morrill Act. The federal land was sold by the state and the proceeds were used to create colleges. The colleges served the educational and technical needs of the state.<sup>21</sup> UW-Madison's College of Agriculture was established in 1889, through funding from the Morrill Act. It included the Wisconsin Agriculture Experimentation Station and the Farm and Industry Short Course, which was the precursor to Cooperative Extension.<sup>22</sup>

In the early 1900s, under the direction of President Charles Van Hise, the University of Wisconsin cultivated educational relationships outside the campus community including the state government. Van Hise believed in the institutional power of a public university and the positive impact it could have on the state. In a 1903 speech, Van Hise declared, "I shall never be content

---

<sup>20</sup> Martin Klotsche, *The Urban University* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 14.

<sup>21</sup> Kern Alexander and David Alexander, *American Public School Law* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2012), 79.

<sup>22</sup> "History," College of Agriculture & Life Sciences University of Wisconsin-Madison, accessed April 9, 2017, <http://www.cals.wisc.edu/about-cals/history/>.

until the beneficent influence of the University reaches every home in the state.”<sup>23</sup> The extension work of the University of Wisconsin in the late 1800s and early 1900s and the philosophy regarding the university’s commitment to the state and its citizens was later termed the “Wisconsin Idea” by Charles McCarthy, the state’s legislative librarian.<sup>24</sup> Although UW-Madison cultivated the Wisconsin Idea, it permeated all the schools in the system including UW-Milwaukee. Implementation of the Wisconsin Idea was often made possible by external support from the federal government and private foundations.

External support, especially private funding to the University of Wisconsin, was once highly controversial. During the 1930s the UW-Madison Medical School rejected private funding from the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>25</sup> During this era, progressives guided the university and viewed foundation money as tainted.<sup>26</sup> It was not until E.B. Fred was president of UW-Madison between 1945 and 1958 that the University of Wisconsin began accepting foundation money. President Fred viewed financial support from foundations as an opportunity to do something good with tainted money.<sup>27</sup>

During the 1950s due to the work of Professor Fred Harrington, Special Assistant to the President, the University of Wisconsin began aggressively seeking foundation support. Harrington proved politically aware of the technical aspects of attracting foundation funding to UW-Madison. In 1957 with funding from the Brittingham Family Foundation, he recruited and

---

<sup>23</sup> “History of the Wisconsin Idea,” The University of Wisconsin-Madison, accessed December 15, 2015, <https://wisconsinidea.wisc.edu/history-of-the-wisconsin-idea/>

<sup>24</sup> “History of the Wisconsin Idea,” The University of Wisconsin-Madison, accessed December 15, 2015, <https://wisconsinidea.wisc.edu/history-of-the-wisconsin-idea/>

<sup>25</sup> Fred Harrington, interview by Laura Smail, 1985, fifth interview of six, transcript, Oral History Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>26</sup> Fred Harrington, 1985, Oral History Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

<sup>27</sup> Fred Harrington, 1985, Oral History Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

hired Professor of Political Science Coleman Woodbury.<sup>28</sup> Woodbury formally served as the Ford Foundation's key advisor on urban affairs. He was appointed director of urban research at UW-Madison. In 1959, Harrington, eager to continue the growth of the university's urban affairs focus, appointed Woodbury to negotiate with the Ford Foundation in securing a one-million-dollar grant on urban research.<sup>29</sup> Harrington was successful and the Ford Foundation provided the University of Wisconsin with a million dollars a year for several years, which enabled UW-Milwaukee to establish an Urban Affairs Department.<sup>30</sup>

In the 1950s, the University of Wisconsin wanted to expand its extension and research focus to include the concerns of people living in the cities. In correspondence with Ford Foundation Director of Public Affairs Dr. Paul Ylvisaker, University of Wisconsin Vice President Fred Harrington described the value of connecting the Wisconsin Idea to urban concerns.<sup>31</sup> In addition to an institutional philosophy that valued a connection between the university and the community that surrounded it, Harrington noted the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee's growing commitment to the Urban Affairs field. Between 1956 and 1959, UW-Milwaukee recruited two new professors in Political Science and Sociology with a focus on urban issues.<sup>32</sup> According to University of Wisconsin records Harrington acknowledged the urban work of professors in geography, law, sociology, civil engineering, history, and economics

---

<sup>28</sup> E. David Cronon and John W. Jenkins, *The University of Wisconsin: A History 1945-1971: Renewal to Revolution* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 310.

<sup>29</sup> Cronon and Jenkins, *The University of Wisconsin*, 310.

<sup>30</sup> Fred Harrington, interview by Laura Smail, 1985, fifth interview of six, transcript, Oral History Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>31</sup> Fred Harvey Harrington to Dr. Paul Ylvisaker, October 23, 1959, box 1 folder 3, UW-Milwaukee Dept. of Urban Affairs Records, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>32</sup> Harrington to Ylvisaker, October 23, UW-Milwaukee Dept. of Urban Studies records 1956-2011.



with an interest in continued growth of their work. The financial relationship with the Ford Foundation provided fruitful. In 1963, UW-Milwaukee grew the Urban Affairs Department and developed a Master's program.<sup>33</sup> In 1977 a doctoral program with an interdepartmental PhD degree was offered.<sup>34</sup>

The growth of UW-Milwaukee's Urban Affairs department and Chancellor Klotsche's public celebration of UW-Milwaukee's urban identity supported the establishment of a urban university engaged with the community. In the article "The Land-Grant Analogy and the American Urban University: An Historical Analysis," Steven Diner suggests the idea of an urban university was established in the early 1920s. It was deeply rooted in the agrarian story of the land grant analogy. The land grant movement positioned universities as drivers of agricultural industry through community education. During the Progressive era, urban universities were invested in ameliorating social problems generated by urbanization through community engagement. At the Association of Urban Universities' first meeting, the president of the University of Cincinnati, Charles William Dabney, encouraged urban universities "to organize the study of the city's problems."<sup>35</sup> Diner proposed that Dabney was one of the first of many to connect the development of urban universities to the past vision of community engaged land-grant institutions. The role of the urban University was to study the problems of the city and engage with the community, not to address the root causes of the problems.

---

<sup>33</sup> "50 Years of Making Positive Contributions to Urban Communities," Urban Studies Programs, accessed April 9, 2017, <https://uwm.edu/urban-studies/research/usp-50th-anniversary/>.

<sup>34</sup> "50 Years of Making Positive Contributions to Urban Communities," Urban Studies Programs, accessed April 9, 2017, <https://uwm.edu/urban-studies/research/usp-50th-anniversary/>.

<sup>35</sup> Steven J. Diner, "The Land-Grant Analogy and the American Urban University: A Historical Analysis," *Metropolitan Universities*, no. 3 (March, 2013), 61.

Many scholars cast the rhetoric of land-grant universities as an idyllic partnership between research and action, leading to economic development and education for the people. Diner proposed the philosophical base of land grant universities was more nuanced than often described by educational scholarship. He suggested urban universities deal with an internal conflict between the “ivory tower” and pragmatic research generated by the land grant philosophy. UW-Milwaukee similarly struggled with its identity as an urban research university. In the book *The Urban University* Klotsche argued, “The urban university must not, however, become so committed to the affairs of the city that the purpose for which it exists will be compromised.”<sup>36</sup> In the first few years of the Institute for Human Relations’ existence, the University attempted to maintain a distance from the affairs of the city while meeting the needs of black and low-income students living in Milwaukee.

### **The Human Relations Institute Phase-I**

The introduction of the Human Relations Institute provided a university entity to approach urban concerns. The initial vision of the Institute was described as a means to address “minority problems.”<sup>37</sup> It was part of a special project assigned to UW-Madison administrator, Donald R. McNeil.<sup>38</sup> In a May 1964 *Milwaukee Journal* article Donald R. McNeil was interviewed regarding “college and the Negro.” McNeil highlighted the importance of new programs such as the Human Relations Institute due to the very low numbers of black students

---

<sup>36</sup> Martin Klotsche, *The Urban University* (New York, New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 29.

<sup>37</sup> Charles Vevier to Chancellor Klotsche September 3, 1965, box 17 folder 30, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Chancellor Records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>38</sup> “Colleges and the Negro,” *The Milwaukee Journal*, May 10, 1964.

attending UW-Madison and UW-Milwaukee. Based on institutional estimates, out of the 24, 275 students attending UW-Madison, fewer than 100 students were black.<sup>39</sup>

The development of the Human Relations Institute may have been a response to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (EOA) and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). Both laws were part of the Johnson administration's War on Poverty. The War on Poverty was inspired in part by Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma* (1944) and Michael Harrington's *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (1962).<sup>40</sup> Poverty became a central aspect of both domestic and international policy during the 1960s as the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States intensified. Education and employment became focal points of federal policy which attempted to increase the economic growth rate of the United States.<sup>41</sup>

The administration's inclination towards growth politics combined with the international pressure from the Cold War generated justification to "consolidate national domestic policymaking power in the executive branch and, to the extent possible, in the Executive Office of the President itself."<sup>42</sup> Domestic labor and education policy were implemented through presidential task forces that directly engaged citizens through local community action projects and county non-profit agencies.<sup>43</sup> One of the Institute for Human Relations' goals might have been

---

<sup>39</sup> "Colleges and the Negro," *The Milwaukee Journal*, May 10, 1964.

<sup>40</sup> Joel Spring, *The American School: A Global Context from the Puritans to the Obama Era* (New York, New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011), 371.

<sup>41</sup> Robert M. Collins, "Growth Liberalism in the Sixties: Great Societies at Home and Grand Designs Abroad," in *The Sixties from Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 24.

<sup>42</sup> Sar A. Levitan, *The Great Society's Poor Law: A New Approach to Poverty* (Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), 2.

<sup>43</sup> Levitan, *The Great Society's Poor Law*, 2.

to connect UW-Milwaukee to community action projects as a means to access federal money distributed through the executive branch.

Community action projects were funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).<sup>44</sup> The OEO was responsible for creating and coordinating government anti-poverty programs.<sup>45</sup> It was established by the Equal Opportunity Act and was central to Johnson's Great Society programs. The Great Society programs were generated to ameliorate the economic and educational exclusion of US citizens living in poverty. Funding provided by the EOA was administered directly to local private and nonprofit organizations to allow the federal government to circumvent *de jure* and *de facto* racial and economic exclusionary practices.<sup>46</sup> At this time racism was viewed as a driver of poverty and inequality throughout the country. In the article "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity," Martha Baily and Nicolas Duquette argue an important component of the War on Poverty was an assault on racial discrimination. Funds were withheld from programs that failed to comply with the Civil Rights Act and organizational compliance was closely monitored by the OEO.<sup>47</sup>

The Human Relations Institute's focus on minority problems with the objective of increasing opportunities for black students at UW-Milwaukee was in line with the larger goals of the Great Society programs and Johnson's War on Poverty.<sup>48</sup> UW-Milwaukee's initial action

---

<sup>44</sup> Martha J. Bailey and Nicolas J. Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity," *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 74, issue 2 (June 2014): 355.

<sup>45</sup> Bailey and Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty," 355.

<sup>46</sup> Bailey and Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty," 353.

<sup>47</sup> Bailey and Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty," 355.

<sup>48</sup> Charles Vevier to Chancellor Klotsche September 3, 1965, box 17 folder 30, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

regarding the Institute was to hire a director, Lawrence Howard. In the first year of his tenure Howard spent time learning about various programs for racial minorities at UW-Milwaukee and Madison.<sup>49</sup> He was very interested in local politics, often to the apprehension of university administrators. A clipping from an undated newspaper article described Howard's involvement in a freedom school planning committee for an October boycott with the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee's (MUSIC) board. MUSIC was an umbrella organization that coordinated community actions, such as school boycotts to eliminate segregation in Milwaukee's public schools during the mid-1960s.<sup>50</sup> The article most likely referenced MUSIC's second school boycott on October 18, 1965. During the October boycott 7,000 students missed school and dozens of people picketed the Milwaukee Public School's administration building.<sup>51</sup> In the article, Marilyn Morheuser, the executive coordinator of MUSIC, stated she "anticipated participation from UW and UWM faculty as well as some financial support from the university."<sup>52</sup>

Based on current research it is unclear if UW-Milwaukee faculty participated in the school boycott. However, there is documentation that Howard's direct supervisor Vice Chancellor Charles Vevier was displeased with the possible promise of financial support to the boycott. In a sternly written memo from Vevier, Howard was questioned for having committed

---

<sup>49</sup> Meeting with Larry Howard and Charles Vevier in Milwaukee, box 17 folder 30, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>50</sup> "Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC)," UWM Libraries March on Milwaukee, accessed April 9, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/marchonmilwaukee/keyterms/music/>.

<sup>51</sup> Patrick Jones, *The Selma of the North* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 76.

<sup>52</sup> Undated clipping, "Freedom Schools May Be Continued," box 17 folder 30, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

funding without consulting Vevier.<sup>53</sup> Howard responded to Vevier in a memo explaining he was not aware of any funding offered to MUSIC by the university.<sup>54</sup> The tone of the memo was relaxed, yet the exchange highlighted the limited amount of trust Vevier had in Howard and his work with the Institute. Vevier assumed Howard had promised funding without consulting the university instead of considering the article might have misquoted Howard.

According to a memo from Donald McNeil and sent to various members of the University's administration, Howard's primary successes regarding the Institute were focused on his ability to raise money to fund various community projects. In the memo, McNeil described Howard's work in trying to raise \$4,000 from the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction as well as applying for grant money from the Uhrig Foundation to support Project Destiny.<sup>55</sup> In the fall of 1964, Klotsche sent a proposal to Howard regarding the University's possible relationship with the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA).<sup>56</sup> Klotsche recommended the University take a central role "in the planning, execution and evaluation of the EOA as it related to the Milwaukee area."<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Charles Vevier to Dr. Lawrence C. Howard, November 22, 1965, box 17 folder 30, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>54</sup> Lawrence C. Howard to Dr. Charles Vevier, November 22, 1965, box 17 folder 30, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>55</sup> Meeting with Larry Howard and Charles Vevier in Milwaukee, box 17 folder 30, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>56</sup> Suggested Action for University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in Connection to Economic Opportunity Act, November 27, 1965, box 1 folder 3, UW-Milwaukee Institute for Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>57</sup> Suggested Action, November 27, 1965, UW-Milwaukee Institute for Human Relations records 1964-1968.

Although Howard interacted with community civil rights leaders, archival records from the Chancellor's Office and the Human Relations Institute indicate a lack of intentionality with respect to the Institute. In the Institute's first two years of existence, it successfully functioned as a clearing house and funded campus programs without becoming directly involved with community projects. Documents concerning the preliminary work of the Institute demonstrated a lack of foresight regarding the mission and function of the Institute. In a memo to Chancellor Klotsche, Donald McNeil and several members of the university administration described a need for the Institute to "decided on a better focus" as well as "develop more plans for the Institute and the University."<sup>58</sup>

In, November of 1966 Howard announced his resignation from the Human Relations Institute and his intention to accept a position as Vice President for expanding opportunities and developing college programs with the Danforth Foundation. There are few surviving records of Howard's direct work with campus or community programs. Much of his work was focused on raising money. In one of his departing correspondence Howard referenced a contract with the U.S. Office of Education to study barriers to employment for nonwhite workers. He concluded his tenure with the Human Relations Institute in September of 1967.<sup>59</sup>

### **The Human Relations Institute-Phase II**

Howard's departure marked the second phase of UW-Milwaukee's Human Relations Institute. During the second phase, the Institute functioned without a director or any formal

---

<sup>58</sup> Meeting with Larry Howard and Charles Vevier in Milwaukee, box 17 folder 30, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>59</sup> Lawrence Howard letter of resignation, November 11, 1966, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute for Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

administration and instead was run by an ad hoc committee of professors who volunteered their time without pay or a decrease in teaching responsibilities. The larger committee broke off into several sub-committees. One of the main focuses of the Institute was to serve as a search and screen committee to identify candidates for the position of director and assistant director.

Professor Harold Rose from the Department of Geography, was elected to be executive secretary of the committee.<sup>60</sup> The second phase of the Human Relations Institute was invested in community action projects coordinated in partnership with the university and community organizations such as the Urban League and the NAACP. Professors such as Milton Huber and Ernest Spaight headed sub-committees focused on Milwaukee CAPs. Other subcommittees were concerned with internal university issues and communication with the larger Milwaukee community.<sup>61</sup>

In a 1968 memo between the Human Relations Institute and Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche, the Institute described several research projects focused on the urban core. The primary project was “Survey of Milwaukee Residents’ Behavior During the ‘Riot’ Situation” in the summer of 1967.<sup>62</sup> The Human Relations Institute provided \$3,500 to aid Professor Jonathan Slesinger’s research but the document notes the majority of research funding came from other sources.<sup>63</sup> An additional research project regarding the behavior and treatment of arrestees

---

<sup>60</sup> The Advisory Sub-Committee to the Institute of Human Relations Meeting Minutes, September 22, 1967, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute for Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>61</sup> The Advisory Sub-Committee Meeting Minutes, September 22, 1967, UW-Milwaukee Institute for Human Relations records 1964-1968.

<sup>62</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, 1967-68, April 18, 1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>63</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, April 18, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.



during the riot was conducted by Professor Karl Flaming and received \$3,500 from the Institute, with additional funding from the Urban League.<sup>64</sup> The Human Relations Institute's most generous grant provided \$5,200 towards graduate assistants as a means to support a research project focused on the "causes and consequences of the racial tension and turbulence in Milwaukee."<sup>65</sup>

The Institute was secondarily invested in the education of University administrators and faculty regarding racial and economic disparities, as well as a continued search for a director and assistant director. The search and screen committee notes described continued selection input provided by "relevant ghetto leaders."<sup>66</sup> It is possible the Human Relations Institute received funding from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Funding from the Act was allocated to colleges and universities to improve educational instruction in all schools.<sup>67</sup> Title I of the Act required that the people planning the educational programs were to be the representative of the people being served.<sup>68</sup> Incorporating the ideas of leaders from areas of the city described as "ghetto" could have been essential to comply with funding mandates.

A recommendation to provide \$4,200 to fund a Human Relations Institute satellite location in the "ghetto,"<sup>69</sup> indicated a change from the earlier work of the Institute in which the

---

<sup>64</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, April 18, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.

<sup>65</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, April 18, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.

<sup>66</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, April 18, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.

<sup>67</sup> "Elementary and Secondary Education Act," LAWS, accessed May, 1<sup>st</sup> 2017, <http://education.laws.com/elementary-and-secondary-education-act>.

<sup>68</sup> Albert L. Alford, "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965: What to Anticipate," *The Phi Delta Kappan* vol. 46, no. 10 (June 1965): 486.

<sup>69</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, 1967-68, April 18, 1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

University was separate from the community in which it resided. The increase of projects with community organizations and the proposal of a satellite location in the city of Milwaukee provided a different approach by the University from studying the problems of the city to engaging with the people of the city. The committee notes recommend that the satellite location be located apart from a University Community Programs Center on 3<sup>rd</sup> Street but could develop in tandem with the Twelfth Street School Project.<sup>70</sup>

The Human Relations Institute Satellite location was first addressed at an Institute Faculty Committee meeting in the winter of 1964.<sup>71</sup> Notes from the presentation indicate the facility was proposed as means for UW-Milwaukee to fulfill its responsibilities to the city's low-income residents. The proposal suggested the University could provide educational access to those living in the inner city while also engaging a co-operative learning opportunity in which the University could learn from the residents of the inner core. The presentation of an urban facility was reminiscent of the Wisconsin Idea. The notes on the presentation were passionate, and the author(s) seemed authentic in their interest to provide for the educational needs of those living in the neglected areas of the city. Yet, the Human Relations Institute was unable to bring the satellite institute to fruition.

### **Human Relations Institute Phase-III**

In the spring of 1968, after almost a year and half without a director or assistant director, the ad hoc group of professors coordinating the Institute of Human Relations Advisory

---

<sup>70</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, April 18, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.

<sup>71</sup> "A Presence (physical facility) for the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Extension in the Inner-core of Milwaukee," February 16, 1964, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

Committee threatened to resign and discontinue their work. In a memo to Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche, the members of the committee wrote “the committee is prepared to enter its collective resignation.”<sup>72</sup> In the memo, faculty coordinating the committee expressed frustration at the lack of support the Institute received. They criticized University Administrators for “proclaiming this institution’s intention to ‘be relevant’ to the critical issues of race, conflict, discrimination, and poverty that threaten to tear apart the fiber of our social order.”<sup>73</sup> Despite the professors’ dedication in time, effort and genuine concern for education access to low-income and black citizens living in Milwaukee, the University failed to provide long-term institutional support. Committee members highlighted the University’s willingness to circulate ideas of the faculty about the Human Relations Institute nationally without actually implementing them. The faculty suggested the administration wanted to use the Institute as a vehicle “to make UWM ‘relevant’ to the problems of race and poverty” in Milwaukee.<sup>74</sup>

Despite the primary roles of the Human Relations Institute to raise money and appear relevant, the time UW-Milwaukee professors dedicated to the Institute increased their awareness of the needs of the people living in the city. The lack of administrative support prompted faculty members to demand the hiring of a director and associate director. In response, Victor Hoffman was hired as the second director and Dan Burrell as the assistant director during the 1968-1969 academic year.<sup>75</sup> In 1970, Dan Burrell moved to the position of director, and Victor Hoffman

---

<sup>72</sup> Human Relations Institute Advisory Committee to Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche, April 18, 1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>73</sup> Human Relations Institute to Chancellor Klotsche, April 18, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.

<sup>74</sup> Human Relations to Chancellor Klotsche, April 18, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.

<sup>75</sup> Wisconsin State Universities System Board of Regents, *Recommended Operating Budget for the Wisconsin State Universities, 1968-1969* (Madison: WI, The Board of Regents, 1968), 509.

was no longer associated with the Institute.<sup>76</sup> In less than a year, Burrell transferred to the directorship of the Center for Afro-American Culture. There is evidence to suggest the Institute created a pipeline for faculty and administrators to support programs led by student and community initiatives. The Center for Afro-American Culture, a department generated by student activism in 1969, was supported by faculty involved with the Human Relations Institute. Similarly, the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute—a University satellite location—was created on Milwaukee’s South Side. The UW-Milwaukee Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute provided English classes, preparation for G.E.D certification, information about educational programs and vocational counseling.<sup>77</sup> It was achieved in part due to the support of UW-Milwaukee staff, students and faculty.

The third phase of the Human Relations Institute highlights the slow evolution of change. The Human Relations Institute records demonstrate the faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee wanted to connect with people of color and low-income people in the Milwaukee community beyond simply studying urban issues. Perhaps an unintended consequence of the Institute was a connection between the University and people living in the city. The attempt by the Human Relations ad-hoc committee to abolish the Institute in 1968, may have assisted in the

---

<sup>76</sup> Wisconsin State Universities System Board of Regents, *Recommended Operating Budget for the Wisconsin State Universities, 1970-1971* (Madison: WI, The Board of Regents, 1970), 485-486.

<sup>77</sup> “A Presence (physical facility) for the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Extension in the Inner-core of Milwaukee,” February 16, 1964, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

transition of what was described as “a false front,”<sup>78</sup> to an agency in support of student and community demands.

---

<sup>78</sup> Human Relations Institute Advisory Committee to Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche, April 18, 1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Center for Afro-American Culture: Faculty and Students Motivate Change

## CHAPTER TWO INTRODUCTION

Student protests were a defining aspect of the 1960s. In 1968 alone, protests occurred in London, Madrid, Mexico City, Paris and Prague. In the United States student demonstrations spread throughout the nation in places such as San Francisco, Chicago and New York. University students at several colleges in Wisconsin participated in demonstrations to increase access and representation for black students. In May of 1968 UW-Milwaukee students met with administrators to advocate for the establishment of a Black Student Union as well as an increase in aid and student services.<sup>1</sup> In the same month Marquette University students staged a sit-in requesting the hiring of a black administrator.<sup>2</sup> In November of 1968, students from the Wisconsin State College of Oshkosh and UW-Madison presented demands for a Black Studies curriculum.<sup>3</sup>

In the book *The Black Revolution on Campus*, Martha Biondi argues “student protests stimulated a demand for black faculty and sparked the desegregation of college curricula with the creation of hundreds of African American studies departments and programs.” Biondi views the Black Studies movement of the late 1960s as growing out of the Civil Rights Movement and responding to the self-deterministic philosophies of the Black Power movement. New federal policies coupled with the implications of civil rights struggles for educational access created increases in the number of black undergraduates at historically white colleges across the country.

---

<sup>1</sup> “Remainder of Draft” description of conversation between Black Student Front representatives and a UW-Milwaukee administrator, May 27, 1968, box 1 folder 11, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Assistant Chancellor records 1965-1974, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>2</sup> “Marquette Negroes Leave in a Protest,” *New York Times* (New York, N.Y.), May 22, 1968.

<sup>3</sup> “Black Thursday,” <http://www.uwosh.edu/blackthursday/reaction.html>  
Cornelius Gilbert, “Their Time & Their Legacy: African American Activism in the Black Campus Movement at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Its Enduring Impulse” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011), 6.

Biondi describes a steady increase in African-American college enrollment in the early 1970s. Between 1970 and 1974, African American student enrollment increased by 56 percent.<sup>4</sup> Although agitation for Black Studies programs and departments was present at suburban and private campuses, Biondi suggests the movement's center was in public urban colleges and universities. This was due to the urban nature of political and social unrest during the 1960s. Black Studies was a means to empower African-American students and further black liberation.<sup>5</sup>

Biondi's synthesis of the growth and impact of Black Studies programs from the 1960s-1970s is applicable to UW-Milwaukee's Black Studies Movement. Milwaukee, like many northern cities was racially segregated and provided limited employment and educational opportunities for the city's black residents. As Biondi proposed, demands for Black Studies curriculum stemmed from Milwaukee's Civil Rights and education reform movements during the 1950s and 1960s. Similarly, the implementation of the Center for Afro-American Culture increased representation of courses focused on black history, culture and art. The course offerings and support services provided by the Center increased the recruitment and retention of black students.

Contrary to Biondi's findings, at UW-Milwaukee the Center for Afro-American Culture was not catalyzed by student protests. It was stimulated by student demands for an expansion of resources for black students. Student activists were supported and mentored by University staff and faculty, many of whom were part of the Human Relations Institute. I argue the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture was influenced by federal grants from Johnson's War on Poverty, prior engagement of student activists in Milwaukee's education reform movement and

---

<sup>4</sup> Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 12.

<sup>5</sup> Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley, 10).



faculty involvement with the Human Relations Institute. And it was further inspired by demonstrations at San Francisco State. UW-Milwaukee students played an initial role in the cultivation of the Center for Afro-American Culture but lacked the influence to make policy decisions.

### **Literature Review**

There is limited historical literature regarding UW-Milwaukee's Black Studies movement. Literature regarding the Black Studies movement at San Francisco State is useful in conceptualizing UW-Milwaukee's movement. However, there were key differences between San Francisco State's program and UW-Milwaukee's. Prior to the establishment of the Black Studies Department, at San Francisco State courses were created by students and implemented through the Experimental College, a student-run program established in 1965. Inspiration for the Experimental College came from activists involved in the city's Civil Rights Movement.<sup>6</sup> Student activist originally created a tutoring program that grew into student-led courses. At UW-Milwaukee, courses were developed by administrators and faculty with consultation from professors teaching similar courses throughout the country. Students were not given direct control over any of the courses or curriculum.

City-wide activism for employment, housing and education access provided a base for campus activism at both colleges. In the article "Africana Studies Department History: San Francisco State University," T'Shaka Oba argues the Experimental College was a product of San Francisco's Civil Rights Movement and the Auto Row campaign.<sup>7</sup> The Auto Row campaign was led by the San Francisco's NAACP and focused on equal employment from the local car

---

<sup>6</sup> T'Shaka Oba, "Africana Studies Department History: San Francisco State University" *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, (Oct. 1, 2012): 16.

<sup>7</sup> Oba, "Africana Studies Department History," 16.

dealerships. Black and white activists laid on cars and desks to demonstrate for their demands during March and April of 1964.<sup>8</sup> The black nationalist philosophy of San Francisco State's Negro Student Association also influenced a growth in the study of black history, life and culture on campus.<sup>9</sup> In 1966, the San Francisco State Negro Student Association changed its name to the Black Student Union to highlight the importance of blackness and self-determination.<sup>10</sup> In Milwaukee, UW-Milwaukee campus activists were influenced by similar philosophies as they attempted to create their own Black Student Union with control by black students, staff and faculty for black students.<sup>11</sup> Milwaukee's desegregation movement and San Francisco State's Civil Rights movement laid the groundwork for educational programs focused on black history, art, culture and social theory.

Students from the United Black Student Liberation Front and the UW-Milwaukee faculty, staff and administrators that supported their ideas deserve a place in Milwaukee's black school reform movement literature. Although comprehensive, the current literature focuses on Milwaukee's high schools and overlooks public universities. In the book *Against the Wind: African Americans and the Schools in Milwaukee: 1963-2002*, William Dahlk argues that black college activism was relatively absent in Milwaukee due to the very small number of African American college students attending UW-Milwaukee in the early 1960s. Dahlk draws his conclusion from a 1962 *Milwaukee Sentinel* article which proposed there were only 50 full-time

---

<sup>8</sup> Vanessa Tait, *Poor Workers Unions: Rebuilding Labor from Below* (Chicago, Ill: Haymarket Books, 2016), 30.

<sup>9</sup> Tait, *Poor Workers Unions*, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Vanessa Tait, *Poor Workers Unions: Rebuilding Labor from Below* (Chicago, Ill: Haymarket Books, 2016), 19.

<sup>11</sup> "Remainder of Draft," description of conversation between Black Student Front representatives and a UW-Milwaukee administrator, May 27, 1968, box 1 folder 11, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Assistant Chancellor records 1965-1974, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

black students enrolled.<sup>12</sup> Dahlk's exploration of the various movements for educational access and equity in Milwaukee's public primary schools is thorough, yet UW-Milwaukee's Black Studies Movement receives minor attention. Dahlk argues two philosophies defined Milwaukee's movements—integration and self-determination. The history demonstrates the complexity of Milwaukee leaders, who often disagreed about the best tactics to provide both Milwaukee's middle class and poor residents of color with the best education possible.

Dahlk draws a connection between UW-Milwaukee activism and the development of the city's community high school movement of the late 1960s. He highlights the relationship UW-Milwaukee campus activist Fredrick Gordon had with black nationalism and Clifford McKissick Community School. Fredrick Gordon, UW-Milwaukee Black Student Union president was a graduate of North Division high school. While attending North Division, he built a relationship with Father Lee Maur Benefee—Milwaukee's first African American Episcopal Priest and the youth mentor for the Panther's Den. The Panther's Den was a group of students who met at St. George's Episcopal Church and explored black nationalism and black empowerment with other youth leaders from Milwaukee.

In 1966, the Panther's Den was given a space in St. George's Episcopal Church for a social center and a council to govern the center.<sup>13</sup> In 1969, in response to racial tensions and violence which occurred at various high schools throughout the city, Clifford McKissick Community School was developed and led by Father Lee Maur Benefee.<sup>14</sup> While attending UW-Milwaukee, Gordon returned to assist Father Lee Maur Benefee in the developing the school.

---

<sup>12</sup> William Dahlk, *Against the Wind: African Americans and the Schools in Milwaukee, 1963-2002*, (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2010), xxvi.

<sup>13</sup> Dahlk, *Against the Wind*, 189.

<sup>14</sup> Dahlk, *Against the Wind*, 189.

Gordon recruited Milton Coleman and Evelyn Barnett, two UW-Milwaukee Black Student Union leaders to help teach Afrocentric history courses.<sup>15</sup> The academic offerings and student power provided by McKissick Community School ran parallel to the demand for Black Studies at UW-Milwaukee in 1968 and 1969.

Jack Dougherty, in *More Than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee*, provides the histories of two influential activists of Wisconsin's Black Studies movement: Vada Harris, who attended the Wisconsin State College at Oshkosh and Milton Coleman a UW-Milwaukee activist. Dougherty like most of Milwaukee's school desegregation historians, explores the evolution of primary and secondary black school reform movements in Milwaukee. The narrative begins with the black teacher's movement in the 1930s, moves to school integration and Black Power in the 1960s and 1970s and closes with the private and charter school movement of the 1990s. Dougherty argues there were various civil rights movements which occurred in a variety of places all over the United States, often with differing agendas and tactics, rather than one single unified movement.<sup>16</sup> His view is similar to that of Dahlk in *Against the Wind: African Americans and the Schools in Milwaukee*.

Exploring the philosophies of Milwaukee's black school reform movement allowed Dougherty to interrogate their diversity in a fluid manner. Dougherty argues the philosophies of black school control and integration were held by activists taking part in the same movement. These schools of thought—often cast as conflicting—coexisted in a manner that allowed the activists themselves to navigate and evolve with the philosophies as the political landscape changed. In the same manner, the perspectives and actions of the activists are described as

---

<sup>15</sup> Dahlk, *Against the Wind*, 189.

<sup>16</sup> Jack Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 120.

mutable—their experiences in the movement informed the actions they took over time. The oral histories of Vada Harris and Milton Coleman highlight the role time and experience played in Milwaukee’s lengthy black school reform movement. Harris and Coleman were both activists before they attended their respective colleges.

According to Dougherty, Vada Harris attended St. Boniface elementary and middle school which was one of Milwaukee’s few integrated parochial schools. Milwaukee civil rights activist Father James Groppi was her pastor. When Harris graduated from Boniface she requested a transfer from her black neighborhood high school, North Division, to Riverside, a predominantly white high school.<sup>17</sup> While a student at Riverside, Harris became involved with the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC) and taught a black history class in a freedom school in 1964.<sup>18</sup> Freedom schools provided an alternative to primary and secondary Milwaukee public schools during the school boycotts in 1964 and 1966.<sup>19</sup> They focused on African-American history and activism.

In 1967, she transitioned her attention away from freedom schools and towards the integration of black curriculum in the city’s public high schools. She worked with Groppi and the NAACP Youth Council on actions to outlaw school desegregation in Milwaukee and to increase black history in Milwaukee’s public high schools. Harris also took part in Milwaukee’s 1967 open housing marches. While a student at the Wisconsin State College of Oshkosh, she participated in “Black Thursday,” a 1968 student demonstration led by the University’s Black Student Union. Over ninety students came together to demanded an increase in the hiring of

---

<sup>17</sup> Dougherty, *More than One Struggle*, 120.

<sup>18</sup> Dougherty, *More than One Struggle*, 120.

<sup>19</sup> Dougherty, *More than One Struggle*, 120.

black faculty and staff, aid for black students and the development of black studies courses. In the end, the majority of the student activists were expelled.

Milton Coleman was also an active member of MUSIC as a high school student and taught Black History in the Freedom Schools. He took part in Milwaukee's open housing marches and was active on UW-Milwaukee's campus as a founding member of the United Black Student Liberation Front. According to Dougherty, Coleman worked with Father Lee Maur Benefee to open the Afrocentric Clifford McKissick Community School.<sup>20</sup> UW-Milwaukee's Black Studies Movement leaders such as Milton Coleman and Fredrick Gordon were informed by their past experiences as black history educators, students in pro-black movements, and city-wide activism. Their experiences in city-wide struggles for black studies influenced their activism on UW-Milwaukee's campus.

### **The University of Wisconsin and Financial Support**

The 1950s was a prosperous economic era in the United States. After WWII, the US was a leader in industrial manufacturing and chemical technology. The country's victories in WWII enhanced its strength as an economic world power. The international and domestic economy led to the expansion of the middle class. However, the industrial markets proved unsustainable, the end of the 1950s marked a slow transition from an agricultural and industrial labor market to a technical and service center market. The transition between markets increased the need for middle and working class Americans to access post-secondary education. Children born after World War II (also known as the baby boomer generation), were entering colleges and universities across the country. The federal government anticipated demands for higher education and provided funding to universities through research grants. The growth in college

---

<sup>20</sup> Dougherty, *More than One Struggle*, 123.

enrollments due in part to baby boom of the 1950s, coupled with the Vietnam draft and an increase in federal support due to Cold War pressure to compete academically against Russia sparked an unprecedented amount of federal support for higher education in the 1960s.<sup>21</sup>

As college student enrollments increased nationally, Milwaukee's black population was growing. In "Black Migration to Milwaukee, 1940-1970" Paul Geib states "Milwaukee's Black community more than doubled from 9,000 in 1949 to almost 22,000 in 1950 and then tripled to 62,500 in 1960 alone."<sup>22</sup> Milwaukee's black residential population continued to grow through the 1970s. Despite the drastic increase in the city's black population overall, UW-Milwaukee's enrollment did not reflect changes occurring in the city. According to Special Assistant to the President of the University of Wisconsin, Donald R. McNeil in 1964 out of the 24, 275 students attending UW-Madison, fewer than 100 students were black.<sup>23</sup> At UW-Milwaukee the numbers were similar; out of the 10,000 students, less than 100 were black.<sup>24</sup> This discrepancy highlighted the University of Wisconsin's lack of adjustment to the demographic changes taking place in city. McNeil was unclear what led to the racial disparities in enrollment. He was certain the University of Wisconsin was not responsible and argued there was not any evidence of discrimination. He felt the university had a duty to "alleviate the condition."<sup>25</sup>

McNeil's consideration for decreasing racial disparities in higher education reflected a federal movement by the Johnson Administration to fund compensatory programs to make up for

---

<sup>21</sup> John R. Thelin, Jason R. Edwards and Eric Moyer, "Higher Education in the United States-Historical Development Systems," accessed April 19, 2017, <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html>.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Geib, "Black Migration to Milwaukee, 1940-1970," *The Journal of Negro History* vol. 83, no. 4 (Autumn, 1998): 240.

<sup>23</sup> "Colleges and the Negro," *The Milwaukee Journal*, May 10, 1964.

<sup>24</sup> "Colleges and the Negro," *The Milwaukee Journal*, May 10, 1964.

<sup>25</sup> "Colleges and the Negro," *The Milwaukee Journal*, May 10, 1964.

white institutional exclusion of blacks from employment and education. During the State of the Union address in January of 1964, President Johnson introduced his concept for the “Great Society,” which included federal money for education, job training and community development.<sup>26</sup> In August of 1964 the first wave of funding was released to the states with the signing of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.<sup>27</sup> Beginning in 1965 UW-Milwaukee received federal anti-poverty funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity to run several programs. Some of the OEO-funded programs included, a training center for Head Start teachers in the School of Education, an Upward Bound program to support students of color and low-income students in their first years of undergraduate work, and a National Teachers Corps unit to prepare non-education majors to teach in inner city schools.<sup>28</sup> In the 1968-1969 fiscal year, UW-Milwaukee received \$619,376 from Office of Economic Opportunity and \$2,339,272 from the Office of Education.<sup>29</sup> In certain cases maximum feasibility stipulations were an aspect of federal grants. To receive funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity, agencies and institutions were required to provide leadership and program development opportunities to the people being served. Maximum feasibility regulations were created to ensure low-income and

---

<sup>26</sup> David Zarefsky, *President Johnson's War on Poverty: Rhetoric and History* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1986), xvii-xviii.

<sup>27</sup> 1968-69 Gifts, Grants, and Contracts, Accepted by the Board of Regents, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, August 4, 1969, series 1/1/7, University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Archives.

<sup>28</sup> J. Martin Klotsche, *Confessions of an Educator* (Milwaukee, WI: University of Milwaukee, 1985), 287.

<sup>29</sup> 1968-69 Gifts, Grants, and Contracts, Accepted by the Board of Regents, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, August 4, 1969, series 1/1/7, University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Archives.



non-white populations were involved in the planning of programs created to serve their needs and interests.<sup>30</sup>

With the increase in federal funding, UW-Milwaukee staff, faculty and administrators generated proposals to increase enrollment of the city's black and low-income residents. The history of these projects remains in proposals for funding community problems. Doris Stacy, Director of High School Relations drafted a proposal in May of 1966, requesting funds for "inner-city" junior and senior high school visitations to the UW-Milwaukee campus. The goal of the program was to expose inner city students to university life by observing classrooms, meeting UW-Milwaukee students and faculty and learning about the services the school had to offer. Stacy felt this program was worthy of funding even though she believed the students had "neither the ability nor the motivation to attend any college."<sup>31</sup> Stacey was most concerned with the value of the lunch budget, as most of the students attended the visit hungry, without any money. She shared a story of one student who "arrived at the cash register with a full tray and only had a quarter in her wallet."<sup>32</sup> The wording of the proposals and the descriptions of the programs themselves often reflected a disconnect between the people attempting to serve the needs of young people, usually black and low-income, and the young people themselves.

---

<sup>30</sup> Martha J. Bailey and Nicolas J. Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity," *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 74, issue 2 (June 2014): 360.

<sup>31</sup> Proposal for funding inner city visitations, from Doris Ann Stacy to Dr. Charles Vevier, May 31, 1966, box 17, folder 14, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>32</sup> Proposal for funding, May 31, 1966, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records 1956-2014.

A 1967 project proposal requested continued funding to support a program that helped 40 “inner core” high school students successfully enter and adapt to the University. The proposal argued “the greatest problem has proved to be the negative effect of cultural limitations on academic capabilities.”<sup>33</sup> The cultural limitations described in the proposal included “limited vocabularies, thin mechanical writing, a fear of the unfamiliar, negative self-concepts, a hesitancy in classroom participation and a lack of vocational outlook.”<sup>34</sup> The conclusion of the proposal highlighted past successes of projects similar to Upward Bound on the UW-Milwaukee campus which were able to address the described limitations.

An additional proposal for a community representative program was presented by two community leaders, Reuben Harpole and Edward Wilkinson and two professors, Belden Paulson and George Freskos. The community leaders and professors argued one of the most fundamental problems characterizing the Inner Core<sup>35</sup> community was a lack of communication between people living in the core and institutions exercising authority in the metropolitan area.<sup>36</sup> The solution they presented was to develop a community representative program in which potential UW-Milwaukee students would receive undergraduate credit from a teacher training project in addition to financial aid that would cover their tuition. They also requested the ability to recommend one or two individuals with a poor academic past whom they believed could

---

<sup>33</sup> Draft Proposal Upward Bound Project, Lawrence Howard, December 20, 1965, box 10, folder 30, UW-Extension records 1896-1988, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>34</sup> Draft Proposal, December 20, 1965, UW-Extension records 1896-1988.

<sup>35</sup> For information regarding the Inner Core of Milwaukee, see Ann M Graf, Amanda I. Seligman and Margo Anderson, *Bibliography of Metropolitan Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2014), 38.

<sup>36</sup> Funding Proposal from Professors Belden Paulson, George Freskos, Mr. Ruben Harpole and Mr. Edward Wilkinson to Dean Roy Francis, June 21, 1967, Human Relations Institute records 1964-1968, box 1 folder 3, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

complete a UW-Milwaukee degree. It is unclear if the project ever came to fruition. However, the project proposal represented the growing connection between UW-Milwaukee and community leaders in addressing the target population of Johnson's Great Society Programs.

During the mid-1960s several UW-Milwaukee projects and proposals generated to alleviate the condition of racial disparities in higher education were coordinated by the Institute of Human Relations. Through the Institute of Human Relations, UW-Milwaukee supported programs to address the impact of urbanization on the city's poor and often non-white population. In a September 1964 memo, Institute of Human Relations Director Lawrence Howard, wrote Provost Martin Klotsche recommending, "the University should seek to be involved in the planning, execution and evaluation of the EOA as it relates to the Milwaukee Area."<sup>37</sup> Howard outlined several actions the University could take to align itself with EOA objectives, including the creation of developmental and experimental programs such as "curriculum development and specialized programs for EOA dropouts."<sup>38</sup> Administrators, such as Special Assistant to the Chancellor for Educational Opportunity Ernest Spaights, took part in the Institute for Human Relations and became a strong supporter for the creation of Afro-American Studies and increased support programs for black students.

### **Student Agitation and Institutional Response**

On March 20, 1968 Doris Stacy, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Director of High School Relations, and Mike Brophy presented a proposal for "Project Potential" to a group of

---

<sup>37</sup> "Suggested Action for University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee" from Lawrence C. Howard to Provost Martin Klotsche, September 21, 1964, box 1 folder 3, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>38</sup> "Suggested Action," September 21, 1964, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.

students and staff. After the presentation leaders from the United Black Student Front (UBSF), believing the proposal to be incomplete, developed an alternate proposal focused on “black education for the black man by the black man.”<sup>39</sup> On May 6<sup>th</sup>, to generate faculty support for their proposal, the UBSF students attended an Institute of Human Relations meeting and presented their alternate proposal alongside the original proposal. The alternate proposal generated support from staff and administrations for UBSF generally. Energized by the student’s engagement, High School Relations staff member Mike Brophy and UBSF students hoped to take their proposal directly to University of Wisconsin President Harrington. However, David W. Robinson, UW-Milwaukee Dean of Student Affairs recommended the students take their proposal to the Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche. With the support of the administration, the students set up a meeting with the Chancellor on May 14, 1968.

At the meeting the students presented a 11-point proposal regarding the development of a Black Student Union. The Black Student Union would function as an official policy-making body with institutional power to act on issues concerning black students.”<sup>40</sup> This philosophy was representative of the self-determinism that characterized educational reform activism in the city’s community high school movement. The proposed Black Student Union was not limited to students but also included black members of the faculty and counselors.<sup>41</sup> United Black Student Front leaders appeared to be consolidating power by attempting to centralize administrative control over programs, and courses concerning black students within the purview of the Black

---

<sup>39</sup> Memo from Dean of Students to Chancellor Klotsche, May 29, 1968, box 8 folder 40, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Dean of Students records, 1915-2012 University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>40</sup> Memo from Dean to Chancellor, May 29, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Dean of Students records, 1915-2012.

<sup>41</sup> Memo from Dean to Chancellor, May 29, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Dean of Students records, 1915-2012.

Student Union. This may have occurred due to the low numbers of black faculty working at UW-Milwaukee in 1968. According to a December 1968 memo from Spaight to various Deans and Department Chairs, there were only four black faculty members with professorial appointments.<sup>42</sup>

In May of 1968, the students met with administrators several times. During one of the meetings the UBSF students again requested the development of a Black Student Union with the ability to develop courses. Faculty were also in attendance at the meeting. Many of the faculty felt a Black Student Union was not a good fit for UW-Milwaukee.<sup>43</sup> One of the UBSF leaders, Milton Coleman suggested that it was working at San Francisco State. According to a description of the meeting, UBSF leaders had been in contact with students at San Francisco State prior to the meeting and were aware of the structures they had in place.<sup>44</sup> In a follow up meeting, black faculty and staff at UW-Milwaukee were asked to meet with the United Black Student Front. Again, the United Black Student Front demonstrated an awareness of similar programs around the country regarding Black Studies. They were described as having networked with both black and white faculty to generate influence in the actions of the

---

<sup>42</sup> Memo from Ernest Spaight to Deans and Department Chairmen, December 19, 1968, box 1 folder 17, Department of Africology Records, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>43</sup>“Remainder of Draft,” description of conversation between Black Student Front representatives and a UW-Milwaukee administrator, May 27, 1968, box 1 folder 11, UW-Milwaukee Office of Assistant Chancellor records 1965-1974, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>44</sup> Memo from Ernest Spaight to Deans and Department Chairmen, December 19, 1968, box 1 folder 17, Department of Africology Records, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>44</sup>“Remainder of Draft,” description of conversation between Black Student Front representatives and a UW-Milwaukee administrator, May 27, 1968, box 1 folder 11, UW-Milwaukee Office of Assistant Chancellor records 1965-1974, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

institution.<sup>45</sup> Administrators believed, that in contrast to students at Marquette, who had presented similar demands, the UW-Milwaukee students seemed unlikely to “back down.”<sup>46</sup>

By June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1968 the Chancellor called a special meeting of the UW-Milwaukee faculty to consider a University Committee Proposal for the Creation of a Center for Afro-American Culture and a Student Proposal to Create a Union for Black Students.<sup>47</sup> The faculty proposal recommended a “faculty-student advisory council to function at all administrative levels to deal with the problems of culturally distinct students.”<sup>48</sup> It was proposed the council have the power to recommend policy but not to enact policy regarding the operation of the Center for Afro-American Culture. The lack of student power in the development of the Center for Afro-American Culture was the greatest point of contention in the growth of the Center. In February of 1969, a group of over 200 students, both black and white rallied in support of James Turner as director of the Center for Afro-American Culture.<sup>49</sup> Students on the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee for the Center for Afro-American Culture favored the hiring of James Turner as director of the Center. Turner was a graduate student at Northwestern at the time and had been hired to teach a Black Studies course at UW-Milwaukee. He was not offered the director’s position because he had not completed his PhD. He took the position as director of Black Studies

---

<sup>45</sup>“Remainder of Draft,” May 27, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Office of Assistant Chancellor record.

<sup>46</sup>“Remainder of Draft,” May 27, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Office of Assistant Chancellor records 1965-1974.

<sup>47</sup>Agenda for Faculty Proposal of CAAC and BSU, May 29, 1968, box 11 folder 35, UW-Milwaukee University Communications & Media Relations records, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>48</sup> Agenda for Faculty Proposal, May 29, 1968, UW-Milwaukee University Communications & Media Relations records.

<sup>49</sup> “Blacks Confront Klotsche Twice,” *The UWM Post* (Milwaukee, WI), February 21, 1969.

at Cornell University, after Cornell students took over the administration building in 1969.<sup>50</sup> It is unclear if another person was immediately offered the position in place of Turner.

The lack of student control in matters concerning the development of the Center for Afro-American Culture eventually led to the withdrawal of support to the faculty-student advisory council by the Black Student Union in March of 1969.<sup>51</sup> Despite the conflicts between UW-Milwaukee administrators and the Black Student Union members, the Center for Afro-American culture continued to grow. By January of 1969, 42 courses were proposed for the following two academic years, spanning topics in education, fine arts, sociology and anthropology in addition to many others.<sup>52</sup> The Center was authorized as a degree-granting department for the fall 1971-1972 school year and housed in the College of Letters and Science.<sup>53</sup>

UW-Milwaukee's department of Afro-American Studies was one of the first two programs created in the United States.<sup>54</sup> The legacy of the Center for Afro-American Culture remains. In 1980, the department of Afro-American studies established a BA degree program, and in 1986 it offered a minor in Afro-American Studies.<sup>55</sup> The department is currently titled the Department of Africology. It was renamed in 1994 to reflect the international nature of the

---

<sup>50</sup> Joseph E. Peniel, "Black Studies, Student Activism and the Black Power Movement," in *The Black Power Movement*, ed. Joseph E. Peniel (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 264.

<sup>51</sup> "BSU Withdraws Support from Center," *The UWM Post* (Milwaukee, WI), March 14, 1969.

<sup>52</sup> Ernest Spaight, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Afro-American Culture, to Professor Burton Secretary of the Faculty, January 16, 1969, box 4 folder 26, UW-Milwaukee Campus Committees Collection 1921-2013, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>53</sup> Planned Program Changes 1971-1972, undated, box 1 folder 17, UW-Milwaukee Department of Africology, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>54</sup> "Africology History" University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/africology/home/africology-history/>

<sup>55</sup> "Africology History" University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/africology/home/africology-history/>

African diaspora. Starting in 2008, Africology became a PhD degree granting program. The program accepted its first PhD cohort in 2010.

### **Conclusion**

The rapid development of the Center for Afro-American Culture was influenced by faculty and student demands for programs and courses connected to black culture and federal funding from the Johnson Administration. At UW-Milwaukee, black students were given an advisory role in the development of the Center for Afro-American Culture. Final decisions regarding staff selection, course development and program direction were made in partnership between UW-Milwaukee administrators, faculty and the University Board of Regents. Black students and black faculty were unable to gain control of the Center. However, the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture in 1968 and later the establishment of the Department of Afro-American Studies in 1971 represented a major landmark in Milwaukee's school desegregation movement. The creation of the Center provided curriculum that recognized the history, culture and literature of African-Americans and support services for black students.

In tandem with the institutionalization of courses invested in black culture and history, UW-Milwaukee increased attention to the recruitment and retention of black students. The Center for Afro-American Culture provided academic support services for black students. During the late 1960s visibility increased for all programs created for non-traditional students. In 1968, the same year the Center for Afro-American Culture was established, UW-Milwaukee was designated as a high quality urban university by the Coordinating Council on Higher Education (CCHE).<sup>56</sup> UW-Milwaukee embraced its urban identity. Between 1966 and 1972,

---

<sup>56</sup> Frank A. Cassell, Martin J. Klotsche and Frederick I. Olson, *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee A Historical Profile, 1885-1992* (Milwaukee, WI: UWM Foundation, 1992): 63, accessed April 17, 2017, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/UW.MilwaukeeHistorical>.



former UW-Milwaukee Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche published two books on urban higher education: *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, An Urban University* and *The Urban University and the Future of Our Cities*. In both books, Klotsche discussed the role an urban institution like UW-Milwaukee could and did play in providing higher education to urban residents. The cultivation of the University's urban identity was connected to educational access for the city and state's low-income and non-white populations. The creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture signaled a change and served to increase educational access to higher education in the state of Wisconsin.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute: A Community Movement for Access

## CHAPTER THREE INTRODUCTION

According to Professor Michael Apple in the article “Ideology, Reproduction, and Educational Reform,” “schools lately recreate cultural and economic disparities, though that is certainly not what most school people intend at all.<sup>1</sup>” In 1970, UW-Milwaukee’s student body was comprised of 97% non-minority students.<sup>2</sup> UW-Milwaukee may not have intended to create these racial and cultural disparities, but community organizations such as the Latin American Education Committee (CELA) wanted to expand access to higher education. Although the Latino and Spanish speaking population in Milwaukee was small, during the 1960s it was growing. In earlier decades Latinos were employed as migrant workers. In the 1960s employment in the agricultural sector declined.<sup>3</sup> Short term employment in factories and foundries increased.<sup>4</sup> Joseph Rodriguez estimates there were 12,500 Latinos in Milwaukee in 1950--10,000 Mexicans and 2,500 Puerto Ricans.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to identify the exact number of Latinos living in Milwaukee during the 1960s, as Hispanics were not counted in the US census until the 1970s.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Michael Apple, “Ideology, Reproduction, and Educational Reform,” *Comparative Education Review* no. 3 (Oct. 1978): 376.

<sup>2</sup> J. Martin Klotsche, *The Urban University and the Future of Our Cities*, (Milwaukee, WI: University of Milwaukee, 1966) 87.

<sup>3</sup> Doris P. Slesinger and Eileen Muirragul, “The Rise and Decline of Migrant Farmworkers: The Case of Wisconsin,” Madison, Wisconsin: Institute for Research on Poverty (1979): 8, accessed April 18, 2017, <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/tp/id/41743>.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph A. Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center,” (unpublished history of the Roberto Hernandez Center, UW Milwaukee, 2005): 7, accessed April 19, 2017, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view).

<sup>5</sup> Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM,” 7.

<sup>6</sup> “Hispanic Heritage Month: Equal Employment Opportunity,” United States Census Bureau, accessed April 19, 2017, [https://www.census.gov/eo/special\\_emphasis\\_programs/hispanic\\_heritage.html](https://www.census.gov/eo/special_emphasis_programs/hispanic_heritage.html).

According to the book *Nuestro Milwaukee*, the first group of Latino residents were primarily Mexican workers recruited by the local industries and the railroads in the 1920s.<sup>7</sup> These families established a Latino neighborhood on the South Side of Milwaukee. A second group of Latinos and Hispanics moved to Milwaukee between 1945 and the 1960s due to the established community and employment opportunities.<sup>8</sup> Most moved to Milwaukee from South Texas and Puerto Rico.<sup>9</sup> The authors of *Nuestro Milwaukee* propose Latinos were very politically active in the 1960s due to their connections to the Farm Worker's Movement, liberation movements in Puerto Rico, university student organizations and their experiences in the Vietnam War. These experiences led them to cultivate social service agencies and work on anti-poverty initiatives.<sup>10</sup>

Frustrated by the low numbers of Latinos attending UW-Milwaukee, in the fall of 1970 (CELA) and members of the Milwaukee community launched a grassroots campaign for the creation of a Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. CELA's protests motivated UW-Milwaukee to change their internal policies to become more accessible to Milwaukee's Spanish speaking residents. The development of the Institute was successful due to community activism and federal financial support. CELA was an association of individuals who shared common concerns and came together to influence public education policy. According to Joseph Rodriguez, CELA was created in the 1960s by the Latin American Union for Civil Rights (LAUCR).<sup>11</sup> LAUCR

---

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Rodriguez et al., *Nuestro Milwaukee*, (Milwaukee, WI: Wisconsin Humanities Council, May 2000), 8.

<sup>8</sup> Rodriguez et al., *Nuestro Milwaukee*, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Rodriguez et al., *Nuestro Milwaukee*, 12.

<sup>10</sup> Rodriguez et al., *Nuestro Milwaukee*, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph A. Rodriguez, "Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center" (unpublished history of the Roberto Hernandez Center, UW Milwaukee, 2005): 11, accessed April 19, 2017, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view).

was established by community activists Ernesto Chacon, Juan Alvarez, and Roberto Hernandez after the three took part in a 1968 protest against the Allen-Bradley company.<sup>12</sup> LAUCR and their spin-off organization CELA can be viewed as special interest groups.

In *A Voice for Non-Profits*, Jeffery Berry and David Arons argue that special interest groups operate in a regulated market. The rules for the market are set by the government. The government can make it easier or more difficult for groups like CELA to influence public policy.<sup>13</sup> Through the 1964 Equal Opportunity Act (EOA) the federal government enabled groups representing the interests of low-income residents to change public policy. Many of the low-income residents were people of color living in urban areas. CELA and organizations like them were strengthened by the influx of federal War on Poverty grants that supported economic development to impoverished communities. Institutional protections at the federal level enacted through the EOA provided a framework for responsive solutions to urban problems for Latino Americans and other minority groups in the United States.<sup>14</sup>

Funding provided by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was linked to the 1964 Civil Rights Act and regulated compliance with “maximum feasible participation” on boards of federally-supported CAPs that became community agencies.<sup>15</sup> The “maximum feasibility” mandate stated CAPs needed to be “developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum

---

<sup>12</sup> Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM,” 11.

[https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view).

<sup>13</sup> Jeffery M. Berry and David F. Arons, *A Voice for Nonprofits*, edited by Jeffery M. Berry, and David F. Arons, (Washington, D.C., USA Brookings Institute Press, 2003) Proquest Ebook Central, 33.

<sup>14</sup> Marc Rodriguez, *Rethinking the Chicano Movement* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 54.

<sup>15</sup> Martha J. Bailey and Nicolas J. Duquette, “How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity,” *The Journal of Economic History* vol. 74, issue 2 (June 2014): 360.

feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served.”<sup>16</sup> In their research on the history of CAPs, Martha Bailey and Nicolas Duquette found the EOA encouraged the development of customized anti-poverty programs. The federal government placed few restrictions on the location, type of project, or distribution of funds to ensure CAPs were responsive to community needs and the “reform of social institutions that perpetuated an economic underclass.”<sup>17</sup>

The maximum feasibility mandate that accompanied money for CAPs provided black and Spanish-speaking residents participation and voice in the development of new policies and organizations that directly impacted their lives. Nationally, there was a wide variety of methods in which participation was cultivated. In *Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor*, Mark Braun argues that antipoverty programs created by the OEO helped mobilize people of color, allowing them to transfer power towards their communities and away from white elites.<sup>18</sup> This democratic participatory approach contrasted with early forms of representative democracy in cities around the country, including Milwaukee. Previous forms of representative democracy often excluded residents in the numerical minority from positions of leadership and power. Numerically there were fewer Latino and Spanish-speaking residents than white English-speaking residents in Milwaukee. Language, racial discrimination and limited employment access may have served to disenfranchise Latinos and Hispanics from influencing political decisions that directly affected their lives.

---

<sup>16</sup> Martha J. Bailey and Nicolas J. Duquette, “How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity,” *The Journal of Economic History* vol. 74, issue 2 (June 2014): 359.

<sup>17</sup> Bailey and Duquette, “How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty,” 367.

<sup>18</sup> Mark Edward Braun, *Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor: Poverty Representation in Milwaukee’s Community Action Programs, 1964-1971* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001), 6.

This chapter describes the role of the 1964 Equal Opportunity Act in the development of a grassroots Latino movement focused on economic and educational policy in Wisconsin. First the chapter summarizes current literature connecting Latino and Hispanic activism in the city with student and community organizing at UW-Milwaukee. Then it reviews the interaction between the EOA-funded Institute for Research on Poverty and the migrant labor movement through the experiences of labor organizer Jesus Salas. The Institute for Research on Poverty was a federal War on Poverty think tank housed at UW-Madison. It provided mentoring and advocacy to migrant workers in North Central Wisconsin.

Next the chapter explores the role non-profit organizations originally created as OEO-funded CAPs had in generating human capital for Milwaukee's Latino and Hispanic movement. This section highlights United Migrant Opportunity Services (UMOS), a non-profit organization that was established as a CAP. UMOS was the base of the community movement for the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. The successful agitation for the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute came from leaders of Milwaukee's OEO funded social service agencies. The final section of the chapter provides a brief description of CELA's grassroots organizing campaign and UW-Milwaukee's response.

### **Literature Review**

Historical literature connecting Latino and Hispanic activism in Milwaukee and grassroots organizing at UW-Milwaukee during the late 1960s is limited. In the paper "Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center" Joseph Rodriguez focuses on the role social service agencies and various worker's rights movements played in the development of Milwaukee's Latino and Hispanic activists. Rodriguez suggests, "The new generation of activists benefited from the reforms that followed the civil

rights movements of the 1960s. They had experience in various social agencies including the migrant worker movement, the Spanish Center, and UMOS, all of which served Latino migrant workers beginning in the mid-1960s.”<sup>19</sup> According to Rodriguez, in 1969 Latino and Spanish speaking students formed the Council for the Education of Latin Americans (CELA). Through CELA, UW-Milwaukee students and community organizers agitated for a UW-Milwaukee institute on the South Side, a GED program, an ESL program on campus and increased Latino enrollment and financial aid.<sup>20</sup> What receives limited attention in Rodriguez’s work is the implementation of the civil rights legislation put in place during the 1960s and the legislation’s larger impact in growing community controlled social service agencies.

In *Rethinking the Chicano Movement*, Marc Simon Rodriguez explores the effects of the Johnson administration’s Great Society legislation on the Chicano movement in Milwaukee. Rodriguez argues the War on Poverty and the Farm Workers Movement served as the foundation for activism in Milwaukee. County agencies serving the needs of low-income Latinos and Hispanics through federal OEO funding initially lacked leadership from the communities they served. Marc Rodriguez provides a framework to understand the connection between the OEO and the development of an activist Latino community.<sup>21</sup>

In 1968, the Social Development Commission and the United Migrant Opportunity Services were both OEO-funded agencies, yet they lacked community representation on their boards. The Social Development Commission (SDC) was a multi-governmental municipal

---

<sup>19</sup> Joseph A. Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center” (unpublished history of the Roberto Hernandez Center, UW Milwaukee, 2005):13, accessed April 19, 2017, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view).

<sup>20</sup> Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM,” 13.

<sup>21</sup> Marc Rodriguez, *Rethinking the Chicano Movement*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 77.



agency. SDC's board of directors came from the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors, the Common Council, the Milwaukee Public School Board, United Way and the Milwaukee Area Technical College.<sup>22</sup> It was responsible for coordinating community action projects throughout the county. CAPs often manifested as non-profit agencies funded and directed by legislation enacted by the federal government per through the Equal Opportunity Act. CAPs were intended to increase employment and education opportunities for impoverished individuals by encouraging their participation in the workforce.

United Migrant Opportunity Services was a CAP, established as a non-profit in 1965 to aid Wisconsin's migrant farm workers. Shortly after the creation of the agency, UMOS was granted \$1,010,261 from the Office of Economic Opportunity to serve migrant workers living in 12 counties in Wisconsin.<sup>23</sup> Yet, like the SDC, UMOS lacked board leadership from the people the organization was attempting to serve. Eventually UMOS and SDC were challenged by community activists.<sup>24</sup> Representatives from the OEO forced the SDC board of directors to hire and provide positions of power to low-income and black residents.<sup>25</sup> Marc Rodriguez suggests the push by activists to gain leadership in SDC and UMOS continued and eventually led to community control of all War on Poverty organizations on Milwaukee's South Side.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Mark Edward Braun, *Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor: Poverty Representation in Milwaukee's Community Action Programs, 1964-1972*, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001), 9.

<sup>23</sup> UMOS, Building Better Futures, "UMOS History," accessed April 19, 2017, <http://www.umos.org/corporate/history.html>.

<sup>24</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>25</sup> Mark Edward Braun, *Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor: Poverty Representation in Milwaukee's Community Action Programs, 1964-1972* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001), 73.

<sup>26</sup> Marc Rodriguez, *Rethinking the Chicano Movement*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 80.

Although Marc Rodriguez draws a connection between the growth of a Latino movement in Milwaukee and Great Society legislation, he omits the implementation of maximum feasibility guidelines and the relationship between the federal and county governments that enabled low-income African-Americans, Latinos and whites to lead social service agencies in their own communities. In *Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor*, Mark Braun describes the actions community organizations took and the protections the federal government provided to reach comprehensive board leadership on OEO funded agencies. Braun's description of activism and social change is specific and provides a clear depiction of the political mechanism that enabled the city's low-income residents to push for changes they deemed important in their own communities. However, unlike Marc Rodriguez and Joseph Rodriguez, Braun limits his narrative to the policy impacts of the 1964 Equal Opportunity Act (EOA) and the 1964 Civil Rights Act at the city and county level. Policy enacted and implemented at the county level reverberated at the city level and increased employment and education opportunities for low-income residents in social services and higher education.

The federal Office of Economic Opportunity opened offices at the regional and state levels throughout the country. The Midwest office was housed in Chicago and Wisconsin was allocated a state office in Madison. Braun suggests Wisconsin was one of the first states to receive an OEO office due to the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The Institute for Research on Poverty was created in 1966 and was funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Institute was a central component of an agreement between UW-Madison and the national Office of Economic Opportunity to create a center for the

study of “the nature, causes, and cures of poverty.<sup>27</sup>” In the progressive tradition of merging academic research with policy development, the Institute of Research on Poverty was a federal research center. Experts provided research and information to support the work of the War on Poverty outside of Washington D.C.<sup>28</sup> Robert Lampman, who had previously served on the Johnson Administration’s Council of Economic Advisors, was appointed the initial interim director of the Institute in 1966.<sup>29</sup>

Braun proposes the state OEO office provided support and guidance to Milwaukee’s low-income residents. This support was received in part due to a letter-writing campaign by the Organization of Organizations (OOO), a CAP from Milwaukee that specialized in community organizing. The letter-writing campaign urged federal OEO officials to audit the SDC and review their compliance with the maximum feasibility mandates attached to their OEO funding. According to Braun, the letter writing campaign was successful, and two federal representatives from the OEO attended an SDC board meeting to ensure compliance. The activism of the OOO was successful in doubling poverty representation on the board during the mid-1960s. Individuals representing labor, the clergy, and the inner city supported an authentic representation of Milwaukee residents on the Social Development Commission’s leadership.<sup>30</sup>

Braun’s account of the relationship between Johnson’s Great Society legislation and the development of participatory representation in Milwaukee’s social service projects is unique and

---

<sup>27</sup> “Institute for Research on Poverty,” University of Wisconsin-Madison, <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/aboutirp/history.htm>, accessed April 17, 2017.

<sup>28</sup> “Institute for Research on Poverty,” University of Wisconsin-Madison, <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/aboutirp/history.htm>, accessed April 17, 2017.

<sup>29</sup> “Institute for Research on Poverty,” University of Wisconsin-Madison, <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/aboutirp/history.htm>, accessed April 17, 2017.

<sup>30</sup> Mark Edward Braun, *Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor: Poverty Representation in Milwaukee’s Community Action Programs, 1964-1972* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001), 73.

comprehensive. He clearly describes the mechanisms and means of regulation that enabled low-income African-American, Latino, Hispanic and white residents to gain access to leadership positions in social service agencies. The relationship between the University of Wisconsin and the federal government during the 1960s reflected deeper traditions of progressive era philosophies that linked research with the alleviation of social problems. In a very real sense the progressive theory of the Wisconsin Idea provided inroads for federal grants to flow into the state during the 1960s.

### **The Institute for Research and Poverty & Jesus Salas**

Like the state branch of the OEO office, the Institute for Research on Poverty also supported the development of community organizers. Jesus Salas was a student and community activist in Milwaukee during the late 1960s and early 1970s. He was one of the main leaders in the fight for the Spanish Speaking Outreach Center. Salas, like many Mexican Americans who permanently relocated to Wisconsin during the late 1960s, was a former migrant worker. Inspired by the work of Cesar Chavez, Salas developed his skills as a community organizer by organizing migrant workers picking cucumbers in central Wisconsin.<sup>31</sup> Salas met one of his mentors, Elizabeth Brandeis-Raushenbush, when working to increase migrant families access to daycare services during the summers. Brandeis-Raushenbush was a UW-Madison professor of Economics, an expert in labor law and the Chairman of the Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor.<sup>32</sup> She was a leader in the Institute for Research on Poverty during the 1960s. With funding from the Institute for Research on Poverty, she launched a wage study to evaluate the

---

<sup>31</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>32</sup> Obituary, "Elizabeth Raushenbush, 88: Daughter of Justice Brandeis" *New York Times*, May 3, 1984. <http://www.nytimes.com/1984/05/03/obituaries/elizabeth-raushenbush-88-daughter-of-justice-brandeis.html>.

working and living conditions of migrant workers. Salas was one of a handful of people hired to complete research in the migrant labor campus. Findings from the research were used in a 1968 court case regarding the legality of the payment system growers used to compensate migrant workers.

According to Salas, in 1968, farmers paid migrant workers by the volume of product regardless of whether their labors met the state's minimum wage. Unlike other states, Wisconsin had minimum wage protections for farm workers.<sup>33</sup> Salas (with others) went to the Industrial Commission, the state agency responsible for protective legislation for migrants, and argued the piece rate system did not equal Wisconsin minimum wage statutes. In a recent oral history interview, Salas suggested the pressure applied to the Industrial Commission by processor and grower associations forced the courts to take up the issue. Migrant workers won the case in part due to evidence from the study conducted by Brandeis-Raushenbush and the Institute for Research on Poverty. The research was supported by the testimony of Brandeis-Raushenbush. The case was represented by Michael McCain and AFL-CIO labor lawyer David Lefler.<sup>34</sup>

State labor protections such as minimum wage regulations provided an institutional framework to protect the rights of low-wage earning workers, many of whom were Mexican American migrant laborers. In the article "*Obreros Unidos* in Wisconsin," Mark Erenburg argues state institutional protections such as the Wisconsin Employment Peace Act (1939), the Wagner Act (1935) and the Taft-Hartley Act (1947) protected agricultural employees.<sup>35</sup> These acts were important in supporting the unionization of Wisconsin's migrant workers.

---

<sup>33</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>34</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>35</sup> Mark Erenburg, "*Obreros Unidos* in Wisconsin," *Monthly Labor Review* vol. 91, no. 6 (1968): 23.

Additionally, the state enforced Acts through the Wisconsin's Employment Relations Commission (WERC) and protected their enforcement through the courts.

In the summer of 1966, Salas organized an 80-mile march from Wautoma to Madison Wisconsin as a means to highlight the migrant struggle and enlist the social conscience of Wisconsin's progressive tradition.<sup>36</sup> In the fall of 1966, Salas continued to organize and reached out to migrant workers employed in a potato processing plant to create *Obreros Unidos*, an independent union.<sup>37</sup> *Obreros Unidos* successfully led an 8-day strike against the potato processing plant with financial support from the national AFL-CIO, the state AFL-CIO, individual unions, and private individuals. Salas also received guidance from John Schmitt, the leader of the AFL-CIO in 1966.<sup>38</sup> Prior to his relationship with John Schmitt and the AFL-CIO, he knew very little about unions. At the conclusion of the strike, *Obreros Unidos* sued the potato processor for unfair labor practices. The processor was ordered to provide back pay to union members who were laid off in anticipation of the strike.<sup>39</sup>

*Obreros Unidos*'s greatest success came in the summer of 1967 when they were recognized as the exclusive bargaining representative for Libby, McNeill & Libby, Inc.'s over 400 hundred field workers. The growth of *Obreros Unidos* mirrored a larger Mexican American labor movement. The movement began during the 1960s. It was heavily influenced by the United Farm Workers (UFW) and the leadership of Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez. According to Marc Simon Rodriguez, in *Rethinking the Chicano Movement*, the 1965 grape boycott led by UFW was the largest in US history and became the foundation for a national

---

<sup>36</sup> Erenburg, "*Obreros Unidos*," 20.

<sup>37</sup> Erenburg, "*Obreros Unidos*," 21.

<sup>38</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>39</sup> Mark Erenburg, "Obreros Unidos in Wisconsin," *Monthly Labor Review* vol. 91, no. 6 (1968): 21.

Chicano Movement.<sup>40</sup> The skills and mentoring Salas gained as a labor organizer translated into his work as a community advocate and UW-Milwaukee campus organizer. His experience with Obreros Unidos prepared him to work on a direct action organizing campaign for the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute.

### **The Office of Economic Opportunity and Community Control**

Salas moved to Milwaukee in 1968 after taking part in a failed migrant worker strike in central Wisconsin. He asked UMOS to assist migrant workers involved in the strike. UMOS was unwilling to support the migrant workers due to the striker's union connections and a fear of losing grant money.<sup>41</sup> Salas, aware that UMOS received their funding from the Office of Equal Opportunity went to their board and let them know the organization's administration was not following the OEO guidelines. Yet Salas found the board was also disregarding the guidelines. Funding provided by the EOA was administered directly to local private and nonprofit organizations to allow the federal government to circumvent *de jure* and *de facto* racial and economic exclusionary practices.<sup>42</sup> An important component of the War on Poverty was a desire by the federal government to decrease racial discrimination in employment and education. To this end federal funds were withheld from programs that failed to comply with the maximum feasibility mandate.<sup>43</sup>

Having built a reputation as a leader and organizer, Salas contacted the Office of Economic Opportunity and informed them that UMOS was accepting OEO money without

---

<sup>40</sup> Marc Rodriguez, *Rethinking the Chicano Movement* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 24.

<sup>41</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>42</sup> Martha J. Bailey and Nicolas J. Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity," *The Journal of Economic History* vol. 74, issue 2 (June 2014): 353.

<sup>43</sup> Bailey and Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty, 353.

following funding guidelines. UMOS's board and staff lacked representation from Latinos or former migrant workers. Salas and organizations such as the Latin American Union for Civil Rights (LAUCR) demanded UMOS prove they were funding programs for migrant workers and had migrant workers on their board. The non-Latino UMOS administrators refused to support the recently striking migrant workers and instead resigned.<sup>44</sup> The Office of Economic Opportunity supported UMOS after they reconstituted their board to include migrant workers. Salas described the resignation of the non-Latino workers and the hiring of a new staff and a revised board as a "take-over" of the agency. Salas saw the takeover as a "process of self-determination that began with the migrant workers and expanded to other social service organizations." The philosophy of self-determination grew in the Latino and Hispanic community. In 1968, through Latino and Hispanic leadership, LAUCR successfully took majority control of South Side agencies funded by the OEO.<sup>45</sup>

According to Salas in a recent interview, between the fall of 1968 when he moved to Milwaukee and the spring of 1969, there were four agencies dominated and directed by Latinos.<sup>46</sup> Marc Rodriguez's research supports Salas' description of events. Rodriguez argues "Chicanos responded to the call and engaged the OEO by participating in, managing, and agitating for community control of the War on Poverty organizations serving their neighborhoods."<sup>47</sup> Salas and leaders from LAUCR approached the Social Development Commission and requested a separate advisory board for Latinos. Through the board, they wanted to select their own directors of initiatives funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

---

<sup>44</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>45</sup> Marc Rodriguez, *Rethinking the Chicano Movement* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 80.

<sup>46</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>47</sup> Marc Rodriguez, *Rethinking the Chicano Movement* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 55.



Due to their previous work with UMOS, the Office of Economic Opportunity was willing to support leaders in the Latino Community. Additionally, the OEO put pressure on the Social Development Commission to support advisory boards on the south-side. In March of 1969, after the take-over of several South Side social service agencies, Salas resigned from his work with *Obreros Unidos* and took a position with UMOS.

### **Spanish Speaking Social Service Agencies Demand Higher Education Access**

Latino and Hispanic leaders of the growing South Side social service agencies wanted to establish long-term employment as such education became a central concern. In 1968, the migrant employment market was on a steady decline due to mechanization and chemical herbicides.<sup>48</sup> Industrial positions were segregated and several large firms limited their positions to whites. Based on an interview with Urban Affairs Professor Avelardo Valdez and a *La Guardia* article from November of 1974, Joseph Rodriguez recounted a protest against of the Allen Bradley Company in the summer of 1968. The protest was motivated by the lack of black and Latino workers hired by the company.<sup>49</sup> Father James Groppi and the NACCP Youth Council led the demonstration, but it was the first time a major protest included Latinos.<sup>50</sup> Rodriguez suggests the protest inspired three Latino Milwaukee community leaders—Ernesto Chacon, Juan Alvarez and Roberto Hernández—to form the Latin American Union for Civil Rights (LAUCR).<sup>51</sup> Three organizations would develop from LAUCR, including *La Guardia* (a

---

<sup>48</sup> Doris P. Slesinger and Eileen Muirragul, “The Rise and Decline of Migrant Farmworkers: The Case of Wisconsin,” Madison, Wisconsin: Institute for Research on Poverty (1979): 8, accessed April 18, 2017, <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/tp/id/41743>.

<sup>49</sup> Joseph A. Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center,” (unpublished history of the Roberto Hernandez Center, UW Milwaukee, 2005): 11, accessed April 19, 2017, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view).

<sup>50</sup> Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM,” 11.

<sup>51</sup> Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM,” 11.

local newspaper), the Brown Berets (a youth organization) and the Latin American Education Committee (CELA).<sup>52</sup>

At UW-Milwaukee, Salas and the Council for the Education of Latin Americans (CELA) leveraged the network of people working for and in support of a large group of south side agencies to agitate for the creation of a Spanish Speaking Outreach Center on campus. The federal money and civil rights protections that were part of the Equal Opportunity Act of 1964 aided Milwaukee's Latino and Hispanic residents in constructing a base of power to agitate for the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. The amount of funding as well as the mechanisms that were used in local Milwaukee organizations granted power to leaders of color. Additionally, the people who worked for the Latino and Hispanic controlled agencies wanted continue their education as a means to increase their opportunities for employment in the growing fields of education and social services.

Salas estimates that in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were over a hundred employees and dozens of board members who were interested in improving their employment opportunities. Additionally, the children of former migrant workers also worked on the farms with their parents. With former migrant families moving to places like Milwaukee there was a growing need for bilingual education. In "The Rise and Decline of Migrant Farmworkers: The Case of Wisconsin," Doris Slesinger and Eileen Muirragul suggested local school districts were not set up to educate children who spoke Spanish as their primary language.<sup>53</sup> The increase in Spanish speaking students at the elementary and secondary level in Milwaukee was

---

<sup>52</sup> Rodriguez, "Latinos at UWM," 11.

<sup>53</sup> Doris P. Slesinger and Eileen Muirragul, "The Rise and Decline of Migrant Farmworkers: The Case of Wisconsin," Madison, Wisconsin: Institute for Research on Poverty (1979): 19, accessed April 18, 2017, <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/tp/id/41743>.

contemporaneous with the passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. The Bilingual Education Act provided funds to low-income school districts that volunteered to create bilingual educational programs, training teachers and teachers aides to work with bilingual students as well as the development of materials and parent involvement projects.<sup>54</sup> Milwaukee's Latino and Hispanic social service agencies were putting pressure on the Milwaukee Public School System to meet the needs of the growing Spanish speaking population.<sup>55</sup> Yet, certification and training at the university level were necessary for Latino and Hispanic residents to access employment in the school system.

The housing and educational segregation in Milwaukee during the late 1960s affected Latino and Spanish Speaking residents. Salas describes the late 1960s as a time when Latino and Spanish speaking residents did not want to travel north across the 16<sup>th</sup> Street Viaduct to attend MATC, even though it was only 5 or 6 blocks away, because they felt unwelcomed by the residents on the other side. Salas tried to encourage people to cross the bridge to access the educational institutions. The idea of an outreach institute was developed as a means to bring resources into the community. Salas and others requesting the Institute were aware of the Progressive Era theories of the Wisconsin Idea that viewed the bounds of the University as limited only by the bounds of the state. They knew the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute was in line with this philosophy.

According to Joseph Rodriguez the initial movement for a Spanish Speaking Outreach Center began in 1968 when John Maurice wrote a letter to UW Extension Chancellor Henry

---

<sup>54</sup> Gloria Stewner-Manzanares, "The Bilingual Education Act: Twenty Years Later," *New Focus, The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education*, no. 6 (Fall 1988): 1, accessed April 19, 2017, [https://ncela.ed.gov/files/rcd/BE021037/Fall88\\_6.pdf](https://ncela.ed.gov/files/rcd/BE021037/Fall88_6.pdf).

<sup>55</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

Ahlgren.<sup>56</sup> In the letter Maurice complained of “the UW System’s lack of effort to serve the Latino community.”<sup>57</sup> In response to the letter, UW Extension staff met with several social service leaders and community activists from Milwaukee’s South Side.<sup>58</sup> Through the meetings community leaders described a need for GED and ESL classes as well as an increase in Latino recruitment.<sup>59</sup>

In the winter of 1969, the Latin American Education Committee (CELA) began a campaign to establish a UW-Milwaukee Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. CELA first approached UWM’s Dean of Education, Richard Davis, with the idea of an institute in December of 1969.<sup>60</sup> Based on the Klotsche Administration Records, Davis was initially a supporter of the institute and assisted the group in coordinating a meeting with two members of the Chancellor’s Office in August of 1970.<sup>61</sup> Records regarding the meeting between CELA committee members, Dean Davis and Assistant Chancellor Ernest Spaight are somewhat contradictory. According to the records prepared by UWM, the Chancellor was not expected to be in attendance.<sup>62</sup> Yet, a flyer distributed the same day as the proposed meeting titled “Latin Community Take’s Over

---

<sup>56</sup> Joseph A. Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center,” (unpublished history of the Roberto Hernandez Center, UW Milwaukee, 2005): 17, accessed April 19, 2017, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view).

<sup>57</sup> Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM,” 18.

<sup>58</sup> Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM,” 18.

<sup>59</sup> Rodriguez, “Latinos at UWM,” 18.

<sup>60</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin Community (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Chancellor Records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>61</sup> Statement Concerning Relations between CELA and the UWM School of Education (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>62</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin Community (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of the Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

UW-M Chancellor's Office" described the failure of Chancellor Klotsche to attend a meeting with CELA.<sup>63</sup> The flyer urged people to meet at his office in Chapman Hall.<sup>64</sup> Members of CELA may have anticipated the Chancellor's absence at the meeting arranged by Dean Davis. Their anticipation might have allowed them to preemptively organize a sit-in at the Chancellor's Office.

The large group of community members--described as 85 individuals--purportedly upset regarding the absence of the Chancellor, decided to march to his office and wait until he was willing to meet with them.<sup>65</sup> According to a *Milwaukee Journal* article from August of 1970, individuals from UWM's High School Equivalence Program and members from the Spanish speaking community also joined the sit-in in the Chancellor's office increasing the size of the group to 125.<sup>66</sup> Spaight and Davis as well as UW Regent Frank J. Pelisse attempted to speak with the demonstrators about their demands but they refused and insisted on speaking only with Klotsche.<sup>67</sup> At 5:30 p.m., the group was asked to leave due to the scheduled daily closing of the building.<sup>68</sup> The police were requested to remove any remaining demonstrators. Members of the group who left were permitted to exit without being arrested, but five of the demonstrators

---

<sup>63</sup> Latin Community Takes Over UW-M Chancellor's Offices, flyer, (ca. 1970) box 18 folder 31, page 1, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>64</sup> Latin Community Takes Over, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014.

<sup>65</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin Community (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>66</sup> Clipping, "Meet Today, Latins Demand," August 28, 1970. box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>67</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin Community (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>68</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin Community (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor Records.

remained and were taken into custody.<sup>69</sup> According to Salas, the demonstrators had planned to be arrested as a form of protest. Most of the activists arrested were males. But one female, Marla Anderson, was also willingly arrested.<sup>70</sup>

Although CELA was unable to meet with the Chancellor on August 27<sup>th</sup> and receive institutional commitment regarding the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute, it was a pivotal action in the group's campaign. In addition to the group's ability to engage in a peaceful action, CELA was able to demonstrate the sheer number of people dedicated to the development of the center. The following day the group continued their demonstration by sending over 60 activists to request admissions applications and financial aid forms from the Offices of Admissions and Financial Aid. They then requested assistance with the forms in Spanish.<sup>71</sup> The group also visited the campus library and looked for books in Spanish they could read on campus, but could not check out.<sup>72</sup> The group continued their actions on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 1970 by picking in front of the Chancellor's home for two hours.<sup>73</sup>

On, Monday August 31<sup>st</sup> Chancellor Klotsche met with members of CELA's negotiating committee. Notes from the meeting that day were absent from the Klotsche records but the "Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin

---

<sup>69</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands (ca. 1970), UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor Records 1933-2014.

<sup>70</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>71</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin Community (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>72</sup> "Latin Protesters Use Language of Action," undated newspaper clipping from *The Journal* (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>73</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin Community (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

Community” prepared by UWM described CELA’s request for written documentation of the agreements reached during the meeting. According to the University’s records, Chancellor Klostche was unwilling to provide a written account of the agreements but instead sent a letter to Armando Orellana, Chairman of CELA.<sup>74</sup> In the letter Chancellor Klostche highlighted the programs UW-Milwaukee already had in place to serve the Latino Community. He did not support the creation of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. The reasons for the Chancellor’s lack of support was not clear; he may not have wanted to allocate long term funding to a new Institute. In a September letter from the CELA negotiating committee to Chancellor Klotsche, CELA indicated their strong dissatisfaction with the lack of commitment to the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute.<sup>75</sup> The negotiating committee requested another meeting for Friday, September 11, 1970.<sup>76</sup>

The negotiation between the Chancellor’s Office and CELA continued through the fall. As time went on support for the Spanish Speaking Institute grew and members outside of the Latino community begin to petition and write letters to the Chancellor. On October 13, 1970 the General Council of the Presbytery of Milwaukee sent a letter to Chancellor Klotsche in support of the Spanish American members of the Milwaukee community and the development of the

---

<sup>74</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands (ca. 1970), UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor Records 1933-2014.

<sup>75</sup> CELA Negotiating Committee to Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche, September 7, 1970, box 18 folder 32, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>76</sup> CELA to Chancellor Klotsche, September 7, 1970, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014.

center.<sup>77</sup> Seventy-eight UW-Milwaukee faculty, staff and students followed suit and on October 21, they submitted a petition to the Chancellor in support of the Spanish Speaking Institute.<sup>78</sup>

CELA concluded their direct-action activities by hosting a hunger strike on campus in October of 1970.<sup>79</sup> The strike began with 8-10 students, but only two people (Jesus Salas and one other student) were able to sustain the strike by the 8<sup>th</sup> day.<sup>80</sup> Six students slept outside Chapman Hall.<sup>81</sup> The campus police allowed the students to use the Chancellor's Office bathrooms in the morning before the office opened. According to Salas, one morning the protesting students took the opportunity to lock the Vice Chancellor in the bathroom before the morning security guard started his shift. While the Vice Chancellor was in the bathroom, Salas and other student activists called leaders of the south side social service agencies, including UMOS to use their organization's buses to bring supporters to the UW-Milwaukee campus. By the time the Chancellor arrived on campus Salas said over a hundred supporters filled the

---

<sup>77</sup> Edgar G. Bletcher to Dr. J. Martin Klotsche, Chancellor, October, 3 1970, box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>78</sup> Richard Wisniewski, "Petition in Support of the Latin Community," October 21, 1970, box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>79</sup> Clipping "Latins Begin Fast for UWM Program," *Milwaukee Journal*, dated October 12, 1970, box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>80</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin Community (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>81</sup> Clipping "Latins Begin Fast for UWM Program," *Milwaukee Journal*, dated October 12, 1970, box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.



Chancellor's Office.<sup>82</sup> The buses provided CELA organizers with the ability to rapidly transport supports to campus and increased the pressure on administrators to act.

In the end, administrators sent Assistant to the Chancellor for Educational Opportunity Dr. Ernest Spaight to negotiate with the protesters for the creation of a Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. According to an editorial written by WITI-TV 6 and dated Tuesday, November 3, 1970 the Council for Latin American Education was finally successful in their campaign to jointly co-create a Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.<sup>83</sup> The editorial celebrated CELA's non-violent efforts of marching, fasting and organizing sit-ins to achieve their stated goals as well as the University's willingness to listen to their demands and act. Based on current research, the reason for the Chancellor's concession is unclear. Perhaps the administrators wanted to avoid the embarrassment of admitting the Vice Chancellor had been locked in a bathroom by a student protester.

Despite the agreement reached between CELA and the University, the logistical development of the center was slow. The university's bureaucracy regarding available funding and hiring committees obscured the once strong and unified voice of CELA during the campaign for the institute. The Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute finally found a home at 805 S. 5<sup>th</sup> Street.<sup>84</sup> It provided English classes, preparation for G.E.D certification, information about

---

<sup>82</sup> Report on Events Related to the Demands Presented by Representatives of the Latin Community (ca. 1970), box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>83</sup> WITI TV 6 Editorial Number 2457, "Example of Peaceful Protest That Won Results!," November 3, 1970, box 18 folder 31, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>84</sup> Spanish-Speaking Outreach Institute, informational pamphlet, box 18 folder 32, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

educational programs and vocational counseling.<sup>85</sup> The need was so great for the resources the center provided, community leaders requested a second location on the North Side of Milwaukee. A letter dated March 3, 1972 from Chancellor Klotsche to Mr. Ruiz-Ortiz, the Chairman of the Puerto Rican Organization, described the inability of the University to afford a second Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute.<sup>86</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Salas believed it was the dedication of CELA and their direct action organizing that led to the establishment of the Center. He felt as though Chancellor Klotsche had not experienced a long-term direct action campaign like the one for the Outreach Center. UW-Milwaukee was a newer school and the majority of students did not live on campus. There were few long-term demonstrations for educational access during the late 1960s and early 1970s. CELA's relationship with the Latino and Hispanic serving social service agencies provided a broad base of people to take part in the actions on and off campus. The resources of the organizations such as the buses provided quick transportation to move people to campus for demonstrations. Salas believed "the agencies were committed to this because it was in their best interest. We were doing it for them."<sup>87</sup>

The dedication of organizations like CELA, UMOS and LAUCR as well as federal support rooted in the 1964 Equal Opportunity Act and the state Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) played a significant role in the development of Latino and Hispanic community activism in Milwaukee. Grassroots change was possible due to the funding and protections the OEO

---

<sup>85</sup> Informational pamphlet, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014.

<sup>86</sup> Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche to Mr. Menserrate Ruiz-Oritz, March 3, 1972, box 18 folder 32, UW-Milwaukee Office of Chancellor records 1933-2014, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>87</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

provided low-income Latino and Hispanic residents through maximum feasibility mandates. The experience organizers and activists like Jesus Salas gained through the Institute for Research on Poverty and the influence of unions such as the AFL-CIO and *Obreros Unidos* provided training and access to people with power such as Elizabeth Brandeis-Raushenbush.

In Milwaukee, low-income residents were fighting for their educational and employment rights. The successes of Milwaukee's activists are present today as their work created the foundation for the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute, which is now UW-Milwaukee Roberto Hernández Center. Yet the protections and financial support offered by the federal government to interest groups representing low-income residents such as UMOS and the SDC were essential in creating grassroots policy changes. Social activism is often limited in its impact by a lack of access to mechanisms of power. Through further research connections between labor, the federal government and the legacy of the progressive era at the University of Wisconsin could provide a deeper understanding of institutional change across the state during the late 1960s and early 1970s. This research could shed light on the mechanisms that increased educational and employment opportunities for low-income Latinos, African-Americans and whites throughout the state.

## CONCLUSION

During the late 1960s and early 1970s UW-Milwaukee administrators worked to increase the enrollment and retention of black and Spanish speaking students. The programs and Institutes generated during this era signaled a rapid break from previous policies that favored the enrollment of white, native speakers of English. In 1968 UW-Milwaukee administrators, faculty and students developed the Center for African American Culture. In 1971, the Center for Afro-American Culture became the Department of Afro-American Studies. In 1970 UW-Milwaukee created the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. The only precursor to either of these university programs was the Human Relations Institute which was introduced in 1964. The creation and support for programs and departments focused on the recruitment and retention of black and Spanish-speaking students on a predominantly white campus was expedited by Johnson's Great Society legislation. The legislation generated federal grants, grassroots organizing and urban research initiatives.

The transitions between the Institute of Human Relations, Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Institute reflected UW-Milwaukee's attempt to implement the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act. This act increased the rights of black and Spanish speaking residents in employment and education. In addition to financial incentives provided to state institutions to implement policies attached to the acts, funding was provided directly to non-profit organizations with the stipulation of active planning and engagement by individuals benefiting from the programs. The "maximum feasible participation" mandate that accompanied money to non-profit organizations for community action projects provided black and Spanish speaking residents participation and voice in the development of new policies and organizations that directly impacted their lives.

Unlike the Institute of Human Relations, which was created by the University of Wisconsin without the involvement of the people it was purporting to serve, the Center for Afro-American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Institute were created in response to the demands of black students and Spanish speaking community members. The engagement of black and Spanish speaking students, faculty, community members and white English speaking supporters can be viewed as a form of participatory democracy in higher education policy development. It was a break from traditional models of representative democracy in which administrators and faculty made decisions regarding curriculum, recruitment and admissions standards. Without federal legislation and the accompanying financial support, preference towards Western European curricula and white English speaking students may have changed but in an incremental fashion over a longer period.

The Human Relations Institute, the Center for Afro-American Culture, and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute were purportedly altruistic in their aims, to support the inclusion of black, Latino and low-income populations who had been previously excluded from accessing higher education. They served to increase the enrollment and employment of black, and Spanish speaking students, faculty and staff. However, institutional support for their development was influenced by financial incentives and promotion of the urban mission. Critical race theorist Derrick Bell's theory of "interest convergence," can be employed to draw a deeper understanding of historical factors that supported the creation of the Human Relations Institute, the Center for Afro-American Culture, and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. In "*Brown v. Board of Education* and the Interest Convergence Dilemma," Bell proposed that federal legislation that appears to be based on morality is often rooted in larger interests of economics and promotion. He suggested support for school desegregation in the *Brown* case was rooted in

the advancement of economic and political US policy.<sup>1</sup> Bell argued that in deciding the 1954 *Brown v. Board* case, the Supreme Court was influenced by the US government's desire for national credibility against communism.<sup>2</sup> The Court's ruling was used to demonstrate a commitment to equality and supported the view of a healthy democracy and the effectiveness of capitalism. He also stated desegregation was viewed by the state as necessary to increase the regional economy of the south and move them from "a rural plantation society to the sunbelt."<sup>3</sup> Bell's arguments suggest economic and political interests were more important to the Supreme Court than educational equity for black students. He described the merging of interests between black activists using the judicial process to agitate for education equality and the economic self-interest interest of whites, represented by the Supreme Court, as interest convergence.<sup>4</sup>

From the perspective of Bell's theory of interest convergence, the rapid creation and institutionalization of the Center for African American Culture and the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute can be understood as a unification of interests between black, and Latino activists with UW-Milwaukee administrators. Prior to the activism by black, Latino and Spanish speaking students and community members, UW-Milwaukee attempted to address the low-enrollment of non-white students starting in 1965, through the Institute of Human Relations. The Institute may have been created to promote the University's interest in issues concerning race and poverty in Milwaukee and to attract federal and private anti-poverty funding. The convergence of the economic and urban identity related interest of UW-Milwaukee

---

<sup>1</sup> Derrick Bell, "*Brown v. Board of Education* and the Interest Convergence Dilemma," *Harvard Law Review* issue 3, (1980): 524.

<sup>2</sup> Bell, "*Brown v. Board of Education*," 524.

<sup>3</sup> Bell, "*Brown v. Board of Education*," 525.

<sup>4</sup> Bell, "*Brown v. Board of Education*," 523.

administrators with the educational access interests of low-income black and Latino activists generated rapid movement.

The Institute of Human Relations represented the first manifestation of UW-Milwaukee policy aimed at increasing the enrollment of students of color and addressing racial and economic inequality. The surviving archival record leaves unclear the history of the specific events that led to the creation of the Institute. The development of the Institute might have been in response to the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act. The Economic Opportunity Act, the central legislation of Johnson's "War on Poverty" allocated funding to US cities and counties to create community action projects (CAPs). CAPs were local non-profit governmental organizations that directly served the needs of low-income residents.<sup>5</sup> During the late 1960s the federal government distributed millions of dollars to CAPs throughout the nation. The Institute of Human Relation's objective was in line with Johnson's anti-poverty initiatives as it was invested in issues concerning Milwaukee's low-income residents and black community.

During the mid-1960s, the Institute of Human Relations existed in the context of a university that was establishing its own identity. UW-Milwaukee was nearly a decade old in 1965 and was negotiating an internal conflict between research and community engagement with its urban setting. The city of Milwaukee was facing economic and social challenges spurred by urbanization and an increase in the city's black, Latino and Hispanic populations. Economic disparities based on race were common, as employers and landlords often refused to hire or rent to non-white applicants.

---

<sup>5</sup> Martha J. Bailey and Nicolas J. Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity," *The Journal of Economic History* vol. 74, issue 2 (June 2014): 351.

UW-Milwaukee during the mid-1960s was a predominantly white institution. As the Institute of Human Relations was one of the University's first institutional attempts to address racial disparities, its direction and focus at times lacked clarity. The Institute was initially successful in serving as a clearinghouse to fund campus and community projects that engaged low-income and black residents in Milwaukee. The first director, Lawrence Howard, served as a figurehead for the Institute but was discouraged from becoming overly involved with activism or community projects in Milwaukee. During Howard's tenure, the Institute was criticized by both faculty and relevant community personnel for not developing projects which the Institute was supposed to deal.<sup>6</sup>

In 1966, when Howard left his position as director, an adhoc committee of professors volunteered to run the Institute. Howard's departure signaled the second phase of the Institute. During its second phase the Institute still funded external projects and programs concerned with race and poverty in Milwaukee. Through the leadership of professors, the Human Relations Institute built community partnerships and became involved with action projects in Milwaukee. Research regarding racial conflict and policing in Milwaukee became a component of the Institute's work, as did peer-to-peer education regarding race and racism. Most of the work produced and funded by the Human Relations Institute extended from the University out to the community; however, committee notes from the 1967-1968 academic year described an interest from faculty in developing a Human Relations Institute satellite location in the "ghetto."<sup>7</sup>

Although the Human Relations Institute was unable to materialize the satellite; it may have set

---

<sup>6</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, 1967-1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>7</sup> Summary of Committee Activities, April 18, 1968, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968.



the stage for the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute in the early 1970s. The Outreach Institute was UW-Milwaukee first satellite access location.

Although the Human Relations Institute struggled to authentically engage with low-income and non-white members of the Milwaukee community, it was successful in bringing faculty together to work around issues of race and poverty. It established a foundation for faculty, students and community leaders to influence long-term change at UW-Milwaukee. The final phase of the Human Relations Institute provided an institutional framework to generate energy, support and communication between students, staff and faculty who wanted to create educational opportunities for Milwaukee's low-income and non-white residents. In relation to the theory of interest convergence, the Institute reflected UW-Milwaukee's desire to increase access to federal and private funding that connected students of color and low-income communities to the University. It attempted to advance the University's urban identity by "appearing relevant to issues of race."<sup>8</sup> Documents concerning the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture suggest the Institute for Human Relations was discontinued with the establishment of the Center for Afro-American Culture in 1969.

The creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture represented the second phase of racial and class based policy development at UW-Milwaukee. The Center was catalyzed by UW-Milwaukee students and cultivated by faculty and administrators invested in creating educational opportunities for low-income and non-white students. It represented the interests of faculty in generating research and teaching opportunities related to race and class coupled with the self-determination aspirations of black students. UW-Milwaukee's Black Studies Movement was

---

<sup>8</sup> Human Relations Institute Advisory Committee to Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche, April 18, 1968, box 1 folder 1, UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records 1964-1968, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

rooted in the work of the Institute for Human Relations and Milwaukee's civil rights movement. UW-Milwaukee administrators and students drew inspiration from Black Power self-determination ideology and similar black studies movements around the nation.

The means with which UW-Milwaukee addressed the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture represented a transformation from the top-down institutional policy employed by the Institute for Human Relations to a grassroots approach. UW-Milwaukee students and faculty influenced the development and vision of the Center. The involvement of black students and faculty in the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture reflected similar trends in Milwaukee County's social service agencies during the late 1960s. Low-income black and Latino residents accessed institutional power through the leadership of non-profit boards and administrative positions. The federal government supported the leadership of low-income residents. Federal anti-poverty funds were withheld from county agencies when non-profits failed to provide leadership positions for low-income residents on boards and in organizations.

There were differences between social activism at the community level and at UW-Milwaukee. At the community level low-income, black and Latino residents were successful in gaining control over social service agencies and secondary education institutions by taking a self-determination approach. At UW-Milwaukee, black students were given an advisory role in the development of the Center for Afro-American Culture. Final decisions regarding staff selection, course development and program direction were made in partnership between UW-Milwaukee administrators, faculty and the University Board of Regents. Black students and black faculty were unable to gain control of the Center. However, the creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture in 1968 and later the establishment of the Department of Afro-American studies in 1971 represented a major benchmark in Milwaukee's school desegregation movement.

The creation of the Center for Afro-American Culture signaled a change and provided encouragement for Spanish speaking residents to access higher education at UW-Milwaukee.

The development of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute represented the third phase in the evolution of policy related to race, class and language inclusion at UW-Milwaukee. Demand for the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute represented the interests of Milwaukee's Spanish speaking residents in higher education access and an expansion of employment opportunities.<sup>9</sup> Unlike the Institute for Human Relations which represented policy development from administrators, or the Center for Afro-American Culture in which programs were generated from faculty, administrators, students and staff, the Outreach Institute came from leaders of Milwaukee's community action projects (CAPs).

CAPs that developed into non-profit organizations such as United Migrant Opportunity Services and the federally supported credit union, El Centro provided a foundation for people in Milwaukee's Latino and Hispanic community to generate advocacy campaigns and increase opportunities for the city's Spanish speaking residents. During the late 1960's and early 1970s, advocacy was central to the work of UMOs. In August of 1971, UMOs organized a nine-day march from Milwaukee to Madison.<sup>10</sup> The march was used to advocate for the housing rights of migrant workers.

Jesus Salas, the Executive Director of UMOs during the late 1960s and early 1970s was a student at UW-Milwaukee and a member of the Latin American Education Committee (CELA). In 1969, CELA began a campaign and agitated for the establishment of a UW-Milwaukee Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute. According to Salas, it was the first time direct action

---

<sup>9</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

<sup>10</sup> UMOs, Building Better Futures, "UMOs History," accessed April 19, 2017, <http://www.umos.org/corporate/history.html>.

organizing techniques popular in Milwaukee's civil rights movement during the 1960s were employed on UW-Milwaukee's campus.<sup>11</sup> Over the course of a year, members of CELA occupied Chancellor Klotsche's Office, staged a sit-in, marched to the Chancellor's home and finally went on a hunger strike. The direct action organizing techniques, combined with resources such as buses and large numbers of community supports, as well as institutional support from the School of Education and faculty generated enough pressure on UW-Milwaukee administrators and they acquiesced to CELA's demands. In November of 1970, UW-Milwaukee granted approval for a Spanish Speaking Outreach Center on the South Side of Milwaukee.

### **Implications**

The federal government's interest in expanding educational opportunities for low-income residents combined with the desire of black and Spanish speaking residents to access higher education and UW-Milwaukee's aspiration to increase funding from the federal government and develop its urban mission converged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The implications of this unification of objectives led to an institutional emphasis on the retention of non-traditional white students and students of color, as well as an institutional need to increase graduation rates of the University's growing student population. The emphasis on access programs and the ideological development of UW-Milwaukee as an urban institution reflected what educational psychologist Warren Willingham described as a shift in the function and process of higher education during the 1960s in the book *Universities in Urban Crisis*. Historically four year institutions of higher education, employed restrictive admissions, traditional curriculum and attention to academic standards. A university education was accessible to students with the resources and academic preparation to attend. Willingham suggests by the 1970s, university admissions was influenced

---

<sup>11</sup> Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

less by exclusionary mechanisms and more by a school's ability to increase the career development of the student in response to the needs of the local community.<sup>12</sup> Urban universities especially were expected to have stronger ties to the community in which they resided.

The merging of interests was also successful in developing UW-Milwaukee's identity as an urban university. The University's identity was formally cemented in 1968 when the Coordinating Council on Higher Education (CCHE) moved to revise the University's mission from a major research university to a "high quality urban university."<sup>13</sup> UW-Milwaukee's status as an urban university was identified as a factor in the development of the Center for Afro-American Culture. UWM's administration viewed the development of CAAC as a means to implement the University's mission to solve the problems of culturally disadvantaged through education.<sup>14</sup> The administration hoped the impact of CAAC would reach beyond the instructional program as the department would be involved with recruitment, retention, community service and scholarship programs.<sup>15</sup>

Federal funding, campus activism and the cultivation of an urban identity during the late 1960s and early 1970s formed a foundation for UW-Milwaukee to establish an access mission. The access mission is a central component of UW-Milwaukee today. The current access mission aims to "further academic and professional opportunities at all levels for women, minority, part-

---

<sup>12</sup> Warren Willingham, *Universities in Urban Crisis*, ed. Thomas P. Murphy (New York, NY: Dunellen Publishing, 1975), 198.

<sup>13</sup> Frank A. Cassell, Martin J. Klotsche and Frederick I. Olson, *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee A Historical Profile, 1885-1992* (Milwaukee, WI: UWM Foundation, 1992): 63, accessed April 19, 2017, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/UW.MilwaukeeHistorical>.

<sup>14</sup> Draft Proposal to Establish a Department of Afro-American Culture, May 14 1968, box 4 folder 25, UW-Milwaukee Campus Committees records 1912-2013, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

<sup>15</sup> Draft Proposal, May 14 1968, UW-Milwaukee Campus Committees records 1921-2013.

time, and financially or educationally disadvantaged students.”<sup>16</sup> Yet, political and fiscal support for access to education for low-income students and students of color has decreased since the late 1960s. Wisconsin’s current Governor, Scott Walker presented a proposal to the state legislature in the spring of 2017 that would distribute state funding to University of Wisconsin schools based on performance. Each of the 13 campuses would be measured on a student’s average time to complete a degree, overall graduation rates, and low-income student graduation rates.<sup>17</sup> Under this new proposal UW-Milwaukee’s access mission may put the University at a funding disadvantage. Students attending UW-Milwaukee often have fewer economic resources and educational support networks than selective schools such as UW-Madison. Students attending selective schools are often in the upper levels of their graduating class and may have had access to advanced placement courses, foreign language and tutoring that students attending UW-Milwaukee may not have.

Exploring the political, economic and social interests that influenced lasting institutional developments at UW-Milwaukee can be helpful to understand the contemporary manifestation of the University’s access mission. It can also provide a context to understand what appears to be a lack of economic and political support for the mission. Yet further research is necessary to conceptualize what motivated the federal government to support education and employment access for low-income residents living in urban areas. Many of these residents were non-white and/or spoke English as a second language. There is also value in understanding historical trends

---

<sup>16</sup> “UWM’s Vision, Values, and Mission Statements” University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/mission/>.

<sup>17</sup> Karen Herzog, “UW-Madison Wins, UW-Milwaukee and Parkside Lose under Scott Walker’s Performance Funding Plan,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, March 8, 2017 accessed March 23, 2017, <http://www.jsonline.com/story/news/education/2017/03/08/uw-madison-wins-uw-milwaukee-and-parkside-lose-under-walkers-performance-funding-plan/98855622/>.

in federal funding mechanisms. During the Johnson administration, federal funding was expanded to increase access to employment and education for low-income and non-white residents. Equal Opportunity funding was administered directly to local organizations or local Community Action Projects (CAPs).<sup>18</sup> Sending funding directly to local CAPs increased grassroots leadership and the political capacity of low-income and non-white residents to influence policy.

Institutional changes that developed from the Johnson administration's funding structure are relevant today. The department of Africology, the Roberto Hernández Center and the University's access mission are important to many of the state's residents. Yet, the power of grassroots movements and community leaders lack the strength they held during the late 1960s. A historical comparative analysis of funding structures from 1965 to 2017 would provide useful information to articulate the connection between the federal government, citizen power and higher education. Identifying the contemporary political interests regarding higher education funding at the state and federal level could provide a new foundation to align the interests of the citizens with the interests of the state. As programs established during the Johnson Administration are defunded, locating the actual interests that established justifications for the programs, above social justice and altruism, could help bring clarity to the unraveling of social, environmental and educational programs throughout the nation.

---

<sup>18</sup> Martha J. Bailey and Nicolas J. Duquette, "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity," *The Journal of Economic History* vol. 74, issue 2 (June 2014): 359.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alford, Albert L. "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965: What to Anticipate." *The Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 46, no. 10 (June 1965): 483-488.
- Apple, Michael. "Ideology, Reproduction, and Educational Reform." *Comparative Education Review* no. 3 (Oct. 1978): 367-387.
- Bailey, Martha J., and Nicolas J. Duquette. "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economy and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity." *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 74, issue 2 (June 2014): 351-388.
- Bell, Derrick. "Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest Convergence Dilemma." *Harvard Law Review*, vol. 93 (1980): 518-533.
- Berry, Jeffery M. and David F. Arons. *A Voice for Nonprofits*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 2003. Accessed April 13, 2017. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uwm/detail.action?docID=3004367>.
- Bondi, Martha. *The Black Revolution on Campus*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 2012. Accessed April 13, 2017. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uwm/detail.action?docID=928946>.
- Braun, Mark. *Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor: Poverty Representation in Milwaukee's Community Action Programs, 1964-1972*. Lanham, ME: Lexington Books, 2001.
- Cassell, Frank A., J. Martin Klotsche and Frederick I. Olson, *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee A Historical Profile, 1885-1992*. UW-Milwaukee: UWM Foundation, 1992. Accessed April 13, 2017. <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/UW.MilwaukeeHistorical>.
- Collins, Robert M. "Growth Liberalism in the Sixties: Great Societies at Home and Grand Designs Abroad." in *The Sixties from Memory to History*, edited by David Farber, 11-44. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- Cronon, E. David and John W. Jenkins. *The University of Wisconsin: A History 1945-1971: Renewal to Revolution*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.
- Dahlk, William. *Against the Wind: African Americans and the Schools in Milwaukee, 1963-2002*. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2010.
- Diner, Steven J., "The Land-Grant Analogy and the American Urban University: A Historical Analysis." *Metropolitan Universities*, no. 3 (March, 2013): 61-77.
- Dougherty, Jack. *More Than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.



- Erenburg, Mark. "Obreros Unidos in Wisconsin." *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 91, no. 6 (1968): 17-23.
- Gieb, Paul. "From Mississippi to Milwaukee: A Case Study of the Southern Black Migrant to Milwaukee, 1940-1970." *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 83, no. 4 (Autumn, 1998): 229-248.
- Gordon, Avery and Christopher Newfield. "Multiculturalism's Unfinished Business." In *Mapping Multiculturalism*, edited by Avery Gordon and Christopher Newfield, 76-115. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Howard, Lawrence C. *The Developing Colleges Program: A Study of Title III Higher Education Act of 1965*. Milwaukee, WI: Institute of Human Relations, 1967.
- Jones, Patrick. *The Selma of the North*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Kern, Alexander and David Alexander. *American Public School Law*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2012.
- Klotsche, J. Martin. *Confessions of an Educator*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1985.
- Klotsche, J. Martin. *The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee: An Urban University*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1972. Accessed April 13, 2017. <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/UW/UW-idx?type=header;pview=hide;id=UW.MilwaukeeUrban>.
- Klotsche, J. Martin. *The Urban University and The Future of Our Cities*. New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1966.
- Levitan, Sar A. *The Great Society's Poor Law: A New Approach to Poverty*. Baltimore, ME: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969.
- Oba, T'Shaka. "Africana Studies Department History: San Francisco State University." *Journal of Pan African Studies*, (Oct. 1, 2012): 13-32.
- Peniel, Joseph E. "Black Studies, Student Activism and the Black Power Movement." in *The Black Power Movement*, edited by Joseph E. Peniel, 251-78. New York, NY: Routledge, 2006.
- Rodriguez, Joseph, Sarah Filzen, Marc Rodriguez, Susan Hunter and Dana Nix, *Nuestro Milwaukee*. Milwaukee, WI: Humanities Council, 2000.
- Rodriguez, Marc. *Rethinking the Chicano Movement*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2015.

Spring, Joel. *The American School: A Global Context from the Puritans to the Obama Era*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 2011.

Stewner-Manzanares, Gloria. "The Bilingual Education Act: Twenty Years Later." *New Focus, The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education*, no. 6 (Fall 1988): 1-6.

Tait, Vanessa. *Poor Workers Unions: Rebuilding Labor from Below*. Chicago, Ill: Haymarket Books, 2016.

Thelin, John R. "Success and Excess: The Contours and Character of American Higher Education Since 1960." *Society* vol. 50, 2 (2013):106-114. Accessed April 18, 2017, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12115-013-9630-8>.

Willingham, Warren. *Universities in Urban Crisis*, ed. Thomas P. Murphy. New York, NY: Dunellen Publishing, 1975.

Zarefsky, David. *President Johnson's War on Poverty: Rhetoric and History*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1986.

### **Dissertations & Unpublished Materials**

Braun, Mark. "Social Change and the Empowerment of the Poor: Poverty Representation in Milwaukee's Community Action Programs, 1964-1972." PhD diss., UW-Milwaukee, 1999. Accessed April 19, 2017, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/pqdtglobal/docview/304539798/BAE6295D4611481CPQ/1?accountid=15078>.

Gilbert, Cornelius. "Their Time & Their Legacy: African American Activism in the Black Campus Movement at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Its Enduring Impulse." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011. Accessed April 19, 2017, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/pqdtglobal/docview/911052167/D2C9CD80A5B74248PQ/1?accountid=15078>.

Horn, Ariana. "Paved with Good Intentions: The Rise and Fall of the 'Human Relations' Movement in Milwaukee, 1934-1980." PhD diss., UW-Madison, 2015. Accessed April 19, 2017, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/pqdtglobal/docview/1681638045/AA42CBE1073E4FFFPQ/1?accountid=15078>.

Rodriguez, Joseph A., "Latinos at UWM: A History of the Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute and the Roberto Hernandez Center." (unpublished history of the Roberto Hernandez Center) UW Milwaukee, 2005. Accessed April 13, 2017, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B\\_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_NCx1PD7mAya0JXbTJwTTh6Yjg/view)

## **Archives**

University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives

University of Wisconsin Board of Regents

UW-Madison Oral History Program

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives

UW-Extension records 1896-1988

UW-Milwaukee Campus Committees Collection, 1921-2013

UW-Milwaukee Department of Africology records, 1968-2011

UW-Milwaukee Department of Urban Studies, records 1956-2011

UW-Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations records, 1964-1968

UW-Milwaukee Office of the Assistant Chancellor records, 1965-1974

UW-Milwaukee Office of the Chancellor records, 1933-2014

UW-Milwaukee Office of the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs records, 1956-2014

UW-Milwaukee Office of the Dean of Students records, 1915-2012

UW-Milwaukee University Communications & Media Relations records 1943-2015

## **Interviews**

Jesus Salas, interview by Toni Johns, Milwaukee, November 22, 2016.

Fred Harrington, interview by Laura Smail, 1985, fifth interview of six, transcript, Oral History Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin.

## **Websites**

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. "About UWM." Accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/about/>.

University of Wisconsin Milwaukee. "Africology History." Accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/africology/home/africology-history/>

UW-Oshkosh. "Black Thursday." Accessed April 13, 2017, <http://www.uwosh.edu/blackthursday/reaction.html>

Urban Studies Programs. "50 Years of Making Positive Contributions to Urban Communities." accessed April 9, 2017, <https://uwm.edu/urban-studies/research/usp-50th-anniversary/>

United States Census Bureau. Hispanic Heritage Month: Equal Employment Opportunity." Accessed April 19, 2017, [https://www.census.gov/eo/special\\_emphasis\\_programs/hispanic\\_heritage.html](https://www.census.gov/eo/special_emphasis_programs/hispanic_heritage.html)

College of Agriculture & Life Sciences University of Wisconsin-Madison. "History." Accessed April 9, 2017, <http://www.cals.wisc.edu/about-cals/history/>

The University of Wisconsin-Madison. "History of the Wisconsin Idea." Accessed December 15, 2015, <https://wisconsinidea.wisc.edu/history-of-the-wisconsin-idea/>.

University of Wisconsin-Madison. "Institute for Research on Poverty." Accessed April 19, 2017, <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/aboutirp/history.htm>

UWM Libraries March on Milwaukee. "Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC)." Accessed April 9, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/marchonmilwaukee/keyterms/music/>.

Johnson, Lyndon B. "Educational Message to Congress." January 12, 1965, LBJ Presidential Library: Accessed April 18, 2017, <http://www.lbjlibrary.net/collections/on-this-day-in-history/january.html#12th>.

Thelin, John R. and Jason R. Edwards and Eric Moyer, "Higher Education in the United States-Historical Development Systems." accessed April 19, 2017, <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2044/Higher-Education-in-United-States.html>

UMOS, Building Better Futures. "UMOS History." Accessed April 19, 2017, <http://www.umos.org/corporate/history.html>

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. "UWM's Vision, Values, and Mission Statements." Accessed March 23, 2017, <http://uwm.edu/mission/>

### **City and State Informational Materials**

The Milwaukee Police Department. *A Guide to Understanding Race and Human Relations*. Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights, 1954.

Slesinger, Doris P. and Eileen Muirragul. "The Rise and Decline of Migrant Farmworkers: The Case of Wisconsin." Madison, WI: Institute for Research on Poverty (1979): 19, accessed April 18, 2017, <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/tp/id/41743>.

Wisconsin State Universities System Board of Regents, *Recommended Operating Budget for the Wisconsin State Universities, 1968-1968*. Madison: WI, The Board of Regents, 1968.

Wisconsin State Universities System Board of Regents, *Recommended Operating Budget for the Wisconsin State Universities, 1970-1971*. Madison: WI, The Board of Regents, 1970.