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arren Miller Remembered

With the death of Warren E. Miller on January 30, 1999, the social science research community lost a great friend and colleague. The founder of ICPSR and its first Executive Director, Warren displayed throughout his life a unique talent for building institutions that survived beyond his direct involvement and continue to prosper. He helped to establish the National Election Studies, the Social Science History Association, and ISR's Center for Political Studies. He was also renowned for his scholarship and published several groundbreaking books on voting behavior.

A memorial service for Warren will be held in Ann Arbor on April 14, 1999. The Miller-Converse Lecture, to be delivered by Larry Bartels, Princeton University, will take place the day before on April 13. For more information about the memorial, contact the Center for Political Studies office at 734-763-1348.

Warren touched many lives. Below are reminiscences by Phil Converse, Leslie Kish, and Merrill Shanks, all of whom were profoundly influenced by Warren and were privileged to witness many of his signal accomplishments in the making.

Philip E. Converse

Phil Converse is Robert Cooley Angell Distinguished University Professor Emeritus of Sociology and Political Science at the University of Michigan and Research Scientist Emeritus at U-M's Institute for Social Research.

My own professional life owes more by far to Warren Miller than to anyone else. In the fall of 1952, when Warren was engrossed in his first election study, a chance encounter with him gave me my first real sense of professional direction. He went out of his way to recruit me into the trade, giving me entirely sage counsel about my upcoming doctoral studies. With these studies largely completed early in 1956, I found a paid staff position with the new presidential election study. Soon I was having the time of my life.

Warren's knack for growing people and careers was rivalled only by his knack for growing larger institutions. One of these efforts, and certainly among the most difficult and ambitious, was his creation of the Inter-university Consortium for Political Research. I was trying to be a constructive junior lieutenant throughout that period, and my memories of this creation are vivid.

Let's clarify the problem to which Warren devised such an inspired answer. Before I joined up, efforts to cultivate

contacts in the political science profession were under way. In 1954, the Social Science Research Council had sent a group of promising "Young Turks" of the new "political behavior" movement to a summer seminar in Ann Arbor, for hands-on experience sorting punched cards in secondary analyses of the 1952 study, all under Warren's tutelage. There was, of course, a new ethic aborning here, to which Warren and Angus Campbell were both dedicated: although our staff had spent hundreds of hours executing the study, the data were not our private property to be shielded from outside poachers. They were a public good.



Warren was honored at the 25th Anniversary Meeting of ICPSR Official Representatives in November 1987.

Later on, the 1954 seminarians wanted new data from the small 1954 election study, and then from 1956 as well. These requests for both punched cards and special-purpose tabulations soon grew from a trickle to a torrent. Drain on staff time became a serious problem, threatening our own grant-supported research progress. What was to be done? Warren's vision was a system whereby scholars from other universities could exploit these data through a subscription system to cover dissemination costs.

This was easier said than done. The elders rapidly warned Warren that the odds of deans at other universities agreeing to shift any of their own monies to the University of Michigan were low. But he sold the idea to a set of top political scientists at the greatest research universities—a group convened as "the Committee of Eight"—whose high credit and good offices with their home universities could start the ball rolling. Even so, it was not easy: Warren soon realized that he would have to go on the road, at major sacrifice to his personal research agenda, if the effort were to succeed. But he was convinced it was the right thing to do. I remember his calculating that in the peak organizational year, he had been away from Ann Arbor 120 workdays.

Few institutions have been so completely the lengthening shadow of one remarkable gentleman and scholar.

Leslie Kish

Leslie Kish is Professor Emeritus of Sociology at the University of Michigan and Research Scientist Emeritus at U-M's Institute for Social Research.

Warren Miller joined our Survey Research Center in 1951, and he took my summer course in sampling soon thereafter. We have been in frequent contact ever since, and I write this entirely from memory.

Warren was so good in my class, though he had less maths than others, that I tried to recruit him into sampling. But Angus Campbell, who recruited both Warren and Phil Converse, had other plans for both, and they all agreed on them. Did they know already that they were going to revolutionize election studies one day and even the field of political science? Warren clearly had that "vision thing," and ten years after taking our Summer Session in Survey Techniques he founded the even larger ICPSR in 1962.

That same creative intelligence, enthusiasm, and courage Warren showed for 40 years of his collaboration within our Institute and outside also. He would initiate ideas and methods with his creative way of posing problems. One such problem was how to use efficiently a sample of n for year (y) also in year ($y+2$) so that we would have both a panel and each of the current years for comparisons. The answer was that by following up the movers (about 18 percent), for a sample of size of $n(1.18)$ we could have all three samples. There were other innovations in survey methods that he helped to create, and it was always a pleasure to collaborate with Warren.

Warren left for Arizona State University in 1982, because he generously followed his new wife, Ruth Jones, to wherever she found an optimal position. Otherwise, he should have become ISR Director, in my estimation.

Warren was an avid member of our (almost) pioneering paddleball players group (now racquetball). His high school sprinting speed showed there as



Warren with Donald Stokes in November 1987.

well as on the tennis courts. He was a keen competitor who made it a joy to either win or lose and was always upbeat. He loved his Jack Daniels and his steaks, in that order, and we always had dinner, usually at the Old German, when he came to Ann Arbor from Scottsdale. When I visited there a week for AAPOR in 1992 Warren and Ruth gallantly took us for our first tour of the Grand Canyon, and he was a great guide and host. We ate together for the last time when he visited here in 1998 for the ISR 50th Anniversary celebration, with his son Jeffrey.

Merrill Shanks

Merrill Shanks is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley, where he also directs the Computer-assisted Survey Methods Program.

As noted above, Warren Miller created the Consortium in 1962, based on a series of bilateral agreements between the Political Behavior Program at Michigan's Survey Research Center and re-

search organizations or academic departments at other universities. The original objectives of that initiative were fairly modest in comparison with the scope of current ICPSR activities and membership. Those of us who joined the staff in that first year were told that the Consortium would be seen as successful if as many as 20 other universities became continuing members. The initial purpose for annual membership fees was to cover the costs of "cleaning up" the data and documentation for the "Michigan election surveys" and a small number of other well-known studies, and to help scholars at other institutions use those materials.

Within a year, however, membership in the Consortium simply took off. With his co-authors from *The American Voter* (1960), Don Stokes, Phil Converse, and Angus Campbell, Warren combined the Consortium's growing archive of survey data with a popular summer program in quantitative methods and began to develop an archive of historical materials based on aggregate election returns and census data. Based on this combination, the initial cluster of cooperating universities quickly grew to several dozen, then over a hundred, well on its way toward the current international and interdisciplinary organization.

In 1970, Warren stepped down as the Executive Director of the Consortium in order to lead the new Center for Political Studies, which included the Consortium, the next national election surveys, and several other projects directed by colleagues at Michigan and elsewhere. Since that change, however, Warren maintained a very strong commitment to the Consortium and its future, and he served as an Associate Director until his death.

Richard Rockwell suggested I prepare this statement because I have worked closely with Warren as his co-author since the early 1980s, and because I was familiar with Warren's role during the early years of the Consortium. As Warren's collaborator, it was always clear that I had a great deal of company, for he was seen as an ally or partner by an astonishing number of



Warren with ICPSR Associate Director Heinz Eulau (Stanford University) at ISR's 50th Anniversary Celebration in October 1998.

other social scientists. This pattern was evident from the first meetings of the Consortium's Official Representatives and continued with the Council when the number of member institutions became too large for small group interaction. To those of us who joined the staff of this new organization, it was clear that most of the representatives from the other universities involved were already colleagues of Warren's and that they shared a variety of common substantive and methodological objectives.

In working with Ann Robinson, Raburn Howland, and others in the Consortium office, I also learned that many of the Consortium's relationships with other universities were the result of repeated communications and personal visits by Warren to those campuses. Through continuing correspondence and travel on a scale that will almost certainly not be repeated, Warren initiated collegial and cooperative relationships with researchers in a very large number of colleges and universities. The early Consortium was very substantially guided by those relationships, and all of the Consortium's projects were designed to maximize the scope of participation and collaboration within those institutions, on a national and international basis.

support the broadest possible range of analytic objectives, while preserving continuity (and comparability) with data from all of the previous surveys in that series. In the electoral field, comprehensive agreement of that sort has been very difficult to reach and sustain, and Warren had to use all of his skills to overcome a variety of disagreements concerning basic design and measurement for all NES surveys from 1978 through 1992.

My collaboration with Warren began in 1981, and it soon revealed the same kinds of qualities that I had observed in his interactions with other social scientists concerning the Consortium and NES. He often began discussions concerning a new topic by expressing general support or agreement with his colleague's (or my) point of view, but his subsequent comments would reveal doubts or concerns based on a remarkable range of perspectives or concerns. Warren's approach to any problem or issue illustrated a truly unique combination of curiosity, patience, determination, and a pervasive recognition of the many contributions of previous research by other scholars. Warren and I liked to disagree with each other, and to pursue a given issue or problem until we agreed completely, or until we could both see why our differ-

In the early 1970's, Warren used the same inclusive approach to create the National Election Studies (NES). The key to success of that complex venture was, and still is, the development of widespread support within the electoral research community for an overall design and a comprehensive set of measurement objectives that can

ent points of view arose and could coexist. Getting there was always more fun than editing the resulting manuscript, but Warren was also an intensely committed partner in those less interesting aspects of our work. It was, simply, a privilege and a great pleasure to work with him.

Warren's many contributions to the study of electoral behavior have already been discussed in other settings and will no doubt be emphasized again in the coming months. One such summary may be worth mentioning in this context. In 1992, several of Warren's colleagues participated in a festschrift for him, which resulted in *Elections at Home and Abroad: Essays in Honor of Warren E. Miller* (University of Michigan Press, 1994). The first chapter of that book (edited by Jennings and Mann, who also organized the festschrift), identifies the many ways in which Warren's own research has influenced election studies in the United States and several other countries, including his long-standing interest in linkages between voters' attitudes and preferences and the actions of their elected representatives.

Warren was an active and productive scholar until the final weeks of his life. Shortly before his death, he received notification that his paper on "The Other Dimension: Dynamic Constraint in American Public Opinion" had been accepted for publication, and he had recently completed his editing for *Policy Representation in Western Democracies* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming in 1999) with colleagues from France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden. This spring, I had planned to work with Warren in Arizona in order to complete our essay on the 1996 presidential election. Unfortunately, that manuscript will be completed without his final criticism and editorial touch.

I miss Warren as a friend and colleague, and my life just won't be the same without him. In the past week, I have also thought about the many ways in which he had an impact on my career. In that respect, I know I have a great deal of company.