EPISODE 5: "Codified Cops" TRANSCRIPT [FINAL] w/ Citations

SIOBHAN RYAN: Hey, it's Siobhan! If you haven't listened to the rest of this season, go back and start with episode 1. Things will make more sense.

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SR: Kacie, what comes to mind when you think of the late 1960s, early 1970s?

KACIE LUCCHINI BUTCHER: Ooh, okay. Gogo dancers. The proliferation of rock n' roll. Psychedelics. Woodstock. Umm… Andy Warhol – he was great. The release of, what I would say is one of the greatest albums of all time – *Hot Buttered Soul* by Isaac Hayes.

SR: Uhh, I meant more historically speaking. What big *historical* events does it make you think of?

KLB: Oh, right… That's a little boring but sure. Let me put my little academic hat on. Well… It's a period of huge social and political upheaval. We're seeing the birth of youth counterculture, and huge developments in social and political activism, like the Civil Rights Movement, the anti-war demonstrations, sexual liberation. Honestly, It was all pretty groovy!

SR: Yeah, exactly! And this all happened to the *extreme* on college campuses. Universities were rife with protest, and these demonstrations got *wild*.

KLB: Oh, 100 percent! In 1968, students at Columbia University occupied *five* university buildings — including Hamilton Hall, the same building students took over during the encampments in 2024. And they held the acting dean hostage! They held him hostage! In his office.[1]

SR: Yep, it really puts today's student protests into perspective.

KLB: Yeah, particularly the panicked responses from university administrators. I mean, a few tents is not the same as being held hostage…

SR: Yeah… so Columbia in 1968 is probably the most famous of these late '60s student protests, but one of the earliest protests at a major US university to turn violent actually happened right here, at UW–Madison. What do you know about the 1967 Dow Chemical Protests?

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[1] Robert B. Stulberg, "Three Day Rebellion on Campus: A Diary," *Columbia Daily Spectator*, April 26, 1968, 2, Columbia Spectator Archive, https://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/?a=d&d=cs19680426-01&e=-------en-20--1--txt-txIN-------; Siobhan Ryan, "Columbia University's 'Gym Crow': What the Contest over a Public Park Reveals about the Link between Race and Space," *Australasian Journal of American Studies 39*, no. 1, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26973002.

KLB: Oh god… how much time do you have?

SR: Hmm, give me the high points.

KLB: The 1967 Dow Protest was tumultuous to say the least.[2] Essentially, Dow Chemical was recruiting on campus, and student protesters tried to block their classmates from going to the interviews. Dow's main business at the time was manufacturing household cleaning products, but they quickly became more widely known for supplying the US government with Napalm, a horrific chemical weapon, which they used in Vietnam. As the protest grew, UWPD Chief Ralph Hanson panicked and called in the Madison police. They released tear gas – for the first time ever on UW-Madison's campus. Sheriffs were called in for reinforcement. Students were beaten with clubs and maced. The whole thing was photographed and the photos show a violent scene.

SR: The protest is a storied piece of UW–Madison history. But what's *less* well-known is its impact on the history of UWPD. The fallout from the protest directly inspired a review into campus police that recommended significantly expanding the department and finally solidifying its statutory authority.

[INTRO MUSIC]

KLB: From the Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History, this is *Reorientation*, a podcast exploring the history of UW–Madison you won't get on your campus welcome tour. I'm Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

SR: And I'm Siobhan Ryan. On this episode, we find out how UWPD finally became a *real* police department. What happened after the dust settled on the Dow protest? And how was that protest leveraged to *increase* campus police powers?

[INTRO MUSIC]

SR: Our last two episodes covered UWPD during the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s. If you haven't listened to those, you should do that now, because they really set the scene for these late 1960s and 1970s developments.

KLB: To quickly recap, UWPD's predecessor during the 1940s — the Department of Protection and Security — didn't remotely resemble a real police department. But with rogue, abusive officer Joseph Hammersley as de facto chief of campus police, the department stretched what little power it had and became a quasi-police department by simply playing the *role* of law enforcement.

SR: You'll probably recognize the voice of Grace Watkins by now. She's a history PhD student at Oxford and a law student at Yale who studies the history of campus police. As she puts it –

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[2] For a succinct overview of the 1967 Dow Chemical Protests, also known as the Dow Chemical Riots, see "Turning Point: Six Stories from the Dow Chemical Protest," https://1967.wisc.edu/index.html

GW: [...] I think there's a narrative that before the student protest movement, campus police were kind of just security guards or night watchmen. But what I'm finding, and particularly in the UW example, is that they were already beginning to assert some of their law enforcement powers or at least what they wanted to become law enforcement powers, and that they gained some of their earliest police powers from sexual policing of women and gay men in the postwar period.

KLB: At UW–Madison, this was most clear during the gay purges — another quick plug for episode 4 which is all about that stain on UW–Madison's history. But it was also evident in everyday policing, such as issuing parking fines. All through the 1940s and 1950s, students, faculty, and staff were vocal about how campus security was at best harassing people and at worst actively harming the campus community.

SR: After persistent community complaints about both Hammersley and the department at large, UW President E.B. Fred ordered the department to formally reorganize.[3] Under the leadership of a new, experienced director, UWPD got uniforms, painted the word "police" on their cars, established an official headquarters-slash-station on campus, and encouraged officers to attend local law enforcement training.

KLB: The professionalization of UWPD may have reigned in the department's lawlessness, but it also solidified the place of police on campus. With an increased budget, the department hired more officers and staff and reported apprehending and ticketing more people after the reorganization than before. Between 1955 and 1965, the department more than doubled its full-time police and security personnel.[4]

SR: Community concerns about the role of police on campus were brushed to the side. Because in the eyes of the university, they had solved the problem. Right? They'd taken a ragtag, untrained group of night watchmen and turned them into something resembling a real police force.

KLB: But even with uniforms and police cars, UWPD officers still weren't real cops.

GW: They kind of got their foot in the door through doing that. And at other institutions, like, there are pretty stark examples of, I think, like, students pointing out, they're like, wait, like, checking state law and being like you're not actually police. And then them overnight having to change their sirens from red sirens to amber sirens or crossing off the word police that they had on all their squad cars and uniforms until they could, you know, then, you know, scrambling to get it officially codified.

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[3] "The Hammersley Method: The History of Mistrust between the UW–Madison Community and the UW–Madison Police Department," Public History Project blog, March 8, 2021, https://campushistory.wisc.edu/the-hammersley-method-the-history-of-mistrust-between-the-uw-madison-community-and-the-uw-madison-police-department/

4 Ibid.

SR: So how does UWPD get codified? The answer lies largely in knowing the history of the late 1960s, specifically the turbulent campus protest movements.

KLB: Remember the Dow Protest of 1967 – the one I summarized very briefly in the intro? Well it was actually the second Dow protest and is often referred to as the Dow Riot because of how spectacularly it spiraled out of control. This was not the first time students had tried to block access to Dow recruiters on campus. But it was the first time that UWPD lost control, and in turn, relied on outside police for support.

SR: There's a lot of documentation of the October 1967 protest and how the day unfolded. When students blocked the doors to interview rooms, UWPD tried to arrest them. But the students fought back, refusing to let their fellow protesters be arrested. The crowd grew from 40, to 60, and then 150 to 200 – many of them simply spectators. UWPD Chief Ralph Hanson believed he was losing control of the situation and called for back up from the Madison Police Department… then the County Sheriffs… who all arrived with batons and riot sticks.[5]

KLB: From there, it was all out chaos. Yelling and trampling, tear gas, students running, people being pulled and pushed every which way, clubs hitting indiscriminately. What started as students blocking access to a campus building ended in plumes of tear gas, beaten and bloodied students, and… calm.

SR: Calm? That doesn't sound right…

KLB: Well that's how the university describes it on one of their websites that documents the history. They state that… At 3 p.m.: About 150 officers establish a perimeter around the Commerce Building to gain control of the crowd. And I quote "The show of force served to reduce further incidents and the crowd slowly dispersed."[6] Really calm!

SR: We might have different definitions of calm…

KLB: Yeah, maybe… anyway, in the peaceful, tranquil aftermath, the university decided it needed to study what-the-eff just happened and how they could make sure it never happened again. And by it, we mean student protest that resulted in police violence.

SR: Cut to October 1968. A professor in the Law School has prepared a study on protection and security services at UW.[7] This study was the *direct result* of the October 1967 Dow Chemical

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[5] "Turning Point: Six Stories from the Dow Chemical Protest," https://1967.wisc.edu/index.html
[6] "Turning Point: Six Stories from the Dow Chemical Protest," https://1967.wisc.edu/index.html
[7] Herman Goldstein, "Protection and Security Services for the University of Wisconsin: A Review — With Recommendations for Improvement," October 1968, Physical Plant, Protection & Security Subject Files 17/1/1 Box No. 1, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archive, Madison, Wisconsin (henceforth referred to as UW Archives)

Protest. The Regents ordered it in November 1967, less than a month after the demonstration, at a rather… unusual board meeting.[8]

KLB: Unusual is one way of putting it…

SR: So, at the start of the meeting, the president of the Board of Regents reported that a group of TAs from the Philosophy Department had requested a change of location to provide "more room for spectators."[9]

KLB: *Spectators*? At a *meeting of the Board of Regents*?? Voluntarily???

SR: Right? They knew the Regents would discuss the fallout from the protest, including disciplinary action against protesters, which they opposed. Unfortunately, the minutes don't say how many spectators came — only that there was enough room for everyone, so they didn't move the meeting. But a couple of times, the minutes mention laughter from the audience. Like, when they're discussing the next round of recruiting to take place on campus.

SR: President Harrington says, "With the cooperation of the City of Madison and Dane County, we will have adequate police force present to keep the peace." And then below that, in brackets, it says, [At this point there was a burst of laughter from the audience, to which President Harrington replied, "This is not a laughing matter."][10]

SR: And now, it doesn't say this, but I have to assume that response prompted more laughter. Anyway, between these interruptions from the audience, the Regents approved a review of protection and security services, which was completed in October 1968.

KLB: The report made 10 recommendations, including increasing the number and "caliber" of police officers, i.e. expanding training, and improving relationships with the City of Madison Police Department. But most significantly, it recommended clarifying the legal provisions granting powers to a University police force.[11]

SR: Grace mentioned earlier that some campus police departments operated with no statutory basis until around this period. That wasn't the case in Wisconsin, because the legislature gave the Regents police powers over university property in a roundabout way under the State Parks statute.[12]

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[8] Letter from Fred Harvey Harrington to the Regents of the University of Wisconsin, October 23, 1968, Physical Plant, Protection & Security Subject Files 17/1/1 Box No. 1, UW Archives
[9] Minutes of the regular meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin, November 17, 1967, https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/RQYWOYGVMZFOA86
[10] Ibid.
[11] Herman Goldstein, "Protection and Security Services for the University of Wisconsin: A Review — With Recommendations for Improvement," October 1968, Physical Plant, Protection & Security Subject Files 17/1/1 Box No. 1, UW Archives
[12] Ibid.; Wis. Stats. 27.01(8)

KLB: But that was messy, so the report recommended, quote, "a forthright legislative grant of police powers to University police officers comparable to those granted to municipal police personnel — augmented, of course, by the provision that University police have the authority to enforce Regent rules as well."[13]

SR: And so, as was the pattern at universities across the US, UW–Madison responded to the dramatic student protests of the late 1960s by creating its own, *sworn*, police force. The Legislature granted explicit police authority to the UW Board of Regents in 1973 under Wisconsin Statute 36.[14]

KLB: Before we move on, there is something else I wanted to mention. While student demonstrations were a major factor in the recommendations the report made, so was the Rothschild murder case.

SR: Is this the case you're always going on about?

KLB: Yes! Because in May of 1968, Christine Rothschild, a freshman at UW–Madison, was murdered and her body was found outside of Sterling Hall. It was a grizzly crime that made national headlines and it was **never solved.** And UWPD *used* their failure to solve the murder as a core argument for increasing funding to the department. They argued that their inability to solve the case was a direct result of their underfunding… that if they only they had more money and more cops, surely they could have solved the case.[15] The case remains unsolved to this day. Consider this a plug for my hypothetical future true crime podcast. Watch this space.

SR: So we've finally established how UWPD became real police… and now we're done, right? I know we made a joke about this at the end of episode 1 — ha ha, very funny — but like, this *must* be the end of the podcast now.

KLB: Well…

SR: Oooh, Kacie, don't look at me like that.

KLB: It's just that a *lot* happened between the 1970s and now. Professionalization didn't end with statutory powers. UWPD continues to get more money, more training, more sophisticated equipment. They're less distinguishable from regular police than ever. And it's hurting their brand.

SR: Remember episode 1 – we talked to John Sloan, the retired professor from the University of Alabama, about why campus police were created.

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[13] Goldstein, "Protection and Security Services for the University of Wisconsin: A Review," p. 41
[14] Wisconsin Statutes 1973, Chapter 36, Section 11, https://docs.legis.wisconsin.gov/1973/statutes/statutes/36.pdf
[15] Herman Goldstein, "Protection and Security Services for the University of Wisconsin: A Review — With Recommendations for Improvement," October 1968, Physical Plant, Protection & Security Subject Files 17/1/1 Box No. 1, UW Archives.

JOHN SLOAN: The hope was they would integrate into the campus community, right? So these are now internal people and, those internal people, again, in theory, should be guardians. They should be guarding the members of the community, the campus itself from those who would come to do harm, to steal, to injure, you know, whatever.

SR: Well, as departments continued to grow and professionalize, campus police strayed further from this goal.

JS:-So they're like in two worlds simultaneously. And what I think what has to happen is they're going to have to choose one world. So they are either just like their municipal counterparts or they're not. And increasingly what's happening with the corporatization of higher education is you offer all of these amenities to students to get them to come. And, so this, so what's happened as part of that is students are now consumers. They're not students anymore. They are consumers who need to be kept happy. And so, the cops have to keep in mind that these are not students, they're consumers. And so, we need to be really careful when we're interacting with them to make sure that they are happy because we need to have satisfied customers, you know, for public relations, you know, et cetera. And so it's like, well, guess what guys, you're going to have problems because when you send them to the academy, what they learn is to be warriors.

JS: And unless the department, the campus police department, through in-service training and additional training, they are not going to be broken of being warriors. So do you really want warriors interacting with your consumers who can raise cane and make you look bad, which is what you don't want to do. And that having armed, uniformed police officers on campus who are trained to be warriors and respond often as warriors are want to respond, is probably not a good thing.

KLB: The relationship between students and UWPD hardened during the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in response to heavy-handed policing of protests including the Dow, and 1969 Black Student Strike, and 1980 Teaching Assistants' Association strike.

SR: Tensions came to a head in 1997, when UW-Madison's student representative body, the Associated Students of Madison, learned from a *Capital Times* reporter that UWPD had been carrying semi-automatic rifles, Colt AR-15s, for over a year. Then-ASM Chair, Angela Smith, noted that students were not consulted, and that ASM was worried the weapons "could be used on students."[16] The news highlighted an ongoing concern — that students have no advisory power over UWPD despite the department's significant power over their lives.

KLB: As UWPD entered the 21st century, it finally resembled a modern campus police department with sworn and armed officers. But there were costs to this transition – not just

[16] Newspaper Clipping, Tom Giffey, "Police Rifle Causes Campus Commotion," *Badger Herald*, April 1, 1997. Department of Protection & Security Subject Files. University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

monetary ones. As John Sloan noted, the training of police doesn't prioritize collaboration or community input. It's hierarchical, formalized, and often adversarial… which naturally resulted in tension between UWPD and the campus community.

SR: The adversarial position of police is not a flaw or an aberration, it's central. And as UWPD grew further from their origins as simple university night watchmen into a fully trained and armed police force… they also grew further away from students and the communities they are tasked to police.

JS: So what I have been doing lately is I've been studying police academy training, this basic law enforcement training that I mentioned. And so what gets stressed is you must come home from your shift. So what we do in basic training is we teach cops to be afraid because the number one, most important thing is you come home from your shift.

JS: So we are going to train you to be suspicious of certain kinds of people or certain situations or, you know, and, that gets drilled into them. You must go home at the end of your shift, you know, and so if that's the message that the officers from the University of Wisconsin at Madison Police Department have here, not in the back of their heads, but in the front of their heads coming out of the academy, I don't, I, you know, I don't, I'm not sure I know what to do about that because that's what they remember.

JS: They remember the weapons training. They remember how to take someone down if they are resisting, the physical stuff that, you know, that's what they remember. And all this other junk is lost. Because it doesn't, what does not get stressed, for example, is, you know, it probably behooves us to understand cultural diversity, even if it's just, you know, this much. Right? But, you know, they're thinking about boy, you know, where's he likely gonna flee when I start to chase him and is he armed? He probably is because you know, everybody has a gun, right? So the assumption is everybody has a gun and they are going to resist. And if that's the persona, if you would, that you bring to the encounter that you two have with me, guess what you two are going to pick up on? This guy wants to shoot us, you know? This guy wants to do grave bodily harm to us, because he thinks that we are going to resist, even though we are not going to resist and we are not resisting, but if always in the background is the encounter that you have with any citizen may be your last. I may not go home after this encounter, then I gotta do everything that I can.

KLB: Decades of mistrust, distrust, and harm. Tensions stacked on tension. History on top of history… all of this sets the stage for our last and final episode of Reorientation's first season.

SR: What are the consequences of a fully trained and armed police force on campus in the 21st century? How do they respond to tensions and growing protest movements? We'll talk about the present state of UWPD on campus and in the Madison community and most importantly, we'll

talk about the future. What does campus safety look like? And do we need police for it? That's on the next episode of *Reorientation*.

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KLB: You can find a full teaching guide for this episode on our website at campus history dot wisc dot E-D-U.

KLB: *Reorientation* is written by me, Siobhan Ryan, Kacie Lucchini Butcher, and John K. Wilson. He also produced and edited this episode.

KLB: Additional help from Amaya Boman, Taylor Bailey and Dan Berman.

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