Ideologies of computer scientists and technologists
(Correctness beyond reason)

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Social conditions of outstanding contributions to computer science : a prosopography of Turing Award laureates (1966-2016)

*Draft*¹

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Abstract

The Turing Award, commonly described as computer science’s highest award and equivalent of the Nobel prize in that discipline, has now been awarded for half a century. In the following, we describe the social regularities that underlie and the conditions that embed these high achievements in computer science innovation.

We find, contrary to a meritocratic ideal of one’s only abilities determining success or recognition within sciences, that several characteristics of scientists, exogenous and non-exogenous alike to their scientific work and identities, are of overbearing or disproportionate importance in defining academic acknowledgement. We find in particular that nationality or birth place, gender and one’s network have a big role in making Turing Award laureates. As do social origins, with a significant portion of Turing Award winners coming primarily from middle- and upper-class family backgrounds, especially households with significant cultural capital (*i.e.* one or both parents hold an advanced degree or are engaged in an academic profession). Reviewing the data before us, we were also unable to ignore the non-participation of visible minorities and non-white computer scientists to the body of Turing Award recipients.

In short, place of birth, nationality, gender, social background, “race” and networks play a role in making Turing Award laureates. This paper also explores the ways in which a social history or sociology of computer science and the wider technology sector may unfold in the future, by discussing theoretical implications, methods and sources.

Keywords : computer science, history, sociology, gender, science, technology, ACM, Turing.

¹A draft entitled “Social conditions of outstanding contributions in computer science : a statistical analysis of 50 years of Turing award recipients (1966-2016)” was presented in December 2017 at the German Center for Higher Education and Science Research in Berlin.

1. Introduction : A belated history of computer science

It is a fact that traditionally, and today still, the history of science is mostly devoted to the study of the canonical scientific disciplines : mathematics, physics and astronomy, chemistry and biology.

5 Here, obscure scribes struggle with various number systems in the Mesopotamia of the 20th century BCE, but no word of Diffie, Merkle or Stroustrup whose contributions are at the heart of much of modern finance, commerce, technology and communication, the very ones that affect us, in the here and now of the 21st century.

10 Yet it is also a fact that there are very few other sciences that have as direct an impact on our lives and hold the potential of fundamentally transforming them as computer science does. Specifically very few who hold as much potential, both in good and bad, to simultaneously uproot, control and threaten them and likewise extend, preserve, document and transmit them.

15 Few other scientific enterprises permeate our lives and those of those we hold dear, down to their most intimate aspects, as that emerging discipline¹²³⁴⁵⁶⁷⁸. Who we are, how we think, how we communicate, and very likely in the future how we look, how we feel, how we see are just a few of these transformations. It is long overdue that the history of science abandons its cozy canon.

20 And, because computer science is a novel discipline, so is necessarily the

¹Brin, Sergey and Page, Larry. 1998. "The anatomy of a large-scale hypertextual Web search engine" *Computer Networks and ISDN Systems* 30(1-7) : 107-117.

²Greenwald, Glenn and MacAskill, Ewen. 2013. "NSA Prism program taps in to user data of Apple, Google and others" *The Guardian* 07/06/2013.

³Sankar, Pooja. "Pooja Sankar: Building the Piazza Collaboration System" *Computer* 46(3) : 6-7.

⁴Hill, Phil. 2016. "Popular Discussion Platform Piazza Getting Pushback For Selling Student Data" *e-Literate* 10/11/2016.

⁵Li, Yanhong. 2002. "Toward a qualitative search engine" *Internet Computing* 2(4) : 24-29.

⁶Wildau, Gabriel. 2016. "Baidu probed after student death sparks outrage over online ads" *Financial Times* 03/05/2018.

⁷Hern, Alex. 2018. "Facebook logged SMS texts and phone calls without explicitly notifying users" *The Guardian* 29/03/2018.

⁸Ahmed, Maha. 2018. "Aided by Palantir, the LAPD Uses Predictive Policing to Monitor Specific People and Neighborhoods" *The Intercept* 11/05/2018.

history of computer science⁹ ; but, better premature than belated.

There is a huge need for a science that looks at computer science, not from the internal point of view of computer science itself, which is concerned primarily with the technical aspects of the discipline *e.g.* the mathematical-electrical
25 conditions of computer operations understood momentarily as central processing unit, arithmetic logic unit and control unit, and memory and input-output channels¹⁰¹¹, but from the external point of view of the history or the sociology of science ; one ideally that would make strange the technology we take for granted, familiar the unknown and alternatively exciting and revolting what
30 is anticipated. This is meant as such a contribution.

It assumes that history is a worthwhile enterprise, and the social sciences in general, only in so far as they help us better understand ourselves, who we are, where we come from, the world we live in (currently), our current place inside of it, what is (*currently*), what was and what could be (including once more).

35 Brecht famously said that because things were the way they are, things will not stay the way they are. But, speaking on the responsibility of historians, perhaps it is to Marx that we should turn to when historians of science confuse their fascination for numbers, and their intellectual work, for their research objects, thus becoming little more than the lackeys of numbers that the German
40 economist from Trier once described.

In many ways, when looking at the state of the history of computer science and its applications we can say with little fear that we miss even the most basic of information when it comes to who, outside of a simple procedural history of computer science as a succession of big names, decides what is deemed significant
45 enough to be brought to the attention of the wider public, what it is categorized as worthy of being financed or otherwise pursued and supported academically.

⁹We write specifically the history of computer science and not computing, the former we understand to mean in the strictest sense the academic discipline, the latter the much broader history of the attempts to create machines for purposes of automatic computation

¹⁰This description is based on a simplified Von Neumann architecture.

¹¹“The term “computer” is not well defined, and its meaning will change with new developments” (Newell, Perlis and Simon 1967).

Who are the people who make the computing technology that we use? Specifically, who are those who have an above-average influence on its design and direction? And, further : what are the interests of those who make these decisions,
50 their social characteristics, and so forth?

And, because premature in the case of the history of computer science and computer remains better in most instances than belated, we can answer : presumably 1. white 2. male 3. heterosexual 4. middle- or upper-class 5. from a Western country 6. from the USA 7. from the coastal regions within the United
55 States 8. educated at a handful of major universities.

And, because we know very little, on a fundamental level, there is a need for research that answers even the most basic of questions, before grand theories can be thought of as important.

We find ourselves in the same position as computer pioneers during the second half of the 20th century such as Forsythe or Gaurin who concluded that the
60 domain was so new and vast, hence experimental research, though often considered inferior to theory and a detriment to a budding science, should precede general theories.

The topic of this paper will be on the social conditions of outstanding contributions in computer science and it is based on an analysis of half a century
65

E.g. Heidegger and the letters he wrote about his Jewish colleagues, the opportunism of Carl Schmitt, that only rivalled Heidegger's during the Nazi period, Sartre and the phone call he made to the Nobel foundation inquiring about the money after having declined it, Michel Foucault and what he did with the personal correspondence of his roommates and the questions on positivism he could not answer (so he made up something else instead), the college essays that Derrida submitted multiple times, the disdain held by Wittgenstein for academics, whom he must have considered barely more than sheeps, the narrowmindedness of Semmelweis' colleagues, Rousseau whose pedagogy stood in stark contrast with his own neglect of his children, the young woman that Rembrandt had locked up in a crazy house because he did care to uphold his promise anymore, Max Planck's opinions on women and women scientists in particular, the historian of science at Uppsala who rejected Foucault's doctoral thesis, but whose name is now only remembered in connection with that event, the colleague of Dover at Oxford he hated so much he could have killed by his own omission, the Lacour and Green study that never was but still made it in *Science*, the University of Chicago's department of economics' apparent lack of any common sense or moral compass in admitting a former Goldman Sachs trader who had boasted of swindling "widows and orphans" during the subprime mortgage crisis to its PhD program, etc..

¹²To break with the myth of the intellectual once and for all, one would be well advised to read the biographies and autobiographies of any number of scientists or academics or artists.

of Turing awards.

2. Research directions and methods

The analysis of outstanding performances, in academia and elsewhere, presents a particular challenge to social sciences in so far as these high-achievers, either by
70 own conception or through common sense notions by mainstream entertainment, journalism, popular science or idealistic scholarship, tend to appear as not bound by the same rules as common lives, the same passions, the same appetites, the faults, the malice, even the pettiness¹².

In what is arguably computer science’s most famous book, *The Art of Com-*
75 *puter Programming*, one can find such notions. Indeed its author, Donald Knuth, tells us that he wrote the series for “the one person in 50 who has this strange way of thinking that makes a programmer”¹³. In turn, those who find themselves to be among that number, should be highly supportive of such arguments in the process of being elected amongst the lucky few.

80 In another of computer science’s revered works, *Structure and Interpretation of Computer Programs*, one learns against expectations from the very beginning that computer science : is not a science, is not about computers and is according to its authors, Sussman and Abelson of MIT, closer to magic.

But, the aim of such a work is not purely for bravado. While demystifying
85 such notable careers may be one of its effects, it can be and it is encouraged to be read as a way to make appear closer and more attainable, at least more reasonable and realistic, the important, useful and far reaching innovations due to Turing Award winners, in the areas of programming languages, databases, electronic circuits and AI to cite just a few.

90 Starting this research, we had tried to apply classic research questions from the history or sociology of education, of which here are some below.

Is an education at a prestigious college a requirement for great achievements

¹³Knuth 1997b.

such as the kind recognized the Turing Award? More precisely, does such an affiliation predict the potential for these accomplishments and if so to which degree? Further : is the study of computer science as a degree necessary to
95 make contributions within that field? If not, is a degree in a science subject necessary? Is precocity an indication of future greatness?

While these are worthwhile objects of research, they were not what we found to be the most interesting relationships between winners and the Turing award.
100 We did however answer them : we found most of what could have been expected from a research on international scientific prizes, like the Nobel, namely that recipients were much more likely to have been schooled at institutions located on the coastal areas of the United States, in the prime educational regions and also computing centers of California and New England.

105 Intimately linked to questions of educational origins are those of social origins in the study of higher education. These we handle as well. They remain, no matter how out of fashion they may have fallen with certain researchers who believe themselves to be living in post-classes societies, which they can only conclude because they do, important.

110 while looking at the data and reviewing and analyzing it, we were drawn to different outlooks : coming rapidly to the conclusion that women, of which only 3 had won the Turing award since its creation, and none up until 2006, which is to say none for the first 40 years of its existence, were grossly underrepresented among Turing award winners in extents we had rarely met before, we moved
115 to review the Turing Award from the perspective of the history of gender in science, largely a history of gender inequality and in large parts also exclusion for much of its time span.

We wanted to firstly establish these facts about the participation of women in computer science at its highest levels, but also to understand the situations
120 of the few women who had made it this far and what had brought them to be recognized in their specific fields of study.

Reviewing the data still, we found that Turing Award laureates were bound by many personal relationships : some had been advised by former winners,

some had studied under them, others had written articles with them, before
125 being themselves awarded the prize, some even many of these things at the
same time. And, so, a network analysis helped us visualize these links between
Turing winners.

The lack of diversity in places of birth, nationality and ethnicity or “race”
amongst Turing Award laureates, was impossible to ignore, with the great ma-
130 jority of them white, U.S. American and to some small degree European.

Finally, a comparison with a similar award soon appeared to be essential
and proved very helpful. This helped objectify structures and relationships and
unveil inherent qualities, and in turn distinguish those from statistical artifacts,
by creating a variety of relevant reference points.

135 This research was structured in the following way : a prosopography paired
with statistics and followed by conclusions as well as theories on the social reg-
ularities that preside over “genius” *i.e.* high-achievement in computer science.

3. Data : or how this study was conducted

Our primary source, for much of the statistical work, were the Turing Award
140 biographies provided by the ACM¹⁴.

They contain series of information, themselves already partially coded into
categories, such as “Birth”, “Education”, “Experience” and “Honors and Awards”.
They provide indications as to date and place of birth, degrees obtained and
where these were obtained from, places of employment, etc.

145 As such, they were perfectly suited for the type of study undertaken here,
called prosopography or collective biography, though we did not keep with the
categories provided and sometimes had to complete or extend what was found
in the notices with other sources when information was lacking or non-existent.
Unfortunately, not all laureates’ biographies featured the same level or depth of
150 information.

¹⁴<https://amturing.acm.org>

Of prosopography, Lawrence Stone wrote (has written) that it “is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives. The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied, and then ask a set of uniform questions - about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins (...), place of residence, education”¹⁵.

Historians of science accustomed to working in previous centuries or on more established societies, or, as in this case, disciplines, as well, can think of this collection as they do of the *Biographical memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, which contain biographies for all deceased fellows of the society, with the exception that of the Turing Award biographies we lack sometimes mention of authors¹⁶, almost always a bibliography and the extent of the information provided does not come close to the on average 20 pages long memoirs.

We have also used other types of information on the ACM, partly produced by itself, as in the case of the Royal Society, partly derived from other scholars, often writing within ACM publications, such as compositions of prize juries and leading committees.

A standout publication that we have relied on in addition to the aforementioned was the biographical dictionary *Computer Pioneers* by J.A.N. Lee¹⁷. Of much help were also the oral histories conducted by the Computer History Museum and the British Library with individual Turing laureates. In some cases, we used less conventional sources, such as when we relied on the curriculum

Series for the History of Computing”, jointly with Tomash Publishers of Los Angeles and San Francisco, such as *Babbage’s Calculating Engines: A Collection of Papers*, as volume 2, *The Papers of John Von Neumann*, volume 12, and various other writings including by Turing Award laureates such as Maurice Wilkes or Donald Knuth.

¹⁵Stone 1971.

¹⁶No author is mentioned in the case of John Hopcroft for example.

¹⁷Lee 1995.

¹⁸The MIT Press has done perhaps more than any other publisher to promote publications on the history of computer science and its applications, including their various social implications, with series such as “History of Computing” and “Inside Technology” and publications like Abbate’s *Inventing the Internet* and *Recoding Gender*. In those same collections, see also Hicks 2017 and Lecuyer 2006 on respectively the situation of pioneering female computer scientists in Britain and the early history of Silicon Valley. This is in addition to the collection of primary sources and original writings published in the “Charles Babbage Institute Reprint

vitae uploaded by Turing Award laureates to the internet. Many monographs published by the MIT Press have also been of general use to us¹⁸.

175 This information was then aggregated and integrated into a database. The outcome of that process is a table with 64 entries, one for each Turing Award recipient, each in turn containing 39 columns, or the equivalent of about 2500 individual information.

This study comprises all Turing Award laureates from 1966 to and including
180 2016, from Alan Perlis to Tim Berners-Lee.

That being said, the data provided by the ACM was not always perfect. This we discuss separately in the following subsection.

3.1. Problems with the data

The problems were multifold. There were errors and inconsistencies or simply
185 absence of information. We provide some examples below.

In what appears to be an indication of nationality, that of Iverson is listed as “United States” instead of Canada. In John Backus’ Turing award biography “Université Henre Poincaré” is misspelled, it should read “Henri Poincaré” after the mathematician. Leonard Adleman’s file mentions “Berkley” instead
190 of “Berkeley”. The information provided on Joseph Sifakis is at odds with that provided by Britannica¹⁹ where education is concerned and incomplete in any case.

In three cases, Rabin, Dahl and Naur, we have no information available on their undergraduate degree ; all three of whom were born outside of America. In
195 these cases, we assume for undergraduate institution the university that granted their masters degree as a proxy (as in all three cases, information becomes available again at that level).

Kenneth Thompson’s bachelor degree is listed as “EECS”, for Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, and as having been obtained in 1965 by his
200 Turing Award biography, though we are not certain this is possible or correct,

¹⁹Hosch 2015.

considering that the Department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences at Berkeley was only founded in 1973 while the Department of Computer Science which preceded it had only been or begin to be established in 1968²⁰.

Leiden University is unusually referred to as “University of Leyden” in the
205 biography of Edgar Dijkstra, and although this spelling, of the city and by
extension its university, appears in several older English publications²¹, it seems
rare.

Sometimes euphemisms are used, such as in the case of the biography of
Antony Hoare whose parents, we learn, “were involved in the business of what
210 was then the British Empire” to mean that his father was a colonial civil servant
and his mother the daughter of a tea planter.

In the most extreme of cases, we found errors up to and including in the cita-
tions of the laureates themselves : facilitate is spelled “facilitiate” in Wilkinson’s,
while the rather uncommon “subsequentially” is used in Newell’s.

215 For them, we had to supplement information with other sources whenever
necessary, which we list.

Sometimes, the data, correct, needed to be normalized. We record for in-
stance the Carnegie Institute of Technology as CMU and the New York State
College for Teachers as the State University of New York at Albany.

220 4. The Turing Award and the ACM (1947-2018)

The Turing Award was created in 1966²². In the ACM’s own words, the Asso-
ciation for Computing Machinery, which oversees the award, the Turing Award
is “computing’s most prestigious honor”²³. It “acknowledges individuals who
have made lasting and major contributions to the field.”²⁴

²⁰ “History — EECS at Berkeley”. <https://eecs.berkeley.edu/about/history>

²¹ *E.g.* publications by authors Cole and Jackson in volume 147 of *Nature* from 1941 and Dunin’s “The University of Leyden, And America” in *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 8, from 1968.

²² Lee 1972 : 488.

²³ “Turing Award 50”. <https://www.acm.org/turing-award-50>

²⁴ *Ibid.*

225 Turing awards are awarded once a year to one or many people. When an
award is given to multiple people, this can be mean that it is either for collective
work or for an innovation that has multiple, independent contributors²⁵. It is
presented each year in June²⁶.

Each winner has a citation, in which is explained the reasons for the nomi-
230 nation hence the work accomplished by the laureate and for which the award is
given. This citation can be collective if the award is.

The award is bound with a monetary prize. When it was established, the
latter was of the amount of 1000 U.S. dollars²⁷ or the equivalent of about 7,500
current dollars. That prize money is now 1,000,000 dollars and has been since
235 2014 when Google became the primary, and possibly sole sponsor²⁸. It is un-
clear, beyond what we know of the philanthropy practices of big corporations
like it or family dynasties²⁹, what Google’s interests are in investing into the
prize. But, we noted that multiple Turing award winners work or had worked
for Google : Ken Thompson, where he was one of the creators of the Go pro-
240 gramming language³⁰ and Vint Cerf, who is currently “vice president and Chief
Internet Evangelist” according to his corporate page³¹, for example.

The Turing Award was able to establish itself as the top prize for computer
scientists fairly quickly. Donald Knuth has referred to it as “the ultimate honor
in our field”³². An early example of this, considering that the prize itself is
245 relatively new when compared to other similar but more established awards, is
further given by a necrology of Herbert Simon published in *Science* in 2001,
where the author, Turing award laureate Edward Feigenbaum, writes : “Before

²⁵See the nominations in the year 2002 and 2007 respectively.

²⁶“Call for Nominations, ACM A.M. Turing Award”. https://amturing.acm.org/call_for_nominations.cfm

²⁷Revens 1972 : 488.

²⁸Communications of the ACM 2014.

²⁹In recent months, the *Guardian* and other newspapers such as *The New Yorker* reported extensively on these practices in the case of the Sackler family, Purdue Pharma and the drug OxyContin. See Dubb and Costello 2018. Many books have been written about Rockefeller philanthropy : Ettling 1981 or Siegmund-Schultze 2001 for example.

³⁰Donovan and Kernighan 2015 : xi.

³¹“Vinton G. Cerf - Google AI”. <https://ai.google/research/people/author32412>

³²Knuth 2003 : 9.

his Nobel Prize, Simon had already won the A. M. Turing Award, the top accolade for computer science, prompting computer scientists to refer to him as
250 “our Nobel Prize winner”^{33, 34}.

But, to better understand the Turing Award we need to look at the ACM, which organizes and promotes and answer a series of questions : specifically, what is the ACM? Who leads it? What is the composition of the ACM Council? What is the composition of the jury of the Turing Award? What role do they
255 play? This, we do in the following sections.

The Association for Computing Machinery is according to its own description “the world’s largest computing society”³⁵ as well as the “world’s largest educational and scientific society”³⁶ with over 100,000 members³⁷. It was founded in 1947 in New York City as the Eastern Association for Computing Machinery at
260 a meeting at Columbia University³⁸.

The notice for this meeting stated the purpose of the association to be : “to advance the science, development, construction, and application of the new machinery for computing, reasoning, and other handling of information.”³⁹

In 1948 its name was changed to Association for Computing Machinery⁴⁰.
265 It has had offices in New York City since about 1953⁴¹ and its headquarters are still located there⁴².

It is “governed by a Council consisting of 16 members” and with the exception of the chair of the Publications Board they are elected by the members of the ACM for two-year terms⁴³.

³³Feigenbaum 2001.

³⁴Feigenbaum received the Turing Award in 1994, Simon in 1975.

³⁵“About the ACM Organization”.

<https://www.acm.org/about-acm/about-the-acm-organization>

³⁶“ACM History”. <https://www.acm.org/about-acm/acm-history>

³⁷“ACM at a Glance”. <https://www.acm.org/membership/acm-at-a-glance>

³⁸Revens 1972 : 485.

³⁹Revens 1972 : 486.

⁴⁰Revens 1972 : 485.

⁴¹Revens 1972 : 487.

⁴²“Contact Information”. <https://www.acm.org/about-acm/contact-us>

⁴³“ACM History”. <https://www.acm.org/about-acm/acm-history>

270 The ACM also publishes multiple major computer science journals that are
of much importance to the research and activities of computer scientists. Its
oldest publications are the *Journal of the ACM*, first published in January 1954,
Communications, January 1958, *Computing Reviews*, February 1960 and *ACM*
Computing Surveys in March 1969⁴⁴.

275 Arguably best known is the *Communications of the ACM*. One type of pub-
lication, perhaps one of its outstanding features, found in *Communications* are
algorithms⁴⁵. They generally appear with accompanying implementations in
the ALGOL programming language⁴⁶ and are numbered in order of publication
: *e.g.* Algorithm 32, Algorithm 33, etc.. A famous example is Algorithm 64,
280 published in 1961 by Hoare, which defines the quicksort algorithm (a method
of sorting arrays of items that is still widely taught and in wide use)⁴⁷.

Two other journals published by the ACM that are of significance for the
discipline as a whole (as opposed to specialized publications that cover subfields)
are the *Journal of the ACM*, its oldest publication, and the quarterly *ACM*
285 *Computing Surveys*, founded in 1969, which, as its name suggests, publishes
survey articles.

The ACM also publishes various journals called *Transactions* that are each
dedicated to an area of computer science such as the eponymous *Computer*
Systems, *Graphics*, *Networking* (jointly with the IEEE), etc.

290 A history of the ACM would not be complete without mention of the other,
big association for computer scientists, although its scope, as its name indicates,
is different, and in some ways both broader and narrower⁴⁸, the Institute of
Electrical and Electronics Engineers. The IEEE was founded in 1963, which

⁴⁴Cochran 1987 : 867.

⁴⁵Knuth cites five important features of algorithms, besides being merely “a finite set of rules that gives a sequence of operations for solving a specific type of problem” : finiteness, definiteness, input, output and effectiveness. See Knuth 1997 : 4-6.

⁴⁶ALGOL was designed by multiple Turing Award laureates : Backus, Perlis, Naur and McCarthy amongst others with further contributions by Wirth and Hoare (ALGOL W).

⁴⁷Hoare 1961.

⁴⁸This puts it into a similar space as the AIEE, American Institute of Electrical Engineers, or the IRE, Institute of Radio Engineers.

is to say about 15 years after the ACM. It promotes itself as the “the world’s
 295 largest technical professional organization for the advancement of technology”⁴⁹.

In turn, the IEEE has its own awards. Of them the Computer Pioneer
 Award, established in 1981, is the closest to the Turing Award. Its list of
 recipients includes many of the same individuals⁵⁰. Its medal features the effigy
 of Babbage, who, besides Turing, is arguably the most emblematic figure of
 300 the discipline due to his very early contributions, the Analytical Engine ; and
 would have been the next obvious choice, with a third option being between
 either Ada Lovelace, who has the advantage of priority and the disadvantage of
 womanhood, and Von Neumann, after which things become less clear, though
 Aiken would certainly be a candidate⁵¹.⁵²

305 Though, note, that, due to the nature of the IEEE, as an association dedi-
 cated to electrical and electronics engineers, this is not its highest distinction.
 It is however its highest distinction where computer science is concerned. Its
 highest honor remains for now the IEEE Medal of Honor, which recognizes “ex-
 ceptional contribution or an extraordinary career in the IEEE fields of interest”,
 310 making its pool much broader than just computing. It has been awarded since
 1917⁵³.

Table 1: ACM Turing and IEEE Computer Pioneer awards com-
 pared

	<i>IEEE Computer Pioneer award</i>	<i>ACM Turing award</i>
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⁴⁹<https://www.ieee.org/>

⁵⁰See table below.

⁵¹And, in fact, an Ada Lovelace award (already) exists, established by the Association for Women in Computing. As does a Von Neumann award in the form of the John von Neumann Theory Prize, for contributions to operations research. It was first awarded in 1975(, which is to say within 10 years of the Turing Award creation.

⁵²Bullynck et al. had already considered why Turing was chosen instead of someone else, they “speculate that Turing was preferred over von Neumann, because the latter was associated with hardware engineering rather than with theoretical foundations”, drawing parallels to the uses of Gauss as a conceptual antithesis to computational approaches in mathematics, see Bullynck et al. 2015 : 38.

⁵³“IEEE Medal of Honor”.

<https://www.ieee.org/about/awards/medals/medal-of-honor.html>

Ivan Sutherland	1985	1988
Alan Perlis	1985	1966
John McCarthy	1985	1971
Peter Naur	1986	2005
Nicklaus E. Wirth	1984	1987
John Cocke	1989	1987
C.A.R. Hoare	1990	1980
Robert W. Floyd	1991	1978
Douglas C. Engelbart	1992	1997
Ken L. Thompson	1994	1983
Dennis M. Ritchie	1994	1983
Butler Lampson	1995	1992
Marvin Minsky	1995	1969
Robert E. Kahn	1996	2004
Edgar Frank Codd	1996	1982
Frances (Fran) E. Allen	2004	2006
Edward Feigenbaum	2013	1994
Barbara Liskov	2018	2008

We registered 18 commonalities between recipients of both prizes, making up roughly one third and one fifth of each award’s pool of winners respectively. We noted further that for its first ten awards, encompassing the first four years
315 of its existence, the IEEE seems to have made it a point to distinguish only computer scientists that had not been previously given the Turing award⁵⁴ ; after which point, starting in 1985, it started awarding its prize to a series of widely celebrated figures such as Perlis, McCarthy and Naur. This gives insight into the strategies of a newly established prize and what happens when a prize
320 seeks to reward the same accomplishments as a previous one, but has to deal

⁵⁴See appendix.

with the latter's own, already established legacy ; as opposed to the Turing award which for the most part had only had to deal with the challenges of being a new prize.

It is also noteworthy that in some instances IEEE's recognition preceded the ACM's, such as in the case of Ivan Sutherland, Peter Naur and Robert Kahn.
325 As the Computer Pioneer award was created 25 years after the Turing award, in some cases comparisons are not possible.

Another key difference between the two prizes is that the Computer Pioneer award is given in much higher frequency to multiple people : it has been awarded
330 to 99 people so far⁵⁵ including 19 awards in 1996 alone. Yet another difference when compared to the Turing Award is that in some years, no awards were given such as in 1983, 2005, 2007, 2010 and 2017.

Another prize that could be mentionned, and that may become of interest to future research is the Gödel Prize, who has for particularities when compared
335 to the Turing Award that it is given by a European association, the EACTS⁵⁶, jointly with the ACM, has for limitations theoretical computer science and a reward that is currently significantly lower, 5000\$.

5. Educational origins of Turing winners

As previously indicated, we wanted to know where the Turing laureates had
340 studied.

Specific questions included : what proportion had attended the 3 or 4 universities that have crystallized as the main centers for computer science education and research at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of this century in the USA?

345 Currently, they are commonly understood as being MIT, Berkeley and Stanford and although they all cover the entire spectrum, their areas of strength have

⁵⁵At the time of this writing, which is to say up to and including the 2018 laureates.

⁵⁶European Association for Theoretical Computer Science.

historically been, hence their reputation as a leading center for computer science founded on, among other things :

- MIT : Artificial Intelligence (AI Lab, founded by Minsky* and McCarthy*);
- 350 - Stanford : (Analysis of) Algorithms (Knuth*, Floyd*)
- Berkeley : Theory of Computing (Karp*).

We relied on the Shanghai Ranking, or Academic World Ranking of Universities, the oldest of its kind, having been published since 2003, to objectify these relations⁵⁷.

Table 2: Shanghai Ranking of universities in computer science and engineering (2007-2017)

<i>Institution</i>	<i>CS&ENG 2017</i>	<i>CS 2009-15</i>	<i>ENG 2010-16</i>	<i>ENG 2008-09</i>	<i>ENG 2007</i>
MIT	1	2	1	1	1
Stanford	3	1	2	2	2
Berkeley	2	3	3	4	5

355 CS & ENG : Computer Science & Engineering.
 CS : Computer Science.
 ENG : Engineering/Technology and Computer Sciences.

Sources : see appendix for a (the full list of sources.

In trying to establish this for earlier periods, we also relied on Lecuyer's
 360 history of Silicon Valley between 1930 and 1970, where only two universities appear in the index, a fact which is not only attributable to the geographical limitation to San Francisco : Stanford (26 times) and MIT (6)⁵⁸.

To this group, one can add : CMU, which had been preceded by Carnie Institute of Technology, featured in fourth place or higher in various rankings,

⁵⁷The Shanghai Ranking has been criticized for a variety of reasons, both theoretical and methodological. Two conflicting reviews that address it from the point of view of reproducibility are present in Florian 2007 and Docampo 2013.

⁵⁸Lecuyer 2006.

365 for its historical significance at least Princeton, known for having been host to
multiple pioneers of the discipline (Turing, Von Neumann and Simon*). Also
noteworthy is Caltech, where Donald Knuth and Juris Hartmanis did their PhD
and the former spent the first part of his career before joining Stanford.

Further questions we asked included : what are their educational attain-
370 ments. And, beyond : is a PhD necessary? These we answer later, below.

But, first, we set out to study the educational origins of Turing award win-
ners. In doing so, we distinguished between undergraduate and graduate insti-
tutions and handled the case of doctoral schools separately.

We also looked at geographical distribution and movements in the next sec-
375 tion based on this.

We started by looking at where Turing award winners had obtained their
undergraduate degrees. Next, we looked at the subject of their bachelor degrees.

Table 3: universities ranked by the number of Turing award winners
(bachelor)

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Bachelor students n (%)</i>
Berkeley	6 (9%)
Cambridge	4 (6%)
Carnegie Mellon University*	4
Harvard	4
California Institute of Technology	3 (4%)
MIT	3
Oxford	3
University of Chicago	3
Duke	2
Stanford	2
Technion	2
– Total Ivy League**	6 (9%)

n = 64⁵⁹ t = 64

* Previously, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

380 ** Including Princeton (1) and Yale (1).

Almost one third, or 28%, of all Turing award winners have gathered at a handful of universities for undergraduate studies : Berkeley, Cambridge, Carnegie Mellon University and Harvard.

Further, half of all Turing award winners can be found in 10 institutions alone,
385 all of which, with the exception of Cambridge and Oxford, are US colleges. Technion, in Israel, has had 2 laureates *ex aequo* with Duke and Stanford.

We also provide statistics for the share that Ivy League colleges have in Turing award winners at the bachelor level, less than 10%, but this category, important as we know it to be in many other areas of society, has less significance
390 in the case of computer science in the sense that it does not include multiple major centers of computer science such as notably Berkeley, where of all the most Turing award winners are found, MIT, CMU and Stanford, to say nothing of Cambridge and other institutions outside of the US.

We left out from the table those institutions that had only one future Turing
395 laureate among the students they granted bachelor's degrees to⁶⁰. Among those institutions that are only represented by one Turing Award winner at the undergraduate level : Princeton, Yale, ETH Zurich and the University of Michigan - to name a few.

Table 4: Bachelor disciplines ranked by respective number of Turing award winners

<i>Discipline</i>	<i>Bachelor students n (%)</i>
Mathematics*	34 (53%)
Electrical engineering**	11 (17%)

⁵⁹See appendix for full table.

⁶⁰The full list can be found in the appendix.

Physics***	11 (17%)
Electronics engineering	1
Mechanical engineering	2
Civil engineering	1
Chemistry	1
Astronomy	1
Political science	1
Liberal arts	1
“Greats”	1

n = 64 t = 64

400 In calculating percentages, we do not count Robert Floyd’s first bachelor degree in liberal arts, but still list it.

* Includes 4 laureates who studied “Applied Mathematics”, “Mathematics and physics”, “Mathematics and Engineering” and “Mathematics and molecular biology”⁶¹.

405 ** Includes Kenneth Thompson’s bachelor degree listed as “EECS” and as having been obtained in 1965⁶².

*** Includes Robert Floyd’s second bachelor degree.

The oldest student in our sample of Turing award winners, Maurice Wilkes, was born in 1913 and obtained his bachelor degree in 1934, thus at a time when
410 computer science was not a subject.

This configuration applies to all Turing award winners as they all were awarded bachelor’s degrees before 1965, when the first computer science departments had just begun to being formed in the USA.

The analysis of the bachelor subjects of Turing award laureates offers a
415 unique perspective into the question of where computer scientists came from

⁶¹In a previous attempt at categorization, we had subsumed these under “Applied mathematics (various)” separately.

⁶²See our previous discussion of this at the beginning of this paper.

before computer science and the answer that we can provide based on our analysis of Turing award winners is largely from mathematics.

More than half of Turing Award laureates (34 of 64) had studied mathematics as a bachelor's degree subject, 17% of Turing award winners had obtained
420 a physics bachelor degree (11 of 64) and the same amount an electrical engineering degree with an additional Turing laureate having obtained a degree in electronics engineering (a closely related discipline).

The group of physicists includes Tim Berners-Lee, Donald Knuth is among the mathematicians while Ken Thompson is part of the undergraduate students
425 in electrical engineering - to give a few examples.

It might seem remarkable that in a study dedicated to computer scientists, none of them should possess an undergraduate degree in that discipline, but as already mentioned before this is in large parts related to and inherent to our demographic study of Turing Laureates, whose birth dates range from 1916 to
430 1943, making it so that by the time of their entry into college they would have been studying between roughly 1934 and 1961, hence at a time when departments of computer science, and indeed computer science itself, as a discipline that could be studied in undergraduate college or in which one could obtain a bachelor's degree, was virtually unheard of and non-existent.

Departments of computer science are largely a creation of the 1960s. Purdue
435 founded its own, described as the first in the United States⁶³, and possibly the world, in 1962. It awarded its first M.S. degrees in that discipline in 1964 and its first B.S. degrees in 1968⁶⁴. Stanford's was established in 1965⁶⁵. The University of Wisconsin-Madison was possibly the first to award PhDs in computer science,
440 starting May 1965⁶⁶.

"When I entered the Comp Lab in 1955 there were no models for a curriculum in the subject that today is called computer science. The young faculty

⁶³Rice and Rosen 1994.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Knuth 1972.

⁶⁶See the following historical database of PhD students hosted at the University of Wisconsin-Madison <http://research.cs.wisc.edu/includes/textfiles/phds.65-70.txt>.

offered courses in numerical analysis, switching theory, data processing, computational linguistics and operations research, and outside the Lab I took a variety of courses in applied mathematics, electrical engineering, probability and statistics.” writes Richard Karp of his time at the Harvard Computation Lab⁶⁷. “Computer science didn’t exist when I started in ’57. And, it didn’t come into existence until at least 10 years later.” said Frances Allen in her Grace Hopper speech reflecting on her Turing award⁶⁸.

Before this, departments of mathematics, and electrical engineering, were often where what would later come to be called distinctively and independently computer science was being done (*e.g.* Princeton, where Von Neumann was a professor and Turing a doctoral student, Manchester, where Turing later worked, and the Moore School of Electrical Engineering at the University of Pennsylvania, where the ENIAC and EDVAC were created and Von Neumann was a consultant).⁶⁹.

A small minority of Turing laureates, three in total, or 4% of the total population, had obtained undergraduate in one of the humanities or social sciences, we discuss this in more detail further below.

In the second step of our research on the educational origins of Turing Award laureates, we look at their post-graduate institutions. This population comprises Master and PhD students. Where Turing award winners went on to seek a PhD, we register this, otherwise their Master’s degrees.

Table 5: Universities ranked by the number of Turing award winners at the post-graduate level

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Previously</i> ⁷⁰	<i>% in/decrease</i>
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⁶⁷Karp 1999 : 148.

⁶⁸Allen 2008.

⁶⁹But, this is not a historical artifact only as recent contributions continue to come from mathematicians *e.g.* Ryan Dahl, creator of Node.js, is a mathematician by training.

⁷⁰At bachelor level.

Berkeley	8	6	33%
Harvard	6	4	50%
Stanford	6	2	200%
Princeton	6	1	500%
MIT	4	3	33%
University of Michigan	3	1	200%
Caltech*	2	3	- 33%
CMU	2	4	- 50%
UIUC ⁷¹	2	0	
Weizmann Institute of Science	2	-**	
Cambridge	1	4	-75%
Oxford***	1	3	-66%
University of Chicago	1	3	-66%
Duke	1	2	-50%
Technion	0	2	
ETH Zurich	0	1	
Ivy League****		14	133%

n = 58⁷² t = 58⁷³

465 * California Institute of Technology.

** The Weizmann Institute of Science only offers post-graduate education.

*** Including Hoare's postgraduate certificate in statistics.

**** Including Cornell (1) and the University of Pennsylvania (1).

470 At graduate level, Turing award winners increasingly concentrate at institutions that are more prestigious and are often a "step-up" from their undergraduate college. This places them in a better position to have their work recognized, for this to happen early on and to meet the right people *e.g.* those

⁷¹University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

⁷²The full table can be found in the appendix.

⁷³The population of Turing Award laureates who have a post-graduate education.

able to make an impact in their careers and recommend them effectively in and possibly outside the academic world as well.

475 This trend is found in the increasing number of future Turing award winners at MIT and Princeton, in the latter case a staggering 500% increase, in the East. On the West coast, they move towards Stanford and Berkeley. Robert Tarjan and Fernando Corbato both leave the California Institute of Technology for Stanford and MIT respectively.

480 The University of Michigan knows a 200% increase at the postgraduate level. Meanwhile Michigan State loses its only student.

Another notable statistic is the increase of 133% in Ivy League colleges attended by Turing award winners between undergraduate and graduate studies. Let us again move closer to the lived realities of the(se) individuals and have
485 a look at what this means in detail : Charles Bachman moves from Michigan State to UPenn, John Hopcroft from Seattle University to Harvard, Richard Stearns from Carleton College and John McCarthy from Caltech to Princeton.

But, this trend also means a depletion of talent from European institutions. This affects even the very best of European universities, including Oxford (-
490 66%), Cambridge (-75%) and ETH Zurich. In one case, a student, born in Switzerland, moved from an excellent European university, ETH Zurich, to a relatively minor North American one, the French-language Universite Laval, where he obtained a Master, and then from there upgraded to Berkeley for PhD⁷⁴.

495 Of the sixty-four Turing award winners, six do not have degrees past a bachelor, they are : Tim Berners-Lee (1955; Oxford; physics), Whitfield Diffie (1944; MIT; mathematics), Robert Floyd (1936; Chicago; physics), Arthur Milner (1934; Cambridge; mathematics), and James Wilkinson (1919; Cambridge; mathematics). Neither birth dates, ranging from one extreme to the other of the
500 wider cohort, nor other indicators such as quality of undergraduate education,

⁷⁴Niklaus Wirth. This was in the late 1950s, early 1960s. As such, we assume that these international educational moves cannot be attributed to the immediate events of WW2, which did affect the trajectory of numerous Turing laureates and their parents.

with cases representing some of the best attainable outcomes possible in the entire population⁷⁵, or disruption through events like war, absent in two, make any sort of generalization hard.

Lastly, we looked at the highest educational attainments of and the overar-
505 ching type of degrees obtained - STEM or humanities and social sciences - by Turing winners.

Table 6: Proportion of bachelor and PhD degrees

<i>Degree type</i>	<i>among Turing Award laureates</i>
Bachelor	100% (64)
PhD	81% (52)
Master or PhD	90% (58)

9 out of 10 Turing award winners have education at the post-graduate level. 8 out of 10 have a PhD degree. All Turing award winners possess a bachelor's degree.

510 But, is a PhD degree necessary to do significant contributions to computer science such as the ones recognized by the ACM's Turing Award? No.

Twelve Turing award winners have not obtained a PhD. Among them, some of computer science's most important contributors and revered figures : Kenneth Thompson, creator of UNIX, Tim Berners-Lee, inventor of the World Wide
515 Web, Whitfield Diffie, who with Hellman, laid out the foundations of public key cryptography, Antony Hoare, who developed major sorting algorithms, and John Backus, to whom we owe the Backus-Norm-Form, which is helpful in classifying languages in terms of their logical structures / grammars.

Here too we think important to connect the statistics we have established
520 with the lived realities and actual experience of actors. That the issue of the PhD, or the missing PhD in this case, matters we establish with a document from the period. And, although it does not hinder a portion of our population,

⁷⁵James Wilkinson was Senior wrangler, and at Cambridge was at Trinity college.

one fifth to be exact, from rising to the top of their field, it shows the great concern attached to the issue. This is not without cause as, in fact, certain academic positions, are, in theory at least, only accessible to holders of appropriate
525 academic titles. And, so, when Donald Knuth wrote a letter of recommendation on behalf of Robert Floyd, he thought good and perhaps even important to note at the end :

“One further remark is perhaps necessary, considering contemporary
530 ‘standards of society’. Floyd has never gone through the formalities of obtaining a Ph.D. degree. I believe this was due primarily to the fact that he entered graduate school at the University of Chicago when he was only 16 or 17 yours [sic] old, as part of an experimental accelerated education program; this was not a mature enough age
535 to do graduate work. [Bob was born 8 June 1936, and he began graduate school after receiving a B.A. degree in 1953 at age 17-about five years earlier than usual for American students at the time.] Certainly he has written at least a dozen papers by now each of which is superior to any Ph.D. thesis I have ever seen in computer
540 science, so the mere fact that he has never formally received the degree should be quite irrelevant.”⁷⁶

Finally, we asked if a degree in mathematics, physics, engineering, biology, chemistry, computer science or one of the neighboring disciplines – contemporaneously called STEM – was necessary to do significant contributions to computer
545 science later in life, the kind recognized by the Turing?

Table 7: STEM vs. humanities and social sciences degrees amongst Turing laureates

	<i>STEM</i>	<i>Humanities and Social Sciences</i>
--	-------------	---------------------------------------

⁷⁶Knuth 2003 : 7.

Bachelor	95% (61)	4% (3)
PhD	100%	None
Master or PhD	100% (58)	None

This seems to be the case overall : the great majority of Turing award winners, or 95%, have done their undergraduate degrees in a STEM subject, and 100% beyond that.

But, the history of computer science, mathematics and physics is full of
550 outliers and while all Turing Award winners either have a bachelor’s degree or Master or PhD in a STEM subject, some of them come originally from a background in the humanities or the social sciences⁷⁷.

Though, note that of the three Turing award winners who received a bachelor in one of the humanities and social sciences subjects : Herbert Simon majored in
555 political science at Chicago, one of the most quantitatively intensive disciplines outside of STEM, at an institution that played a key role in the mathematization of the social sciences, economics in particular, Antony Hoare, who studied Classics at Oxford, “chose to study modern philosophy, which provided a path to understand logic”⁷⁸, an important part of computer science and computer
560 science education⁷⁹, while Robert Floyd, also at Chicago, did obtain a liberal arts degree but later supplemented it with a second bachelor’s degree in physics.

Past the undergraduate level however, all Turing winners have a degree in science, technology, engineering or mathematics.

⁷⁷John Guttag, professor of computer science at MIT, has a BA in English. David Malan, professor of computer science at Harvard, had first studied government before switching subjects. Alston Householder, mathematician and president of the ACM, had a BA and MA in philosophy before earning a PhD in mathematics. Lastly, Einstein famously worked as a patent office employee for 7 years, a work he described later to be that of a “cobbler”, after having been unable to find work as a teacher for almost two years.

⁷⁸This is according to his Turing Award biography.

⁷⁹*E.g.* boolean algebra, set theory, etc.

6. Geographical origins and movements of Turing winners

565 Based on our review of educational origins, we turn to the geographical distribution of Turing Award winners and find that they gather at a handful of destinations, heavily skewed toward the USA and within, its coastal regions in particular.

570 One question we received in reaction to these and other findings, from a researcher who was very concerned about “performance” in science studies, was why this was important and “what the point [was]”. This fits into the wider debates happening in fields of research as diverse as those concerned with the role of English in science and the effects of rankings and prizes.

575 We will answer this question before : our findings indicate that the Turing Award, which in all ways is presented as an international award, awarded by an international organization (“members from more than 100 countries”⁸⁰), is in fact very limited in its scope and pool of recipients as we show. It is biased towards countries where English is the main language, it is also biased towards computer scientists who have attended universities from English-speaking countries, thus putting into question whether the Turing Award rewards “lasting
580 contributions” independently of their place of origin.

Table 8: Place of birth of Turing Award laureates

<i>Country</i>	<i>Turing laureates</i>
USA	41 (64%)
England	5 (7%)
Israel	3 (4%)
British Empire*	2
Canada	2 (3%)
China	1
Denmark	1

⁸⁰“ACM at a Glance”. <https://www.acm.org/membership/acm-at-a-glance>

Germany**	1
Greece	1
Hungary	1
Italy	1
Latvia	1
Netherlands	1
Norway	1
Switzerland	1
Venezuela	1
— America	44 (68%)
— Europe	14 (21%)
— East Asia	1
— Rest of the World	6 (9%)

n = 64 t = 64

* Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and British India.

** Germany (now Wroclaw, Poland).

585 From these data alone, one can tell as much : the pool from which Turing laureates are selected from is extremely biased towards America, particularly the USA. Entire regions of the world are absent, Africa for example, while some of the most populous ones, like East Asia, are grossly underrepresented with only one Turing award winner born in China.

590 68% of Turing Award winners were born in America while almost two thirds, or 64%, were born in the USA alone. Just 18% of Turing award winners were born in the current European Union and about half of them are from England. Less than 10% of Turing laureates, or 6 in total, come from the rest of the World (outside the USA and Europe), including 3 from Israel, 2 from former colonies
595 of the British Empire, one of which in turn is Antony Hoare whose father was a colonial civil servant, and 1 from China.

The next biggest country of origin for Turing winners is Israel, with two out

of its three Turing winners emigrating to the USA eventually⁸¹. One Turing winner was born in Venezuela : his parents, Jewish, had emigrated there from Europe⁸².
600

These findings are at odds with what the ACM writes about the Turing Award in its fact sheet. In one passage, it emphasizes :

“Turing Laureates have hailed from countries around the world including Canada, China, Denmark, India, Latvia, Netherlands, Norway, Israel, Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States.”⁸³
605

But, while this statement is positively correct, it does not accurately represent the disproportionate frequency at which US American scientists receive the prize. Not all countries stand on an equal footing when it comes to their scientists’ potential to receive the Turing Award. This is one conclusion that
610 could be drawn from our data. As such statements never fail to raise objections, we must specify that we do not look so much at the intentions or policies of the ACM or the Turing Award, whether claimed or otherwise agreed upon as policy or even passed as law, but at its verifiable practices. This we do by counting how many Turing laureates come from each country based on information
615 established by the ACM itself.

By placing the United Kingdom and the United States at the end of its list of countries, an order which does not reflect the alphabetical order, but is the exact order we have established in the above statistics, except in reverse, the
620 ACM makes clear that is most likely aware of its biases and the issues discussed here.

On the other hand, if such conclusion were wrong, one of few remaining

⁸¹Judea Pearl had emigrated to the US by the time of his Master’s degree while Amir Pnueli went there first as a post-doctoral student and later as a professor at NYU, he died in New York.

⁸²Manuel Blum.

⁸³“About the ACM A.M. Turing Award Fact Sheet.” <https://www.acm.org/binaries/content/assets/awards/about-the-acm-a.m.-turing-award-fact-sheet.pdf>

outcomes would be that all countries standing an equal chance to see one of their citizens receive the prize, the USA is the producer of much better computer
625 scientists, such that it would only be logical for the great majority of Turing award winners to come from that country as well.

To further study these phenomena, we took a look at distribution of Turing laureates within the United States, the majority producer of this population (64%).

Table 9: State distribution of Turing award winners within the US

<i>State</i>	<i>Turing Award laureates</i>
New York	9 (21%)
California	8 (19%)
Massachusetts	4 (9%)
D.C.	2 (4%)
North Carolina	2
Pennsylvania	2
New Jersey	2
Wisconsin	2
Alberta	1 (2%)
CT	1
Illinois	1
Kansas	1
Louisiana	1
Nebraska	1
Oregon	1
TX	1
Virginia	1
Washington	1

630 n = 41 t = 41

This analysis unveils that more than half of all US Turing laureates come from 3 states only : New York, California and Massachussets.

There is, beyond this, a strong concentration of future Turing laureates around the Northeast : New York, New Jersey, D.C., Massachussets and further
635 away Pennsylvania represent 19 Turing winners or almost half of all laureates based on place of birth.

In total, 17 states have produced at least 1 Turing laureate. This also means in return that of the current 50 states (then 48 states and the 2 territories of Alaska and Hawaii⁸⁴, 33 are absent.

640 [map]

We move forward in our analysis of geographical distribution by using places of study as the next reference point. We later do the same for graduate institutions to follow the population's movements and transits.

Table 10: Geographical distribution of Turing award winners by
(based on) bachelor-granting institutions

<i>Continent, Country, State</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Previously (born)</i>
North America	44 (68%)	
— USA	42 (65%)	
– California	11 (17%)	8
– Massachusetts	7 (10%)	4
New York metropolitan area*	6	
– New York	4	9
– Pennsylvania	4	2
– Illinois	3	
– Michigan	2	
– North Carolina	2	

⁸⁴The time range of births of our population is 1916 to 1952. Alaska and Hawaii became states in 1959.

– Colorado	1 (1,5%)	
– Connecticut	1	
– Minnesota	1	
– New Jersey	1	2
– Oregon	1	
– Texas	1	
– Virginia	1	
– Washington	1	
— Canada	2	
Europe	14 (21%)	14
— England	7 (10%)	
— Denmark	1	
— Germany	1	
— Greece	1	
— Italy	1	
— Netherlands	1	
— Norway	1	
— Switzerland	1	
Asia	6 (9%)	
— (British) India	1	
— Israel	4 (6%)	
— Taiwan	1	

n = 64 t = 64

⁶⁴⁵ * New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

The analysis of the geographical distribution of Turing award winners at the undergraduate level unveils further the large dominance of the USA over all other places (as ascertained by proxy of their bachelor-granting institutions) : no other country comes close to their 2/3 total share of future Turing award

650 laureates.

In Europe, we note no difference between the situation observed in the context of birth places and the stage of bachelor's degrees : those born in Europe among the Turing laureates stay there for undergraduate studies. This, as we will find later on, will change over time as Turing laureates move towards post-graduate education.

Next, we analyze the movements of Turing Award laureates as they move from their respective undergraduate colleges to their respective graduate schools.

Table 11: Geographical destinations of Turing award winners for post-graduate education

	<i>State (% of country)</i>	<i>Increase state</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Continent (previously bachelor)</i>
North America				49 (44)
— USA			48 (82%)	
– California	17 (29%)	70%		
– Massachusetts	11 (18%)	72%		
– New Jersey	6 (10%)	72%		
– Michigan	3			
– Pennsylvania	3			
– New York	3			
New York metropolitan area*	9			
– Illinois	2			
– Nebraska	1			
– North Carolina	1			
– Utah	1			
— Canada			1	
Europe				7 (14)
— England			3	

— Denmark			1	
— Greece			1	
— Netherlands			1	
— Norway			1	
Asia				2 (6)
— Israel			2	

n = 58 t = 58

* New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

660 In the same way that we observed a shift towards more prestigious universities as Turing award winners entered postgraduate schools, we register a big geographical shift towards the USA, both being linked of course ; and, within that country, a big shift towards the major centers of education and research that are California, where almost 1/3 of all Turing Award winners attend graduate school, and Massachusetts, 1/5.

The diversity of outcomes dwindles as now most Turing award winners aggregate at common places : they increasingly attend colleges located in the same states. Attendance of a college in California as well as Massachusetts raises by 70%, in New Jersey the number of future Turing Award winner grows from 1 to 6 total.

670 Looking even closer, at happenings within the USA, we note an influx towards California (previously 8 born there, now 11 studying) and Massachusetts (4 born, later 7 studying), while important states with comparatively lesser colleges such as New York lose their population of Turing laureates (9 born, less than half studying or 4).

This has multiple by-effects, but as noted before, the most obvious ones are a depletion of talent from other states and countries and continents. Where previously 16 states hosted institutions attended by future Turing award winners at the bachelor level, now that number is only 10. The number of Turing laureates in Europe is halved, in Canada, halved, in Israel also and England

more than halved.

Looking closer, more disparities become clear as the only international institutions outside of the US and Europe remaining *ie.* attended by Turing award winners for postgraduate studies are all in Israel. This is compared to bachelor-
685 level statistics where three countries, including India and Taiwan, were still represented at that stage of our analysis. An additional English university, outside of Oxford and Cambridge, Warwick, appears however post-graduation.

7. Social origins of Turing laureates

We are interested in knowing “where do Turing award winners come from and
690 who are they?” and further “what social regularities can be unveiled (observed) from the study of their collective biographies, in other words, what do they have in common?” This is yet another attempt at answering this basic question, but from a different different assumptions or perspectives.

Here, we study social origins of which we know that they are - along with
695 other categories of analysis such as education, gender or “race” - important properties of social actors/agents.

At the beginning of last century, Durkheim wrote that few things were more important to the development and understanding of human social behavior than family and education⁸⁵. This has since been verified in countless sociological
700 studies, but amongst many historians of science, these various levels of experiences remain absent. The world that they create, the one that they lay down on paper when writing about famed and anonymous science makers alike seems

⁸⁵ “Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined. (...) Education varies from one caste to another; that of the patricians was not that of the plebeians; that of the Brahman was not that of the Sudra. Similarly, in the Middle Ages, what a difference between the culture that the young page received, instructed in all the arts of chivalry, and that of the villein, who learned in his parish school a smattering of arithmetic, song and grammar! Even today, do we not see education vary with social class, or even with locality?” This is from a posthumous publication entitled *Education and Sociology*. See Durkheim 1956 : 27 ; 67.

eerily disconnected from them, although they themselves must have an immediate or intimate knowledge of their importance for having experienced their
705 impact in their own personal lives.

This is an attempt to show how such an analysis could unfold, and what might be gained from it, although we were not able to go as far as we would have liked.

To compile this information, we have used the Turing award biographies.
710 Where other sources were used, we specify them in the appendix where the reader will also be able to find a much more detailed table containing the individual information on each winner as well as intermediary categories (*i.e.* categories in various intermediary states of abstraction). And, whereas in the full table, we still made use of a mix of intermediary and final categories, in the
715 following, we present the results of the analysis with broad categories.

Unfortunately, for a number of Turing award winners we were not able to find any relevant biographical information in their Turing award notices nor in other places. And, as can be expected from such enquiries, the more one moves up in time the less information is available. This makes a good case for more
720 oral history to be undertaken.

Hence note that this analysis is based on a sample of our total population (as we make clear by indicating that it relies on a number of 48 individuals instead of the full 64). This means that the statistics presented provide an indication for the tendencies of the overall population but are subject to a margin of error.

Table 12: Social origins of Turing Award laureates

<i>Background</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Academic*	21	48%
Business**	5	11%
Low***	5	
Engineering	3	6%
Military	3	

Religious profession	2	
Other	4	
– Civil service	1	
– Professional sports	1	
– Artistic	1	
– Press	1	

725 n = 43 t = 64

* *E.g.* mathematician, adjunct professor, professor at UCLA, high school physics.

** *E.g.* stockbroker, aerospace executive, president of a power company.

*** *E.g.* appliance salesman, sea captain, janitor, farmer.

We found that almost 50% of Turing Award winners for whom relevant
730 biographical information was available had at least one parent employed in a
teaching or research position or otherwise in possession of an advanced degree
like the PhD or Master.

As most Turing award winners come from the United States, we relied on
North-American data to compare these findings with those available on the
735 general population over the same period.

For this purpose, we looked at the percentage of the US population with a
college degree, *i.e.* a bachelor's degree or higher, based on information made
available by the United States Census Bureau⁸⁶.

They indicate that in 1940, barely 4% of the total adult population, aged 25
740 and older, were in possession of a bachelor or better. During the 1940s, 1950s
and much of the 1960s this proportion never reached more than 10%.

Note that the median birth year of our population is 1941 with the oldest
Turing Award winner born in 1916 and the oldest in 1952, which would put the
birth years of their parents roughly between 1890 and 1930.

745 We have all reasons to believe, considering the steadily upwards trend of the
curve that now puts the same demographic sample at 33%, that adults in pos-

⁸⁶United States Census Bureau 2017.

session of a higher education degree were consistently lower than 5% in previous decades. The Census Bureau however does not publish such information before 1940 to our knowledge.

750 Based on this, we think safe to say that : academic backgrounds were vastly overrepresented amongst families of Turing Award laureates, whose parents held college degrees in disporportionately higher frequency than the rest of the population with many of them holding advanced degrees including Master's and PhDs at a time when these were much more seldom.

755 This must have played a role in making the future Turing award winners : having one parent with an academic background or involved in academia should have exposed them early on to books and contributed to their education at home or in getting them interested in school or otherwise having them perform well there.

760 That these statistics are not only of meaning “on paper”, but also affected the Turing Award winners intimately, in their lives and during childhood, we can ascertain from a qualitative review of their biographies.

 About Martin Hellman, inventor of public key cryptography (together with Diffie and Merkle, we know from his biography that : “His father was a high
765 school physics teacher, whose influence and collection of books helped to inspire Hellman's early interest in science and mathematics.” Of Sutherland we learn that his father was a “practicing engineer with a Ph.D. in civil engineering” and his mother “a teacher who engendered in him and his brother Bert a love of learning.”

770 A particularly striking case of early exposure to culture is Alan Kay. “I had the misfortune or the fortune to learn how to read fluently starting about the age of three. So I had read maybe 150 books by the time I hit first grade.”⁸⁷. From other biographic sources, we learn that in his childhood there were “nearly 6,000 books in the house and many drawings and illustrations.”⁸⁸

⁸⁷The Davis Group 2011.

⁸⁸Shasha and Lazere 1995.

775 “Since my father was a scientist and my mother was an artist, the
atmosphere during my early years was full of many kinds of ideas and
ways to express them. I did not distinguish between “art” and “sci-
ence” and still don’t. My maternal grandmother was a schoolteacher,
suffragette, lecturer, and one of the founders of UMASS, Amherst.
780 My maternal grandfather was Clifton Johnson, a fairly well-known
illustrator, photographer, and writer (100+ books). He was also a
musician, and played piano and pipe organ.

One book I read was called *Rockets, Missiles, and Space Travel* by
Willi Ley. The thing that struck me was that when you go from one
785 planet to another, you wouldn’t go the way you thought you would.
You don’t aim the rocket ship at the planet, you aim the rocket ship
at where the planet is going to be.

By the time I got to school, I had already read a couple of hundred
books”⁸⁹

790 Meanwhile, at the other end of the social spectrum or scale, Hopcroft, whose
father worked as a janitor, “claims that because of the lack of family experience
with higher education, it never occurred to him to look at other than the local
Seattle University.” Interestingly, Hopcroft, having gone through undergraduate
education and having presumably been able to gather then the experience he
795 lacked from home, moved to Stanford.

There may disagreements with our categorization of elementary, middle
school or even high-school teachers as belonging inside an academic category,
or at least in the same fashion as college professions. But, leaving these *a pri-*
ori, theoretical debates aside, and actually listening to or reading about the
800 experiences of the Turing award winners does give insight, beyond the objective
world we try to capture, of what the actual, felt reality was, for them. Again,
we present evidence for this. Richard Karp, for instance, whose father was a

⁸⁹Shasha and Lazere 1995.

middle-school math teacher, has recounted that :

“Education was very much paramount in my parent’s worldview.
805 There were four of us, and I’m the oldest of four, and they spaced
us out at intervals of a college career, so that they could have one
kid in college at a time. I think the greatest admiration I felt for my
father was when I visited his class.”⁹⁰

His interviewer, Christos Papadimitriou, a noted computer scientist himself,
810 whose own father was also a middle school math teacher, asks Karp if they ever
talked about math together : “We did, but he really didn’t have very advanced
mathematical knowledge. He was pretty much limited to what he was teaching.
But, his presence and sense of command in the classroom was something that I
wanted to emulate. And, I think it’s not an accident that I went into teaching
815 eventually.”⁹¹ But, this influence is not limited only to the immediate circle
of parents, as Richard Karp’s case also makes clear : “I had a young aunt
(...) who taught me how to read, so I read quite early and for that reason I
skipped a grade. And, so I ended up being a year and a half younger than my
classmates”⁹².

820 In the following, we give for appraisal a longer passage that makes visible
and unveils the sometimes very extensive educational strategies used by parents
of future Turing award laureates.

“– *Interviewer*. You went to public schools in the Boston area?
What suburb were you in?

825 – *Stonebraker*. We lived in a town called Newbury, which is right
next to Newburyport. And my father chose that town deliberately
because at the time they did not have a high school and the town
would pay the tuition for anyone who could get accepted at Governor

⁹⁰Simons Foundation 2013.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

Dummer Academy, which happens to be within the town boundaries.
 830 It's in the same general league as St. Mark's, Milton Academy and
 Browne and Nichols, those kinds of places. Both of my brothers
 and I got to go to Governor Dummer as day students with tuition
 paid by the town, which would not have been financially possible
 otherwise.

835 – *Interviewer*. That was certainly very shrewd on his part. What
 were the particular subjects you were interested in when you were
 going to school?

– *Stonebraker*. Well my SATs sort of say it all. I made 800 on the
 math SAT (...)⁹³

840 Note 800 is the highest score attainable on the Math portion of the SAT, the
 standardized test used for college admission in the United States. Stonebraker
 himself went to Princeton after high school.

Next, we looked at the relationship between social origins and precocity *i.e.*
 the age at which the laureates obtained the Turing award.

845 Looking at the 10 youngest Turing award winners, we found that over 50%
 came from households where at least one of the parents held an advanced degree,
 Master and beyond, or was otherwise engaged in an intellectual profession.

Table 13: Youngest Turing laureates and social background

<i>Name</i>	<i>Family background</i>
Donald Knuth	Academic (Teacher)
Robert Tarjan	Academic (Psychiatrist, APA president)
Kenneth Thompson	n/a ⁹⁴
Dennis Ritchie	Academic (Bell Labs)

⁹³Computer History Museum 2007.

⁹⁴The only available information on Kenneth Thompson's father is "US Navy", which we have coded as military in the table in appendix, but we do not know what position he held there or what his educational attainments were.

Marvin Minsky	Academic (Surgeon)
Edsger Diskstra	Academic (Teacher)
Robert Floyd	n/a
Stephen Cook	Academic (Professor)
Alan Perlis	n/a
John McCarthy	Non-academic (Labor organizer, Manager <i>Daily Worker</i>)
Dana Scott	n/a

Among the eleven youngest Turing winners, whose ages ranged from 36 to 44 at the time of their nomination, more than half come from academic back-
850 grounds. This includes the following professions for their parents : one professor, two teachers, one Bell Labs employee, one surgeon and one psychiatrist APA president.

Even amongst Turing winners with formally non-academic backgrounds, their family circumstances are such that they have access to culture early. This
855 is the case of McCarthy for example, who was born “into a politically engaged family in Boston”, his father was a labor organizer and Business Manager of the *Daily Worker*, a Communist newspaper, while his mother “was active in the suffrage movement” and “both parents were members of the Communist Party”⁹⁵.

860 To trial-control this information, we have also looked at the same data for the oldest Turing Award winners, who ranged from age 77 to 68 at the time their work was recognized by the ACM and the Turing award given to them.

Table 14: Oldest Turing winners and social background

<i>Name</i>	<i>Family background</i>
Peter Naur	Non-academic (Painter and heiress)
Judea Pearl	n/a

⁹⁵Markoff 2011.

Frances Allen	Academic (low) (Farmer and elementary-school teacher)
Douglas Engelbart	Non-academic (Electrical engineer, radio shop owner)
Leslie Lamport	n/a
Michael Stonebraker	Academic (School teacher)
Whitfield Diffie	Academic (Professor)
Ole-Johan Dahl	Non-academic (Sea captain)
Martin Hellman	Academic (Teacher)
Barbara Liskov	Academic (<i>Harvard Law Review</i> Lawyer)
Frederick Brooks	n/a

Due to the lack of information on certain laureates' background it is hard to make any definitive claims, but from the information we have available we
865 noted that among the demographic of oldest Turing winners, families were more often more distant from academic background and their professions more heterogeneous.

8. Networks of Turing Award winners

Who studied under whom? Who wrote with whom? Who worked with
870 whom? Who teaches *with* whom? Who employs whom? Who wrote about whom? Lastly, who penned whose necrology? We found all of these questions (and relationships) to apply to our object of study.

In following up with our intention to better understand who the Turing winners are and their sociological characteristics, we lastly looked at their networks.

875 We started by assembling a number of relationships, such as student-advisor relationships. In parentheses, we identify Turing award winners by the year of their nomination.

Table 15: Networks of Turing award winners, PhD advisor/student

<i>PhD advisor</i>	<i>PhD student</i>
--------------------	--------------------

Alonzo Church	Alan Turing
	Michael Rabin (1976)
	Dana Scott (1976)
Claude Shannon	Ivan Sutherland (1988)
Howard Aiken	Kenneth Iverson (1979)
	Frederick Brooks (1999)
John McCarthy (1971)	Dabbala Reddy (1994)
	Barbara Liskov (2008)
Herbert Simon (1975)	Edward Feigenbaum (1994)
Marvin Minsky (1969)	Manuel Blum (1995)
Robert Floyd (1978)	Ronald Rivest (2002)
	Robert Tarjan (1986)
Manuel Blum (1995)	Shafi Goldwasser (2012)
	Silvio Micali (2012)

We found the relations of type advisor to student to be particularly significant : at least 8 future Turing Award laureates studied under previous winners.

880 10 Turing winners, which is to say 5 pairs, had the same PhD advisor.

In one case, we found this relationship type to be particularly strong : a Turing winner, Manuel Blum, who had himself been advised by a Turing winner, Marvin Minsky, went on to advise 2 future Turing award winners, Shafi Goldwasser and Silvio Micali⁹⁶.

885 We extended this into a graphical network analysis and concentrated on the relations between Turing Award winners of type student and advisor, where we identified a minimum of 20 edges.

Graph : networks of Turing award winners

We present here the first results of what may become a larger research on

⁹⁶They themselves may well go on to advised or have already advised future Turing winners

890 networks amongst Turing winners and computer scientists.

These results are in their early stages and as such were not able to present all of the research.

We were interested in knowing how much personal networks affected Turing award winners.

895 We asked : was it significant when students wrote their dissertation under previous winners? Was it significant when they wrote articles together with them? Did this correlate with them winner the prize later?

Below, we present some pointers. We start by looking at the networks between PhD students and advisors. We find that there are many relationships
900 binding future and past winners at this stage.

We then moved on to study relationships between co-authors and co-workers.

Table 16: Networks of Turing Award laureates, co-authors

	<i>Co-author(s)</i>
Alan Perlis (1966)	Allen Newell (1975) [1967]
	Herbert Simon (1975) [1967]
John Cocke (1987)	Frances Allen (2006) [1971 ⁹⁷ ; 1976]

Table 17: Networks of Turing Award laureates, co-workers

	<i>Colleague(s)</i>
Alan Perlis (1966)	Allen Newell (1975) [Carnegie]
	Herbert Simon (1975) [Carnegie]
John Cocke (1987)	Frances Allen (2006) [IBM]
Kenneth Iverson (1979)	Frederick Brooks (1999) [Harvard]
Donald Knuth (1974)	Robert Floyd (1978) [Stanford]
	George Forsythe (ACM President) [Stanford]

⁹⁷Allen and Cocke 1972.

As a convention, we list the Turing Award winner with the earliest nomination on the left. In the case of colleagues, and co-authors, the direction of the relationship, and its structure, cannot be identified as readily as between PhD
905 advisor and PhD Student : a PhD advisor advises the student and commonly has many students.

Table 18: Networks of Turing award winners, professor/student

<i>Professor</i>	<i>Student</i>
Donald Knuth (1974)	Robert Tarjan (1986) [PhD course advisor] ⁹⁸
Howard Aiken	Frederick Brooks (1999) ⁹⁹
Ivan Sutherland (1988)	Alan Kay (2003) ¹⁰⁰

Table 19: Networks of necrologies (amongst Turing laureates)

<i>Living scientist</i>	<i>Dead scientist</i>
Peter J. Denning (ACM President)	Alan Perlis (1966) ¹⁰¹
Donald Knuth (1974)	George Forsythe (ACM President) ¹⁰²
	Robert Floyd (1978) ¹⁰³
Edward Feigenbaum (1994)	Herbert Simon (1975) ¹⁰⁴

As we have done in previous developments, we are not merely concerned with (interested in) capturing objective relationships, but also to explore what their incidences are in the actual, lived lives of the actors. And, so, what exactly
910 does it mean to have a network and what advantages might, in this case the Turing winners, gain from it?

⁹⁸Tarjan 2012.

⁹⁹Hosch 2018.

¹⁰⁰Packer and Jordan 2002 : 122.

¹⁰¹Denning 1990.

¹⁰²Knuth 1972.

¹⁰³Knuth 2003.

¹⁰⁴Feigenbaum 2001.

We look at the example of the relationships, primarily at Stanford, between Knuth and Floyd and to some extent Forsythe. The three of them, two Turing winners, and one ACM president, build a strong network of self-referential
915 recommendations and support and promotions¹⁰⁵

In 1962, Donald Knuth first became aware of Robert Floyd through his 1961 article “A descriptive language for symbol manipulation”¹⁰⁶. During the 1960s, Robert Floyd contributed “a great deal of his time” to work on Knuth’s landmark *The Art of Computer Programming*. Meanwhile, from 1964 to 1966,
920 George Forsythe had been ACM president. In 1965, he co-founded the department of computer science at Stanford with mathematician John Herriot¹⁰⁷. In 1968, Donald Knuth joined Stanford’s newly formed CS department. George Forsythe then asked Knuth to write a letter of recommendation for Floyd to be appointed professor at Stanford that same year¹⁰⁸. Here is a sample of its
925 content :

“I don’t know anyone I could recommend more highly. He is the most gifted man in his ‘age bracket’ that I have ever met. Several of his published papers have been significant mileposts in the development of computer science (...). I have also had the pleasure of carrying
930 on frequent correspondence with him for five years (...) While I was editing the ACM Communications and Journal, I asked him to serve as referee for several papers (...) He is a true Computer Scientist!”

That same year of 1968, Floyd joined Stanford. In 1973, he succeeded Forsythe as chair of the department of computer science at Stanford as the
935 dean’s choice. He remained in that position for three years. In 1974, Donald Knuth was awarded the Turing Award. 4 years later, Robert Floyd was awarded

¹⁰⁵The source for all following developments, unless otherwise stated, is Knuth himself, see Knuth 2003.

¹⁰⁶Floyd 1961.

¹⁰⁷Knuth 1972.

¹⁰⁸We do not know what prompted this, or how and when the Forsythe-Floyd relations started.

the same¹⁰⁹.

This recommendation was followed by many other. In 1974 Knuth wrote another letter for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1975 he
940 wrote yet another to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

Relationships, or edges, don't stop at recommendations for faculty positions or places in academic societies, but also take on the more indirect and perhaps less obvious form of scientific references ; of which we know especially in the contemporary period just how great and powerful their role can be for the
945 advancement of one's career¹¹⁰.

And, in the *The Art of Computer Programming*, the discipline's perhaps most revered book in the field of algorithms, if not in its entirety, no other author is more quoted than Floyd. Its publication spans from 1968 to the present day, although it was undertaken in 1962. In the 1997 third edition of
950 Volume 1, Knuth thanks two people by name : his wife and Robert Floyd.

“I have, of course, received assistance from a great many people during the years I have been preparing these books and for this I am extremely thankful. Acknowledgements are due, first to my wife (...) ; secondly, to Robert W. Floyd, who contributed a great deal of his
955 time towards the enhancement of this material during the 1960s.”¹¹¹

In 2001 Robert Floyd died. In 2002 Donald Knuth gave a one-hour keynote speech to the Stanford Computer Forum. In 2003 he wrote a necrology for Floyd.

When looking back at their relationships, Knuth wrote unequivocally : “No-
960 body has influenced my scientific life more than Bob Floyd. Indeed, were it not for him, I might well have never become a computer scientist.”

As such, we could write with a biographer of Turing that “when looking at

¹⁰⁹Unfortunately, we do not possess information on who was on the Turing Award committee during that period.

¹¹⁰This is due to the increasing importance of various rankings.

¹¹¹Knuth 1997 : x.

the work of influential thinkers it is easy to underestimate the role that others played in their work. Having an active, supportive mentor can make all the difference, and Newman played this role for Turing throughout his professional life.”¹¹² For Floyd, we can say that Knuth played that role.

But, sometimes these kinds of relationships, and their directions, take on much more indirect ways such as when Alan Kay later in life recruited the brother of Ivan Sutherland at Xerox.

970 ”Alan knew my brother Ivan Sutherland from his time at Utah, and
I suspect that Alan had a hand in recruiting me to Xerox PARC
SSL.”¹¹³

Besides the immediate relationships between Turing award laureates, we found significant the relationships they had indirectly through common, prominent computer scientists :

We lastly found significant that many Turing laureates had studied or been advised by very prominent figures of computer science, which certainly must have helped in getting their work exposed to the ACM or the Turing committee.

Sutherland was advised by Shannon, Iverson and Brooks as already mentioned by Howard Aiken.

9. Gender (1) : the ACM council and Turing Award jury (1947-2018)

In three successive sections, we study the incidence of gender in the context of computer science and the Turing Award in particular. We answer successively : how are women represented within 1. the jury of the award 2. the ACM as a whole 3. the Turing Award itself.

In large parts, the history that we write, the statistics we drew from the various archives, left little place for other, alternative narratives, is a history of exclusion.

¹¹²Bernhardt 2016 : 147.

¹¹³Piumarta and Rose 2010 : 30.

In short : women are underrepresented at all levels of the prize and its
 990 various parent institutions. They are underrepresented on the level of the jury
 (2 men for every woman), the ACM (it took the association 40 years to agree
 on a female president) and among laureates, most of all there.

In the following table series, we explore the overarching theme of gender and
 the ACM. In the first of these tables, we look at the composition of the ACM
 995 council, the body that governs the ACM.

Table 20: Gender of ACM presidents (1947-2018)

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1947-1949	2	0
1950-1959	5	0
1960-1969	5	0
1970-1979	4	1
1980-1989	4	1
1990-1999	3	2
2000-2009	3	2
2010-2018	3	1

Table 21: gender of ACM vice-presidents (1947-1975)

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1947-1949	2	0
1950-1959	5	0
1960-1969	5	0
1970-1975	2	1

In her history of the ACM, Cochran remarks that “Sammet was the first
 woman to lead ACM and became president after many years of activity in the

association”¹¹⁴. This is to say that for the first 27 years of its existence the ACM had only had male presidents.

1000 A review of the ACM council unveils further that in the first 25 years of its existence, it had only had male presidents and male vice-presidents.

Further, for the first forty years of its existence, the ACM had only been been succesful in finding two qualified and willing female presidents : Adele Goldberg followed in the footsteps of Sammet exactly a decade later.

1005 By the time it had existed for half a century, the ACM had only had three female presidents : Jean Sammet, from 1974 to 1976, Adele Goldberg, from 1984 to 1986, and Gwen Bell, from 1992 to 1994.

The ACM, we do not know when this tradition started, but it existed at least in 1975, publishes letters by acting presidents : in them, they for instance
1010 outline their vision for the ACM or discuss current issues within the organization (*e.g.* lacking finances) amongst other things.

In trying to better understand, gender relations, especially at its highest echelon, of which we know from other domains, that it is there that gender inequalities are the most intense, to the detriment of women who are rarely
1015 present at such a level¹¹⁵, we looked at the “president’s letters” of Jean Sammet.

We were all the more surprised when Sammet entitled hers, a series of six letters of roughly two pages each, “The Great Diversity in ACM”, but never acknowledged in them her own situation as the first female president or what we can only assume based on our statistics, both of the Turing award and the
1020 ACM council, must have been a stark underrepresentation of women in leading positions (at the ACM).

Instead, she describes as the most controversial issues those pertaining to whether the ACM should engage in critical debates on the role of technology in society (she cites as examples the “Unique Identifier, ABM [and] privacy

¹¹⁴Cochran 1987 : 869.

¹¹⁵Only 5% of the largest listed companies in Europe have a woman for (as) CEO. See European Commission 2016.

1025 legislation”¹¹⁶).¹¹⁷

This coincides with the research of Toland into the politics of the ACM. In her article we learn that Sammet, while being in favor of women’s rights, specifically the Equal Rights Amendment, that was hotly debated within and outside the ACM in around 1972 she felt that it was not the role of the ACM
1030 to become a voice in those debates, much to the anger of other ACM members and staff who saw things differently¹¹⁸.

At around the same time as Sammet published her president’s letters, that same year, in, 1975, former vice-president of the ACM Council, Bruce Gilchrist published a report in *Communications of the ACM* called “Discrimination in
1035 the Employment of Women in the Computer Industry”, in which he refers to a previous piece of legislature, the Equal Pay Act of 1964, and assures that “the lack of qualified individuals”, by which he means women, “does not, of course, explain the unequal pay”, but ultimately concludes that “caution should be exercised before making unequivocal claims of wage discrimination against
1040 women.”¹¹⁹

Despite his experience, twice, as secretary, from 1960 to 1962, and vice-president, from 1962 to 1964, it does not occur to him, as it had neither to Sammet, to address the situation at the ACM itself, which at that time had very much stayed a men’s club until the arrival of the latter, if one takes for
1045 criterium the composition of the ACM Council.

By the turn of the 20th century, something happened within the ACM, or perhaps it was the changes in society that made the ACM change, that made it

¹¹⁶We assume that UUID, a large number that serves to uniquely identify pieces of software or hardware on computers, or the system as a whole, and agent-based modeling, a statistical-computational technique used to predict behaviors based on data collected on (about) individuals or groups, for instance potential criminal activity as inferred or determined from various personal characteristics, are what Sammet refers to here. It would be hard to pinpoint what pieces of legislation she meant, possibly none in particular as she also hints at the future, but note that two years before she wrote this the Privacy Act of 1974 had been enacted in her country ; whose purpose it was to establish a framework under which personally identifiable information could be gathered about individuals by US federal agencies.

¹¹⁷Sammet 1996 : 53.

¹¹⁸Toland 2017.

¹¹⁹Weber and Gilchrist 1975 : 417-418.

so that its gender politics, as we can tell externally from looking at the statistics, were radically redefined to include women.

1050 But, it took the ACM almost sixty years to start actively looking for female staff at its highest level. This, we conclude from the sudden (abrupt) jump in frequency at which women start to appear as presidents of the ACM starting with the term of Gwen Bell : in short succession, Barbara Simons (1998-2000), Maria Klawe (2002-2004) and Wendy Hall (2008-2010) were elected president.

1055 In the case of the US-based ACM, we believe that of much importance are the events immediately preceding and accompanying the nomination of Bell in the years 1991 and 1992.

The first saw the highly publicized testimony of Anita Hill against then Supreme Court nominee, now member Clarence Thomas, whose assistant she 1060 had been at the Department of Education and the EEOC, for sexual harassment¹²⁰. This was followed in 1992, the latter dubbed “Year of the Woman”, by a wave of women elected to Senate and House the following year. But, as a retrospective editorial of the *New York Times* makes clear : “The law changed, too. The month after the hearings, Congress passed a law that allowed sexual 1065 harassment victims to seek damage awards as well as back pay and reinstatement.”¹²¹

In 1993, the *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action* was adopted by the United Nations in June of 1993. It read : “The full and equal participation of women in political, civil, economic, social and cultural life, at the national, regional and international levels, and the eradication of all forms of discrimination 1070 on grounds of sex are priority objectives of the international community”.

From all the information that we have at our disposal, we can only assume

¹²⁰This made the front page of several widely distributed national magazines and newspapers such as Time, whose October 21 1991 issue was entitled “America’s watershed debate on sexual harassment”. This was followed by the October 28 issue of People, whose title read : “Anita Hill put the issue on the front page.” In New York, where the ACM is headquartered, this also made the front page of the New York Post, “Hill Passes Lie Detector”, it read in bold print on October 14 of that same year. (Refer to the appendix for this) See appendix 2)

¹²¹New York Times 2011.

that the ACM took note of these wider changes within society, be it in law, in popular opinion, in politics, in the media or in the workplace, at the highest of
1075 international levels.

To provide some more context, and to better situate the changes within the ACM in comparison to the wider technology world, we have looked at the practices of big technology companies during that same period.

We picked those companies that were the most relevant to our study of the
1080 Turing award in the sense that these are the companies where many of them were employed.

Table 22: Gender and big technology companies' CEOs and presidents (1914 - 2013)

<i>CEO / President</i>	<i>IBM (1914-2011)</i>	<i>Bell Labs (1925-2013)</i>	<i>Intel (1968-2013)</i>
Men	11	8	5
Women	0	0	0

IBM appointed its first female CEO in 2012, almost a century after its creation. Bell Labs has yet to appoint a woman as president. In 2018, Intel has yet to appoint a female CEO as the company celebrates its 50th anniversary.

1085 Gender-exclusionary practices are common place and have been common place for decades at big technology companies such as IBM and Intel, if we take the way they look at and treat how they select their leadership as measurement.

As such we should look at the ACM's own practices a little less harshly : it had committed, beginning at the latest in the 1990s, to correct its gender gap.
1090 But, the ACM only appears progressive in comparison to peers who have, in some cases, century old track records of ignoring women for its highest executive position.

We know from other research, that individuals, when expressing opinions on women's rights or LGBT individuals, answer differently depending on the setting

1095 and their interlocutor¹²². IBM does not mind female typists, it does not mind
female programmers, it does not mind even female vice-presidents. But, in the
same way as certain individuals express support for progressive causes in public,
and express opposite ones at home, there is few better instances to ascertain
the actual positions of companies, including those and in particular those active
1100 in the technology sector who have long claimed otherwise, than when they
select what is most precious to them, when making those decisions that could
affect them in the equally most beneficial and detrimental fashion. “Women
cannot be entirely trusted to perform at the highest of levels” would be an
accurate expression of their intimate views. Little more can be concluded from
1105 the above statistics. And, if their intentions were different or other than what
could be interpreted from numbers, we should quote Virginia Woolf, who wrote
in *Orlando* that : “A woman knows very well that, though a wit sends her his
poems, praises her judgment, solicits her criticism, and drinks her tea, this by no
means signifies that he respects her opinions [or] admires her understanding”¹²³.

1110 9.1. Gender, the jury and the award (1966-2018)

Table 23: gender balance within the Turing award committee

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
2012 ¹²⁴	50% (4)	50% (4)
06/2013 ¹²⁵	60% (3)	40% (2)
08/2013 ¹²⁶	66% (4)	33% (2)
10/2013 ¹²⁷	62% (5)	37% (3)
08/2014 ¹²⁸	57% (4)	42% (3)
10/2014 ¹²⁹	62% (5)	37% (3)
09/2015 ¹³⁰	62% (6)	37% (2)

¹²²Two meta-studies give an overview on the state of research in psychology into (this area)
these areas : Paluck and Green 2009 and Pettigrew and Tropp 2006.

¹²³Woolf 2008.

11/2016 ¹³¹	87% (7)	12% (1)
07/2017 ¹³²	85% (6)	14% (1)
07/2017(2) ¹³³	83% (5)	16% (1)
09/2017 ¹³⁴	66% (6)	33% (3)
05/2018 ¹³⁵	66% (6)	33% (3)
Average	5.08	2.33

The jury for the award is consistently skewed towards men. At no point, in the interval that we have had access to, which encompasses seven years of committee changes, though incomplete in some parts, were we able to observe a jury that was in majority women. At best, there was a short equilibrium¹³⁶.
1115 At worst, men outnumbered women 7 to 1 in the jury of the Turing Award¹³⁷.

This means that, on average, for the period from 2012 to 2018, more than double the men sat on the jury of the Turing award than did women (approximately 15 men for every 7 women).

There is much to believe, based on our review of ACM council staff, for which
1120 we had access to much older archives, as well as other information presented elsewhere here, that gender ratios within the jury of the Turing award were for long periods of time during its history, especially in earlier decades, of the kind we observed and possibly much worse.

¹²⁴Archive from 09/11/12.

¹²⁵Archive from 02/06/13.

¹²⁶Archive from 28/08/13.

¹²⁷Archive from 15/10/13.

¹²⁸Archive from 21/08/14.

¹²⁹Archive from 04/10/14.

¹³⁰Archive from 06/09/15.

¹³¹Archive from 30/11/16.

¹³²Archive from 03/07/17.

¹³³Archive from 21/07/17.

¹³⁴Archive from 20/09/17.

¹³⁵Archive from 10/05/18.

¹³⁶Jury composition on 09/11/2012.

¹³⁷Jury composition on 30/11/2016.

Because the committee headed by a chair, we also provide information on
 1125 this : in 2012, Ravi Sethi was chair, in 2013, Adele Goldberg, in 2014, Barbara
 Liskov, in 2015, Michael Jordan, in 2016, David Salesin, in 2017, Alfred Spector,
 who still holds that position at the time of this writing.

We have no information on the powers and prerogatives of the chair and as
 such cannot elaborate on this.

1130 10. Gender (2) : Winners and losers

We turn now to the laureates. We avoid here explicitly the term winners,
 as, we find that, there are losers among the winners. And, that demographic is
 women.

Table 24: gender distribution of Turing award winners

<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
95% (61)	4% (3)

n = 64 t = 64

1135 In the 50 years of the Turing award, 95% of recipients of the prize have been
 men. It took the jury of the Turing award 40 years to find its first qualified
 female (women) prize winner in Frances Allen, in 2006.

Only 3 women won the Turing award between 1966 and 2016. They are
 Frances Allen, Barbara Liskov and Shafi Goldwasser. Their awards were all
 1140 given in rapid succession, in 2006, 2008 and 2012.

From scholarship written on other awards, we know that this is part of a
 very consistent pattern : of the Nobel Prize, a 1991 study of female laureates
 opens by saying that “barely 10 times has [it] been awarded to women since its
 creation in 1901.”¹³⁸

1145 Did the ACM and the Turing award change or did the world around them?

¹³⁸Folsing 1991.

In any case, these drastic changes can probably be viewed as fitting inside wider movements, demands and reforms within society, in the U.S. and many parts of the rest of the world.

Note that this also coincides, as we show elsewhere here, with changes within
1150 the governance of the ACM itself that make it so that women begin to be elected as presidents of the ACM starting in the mid-1990s ; and we have much reason to believe similar changes to take place in the Turing Award committee, though this cannot be said for certain without access to the relevant archives.

Table 25: gender distribution of Turing award winners split by decade (1940s-2010s)

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
1966-1969	0 (%)	4 (100%)
1970-1979	0 (%)	13 (100%)
1980-1989	0 (%)	12 (100%)
1990-1999	0 (%)	12 (100%)
2000-2009	2 (%)	14 (87.5%)
2010-2016	1 (%)	9 (90%)

As such, we cannot help but ask : was the jury unable to find qualified
1155 female applicants in previous decades, in fact for much of its history, because the ACM itself was an institution that did not value, or otherwise encourage, and at least objectively did not practice diversity within its governance?

Do women start to appear among the winners of the prize at the beginning of this century, because at the turn of the previous one the ACM started appointing
1160 women as presidents and included them in the jury of the prize as well?

That an award dedicated to computer science need not necessarily be this way, we can ascertain by looking at other, similar awards' practices, in this case we have consistently used the IEEE, the other big association relevant to computing and computer science, as reference point and specifically its Computer

1165 Pioneer Award.

In the case of the Computer Pioneer Award, the first award made to a woman was in the year 1997, Frances Snyder-Holberton, which puts it almost 10 years before the same was done for Frances Allen by the Turing Award. This means, put otherwise, that it took the IEEE and the Committee of the Computer
1170 Pioneer Award about 15 years to reward women with its highest distinction in the discipline since its creation in 1981.

Finally, we asked : how long did it take for women to be recognized for their work, in the context of the Turing award, compared to their male peers or counterparts?

Table 26: Number of years needed to obtain the Turing Award, split by gender

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
<i>Age</i> (avg)	55	65

1175 $n = 64$ $t = 64$

On average, it took women 10 years longer than their male counterparts to obtain the Turing award. This, we measured by calculating the difference between the year of birth of Turing winners and the year they won the award.

Frances Allen, the first woman to win the award, was 74 at the time of her
1180 nomination, Barbara Liskov 69, and Shafi Goldwasser, who has obtained the award the most recently of all three, 54. This makes Allen the third oldest Turing award winner ever and Liskov the tenth.

The youngest 10 Turing Award winners ranged from age 36 to 44. In more detail yet, this also means that the youngest 25 Turing award winners were
1185 all men. The youngest Turing award winner ever was Donald Knuth, who obtained it when he was 36 years old, followed by Robert Tarjan, 38 and Kenneth Thompson, 40. They are followed by four individuals who obtained it at age 42 respectively : Dennis Ritchie, Marvin Minsky, Edsger Dijkstra and Robert

Floyd.¹³⁹

1190 Let us look closer at these happenings and at two examples in particular
that we hold for exemplary of the disparities between both sexes when it comes
to the recognition of their work within computer science.

After completing a bachelor's degree in mathematics, Frances Allen worked
as a high school math teacher for two years before obtaining a master's degree
1195 in that same discipline from the University of Michigan, where she learned how
to program on an IBM 650 from Bernard Galler¹⁴⁰, and joining IBM Research
as a programmer in 1957. Her first assignment there was to teach Fortran to
employees, which lead her to study the Fortran compiler developed by John
Backus. Much of her work at IBM from then on focused on compilers¹⁴¹. This
1200 included developing a compiler for Stretch and Harvest - Stretch, one of the
earliest supercomputers, and Harvest, a coprocessor developed by the NSA for
codebreaking - with support for three programming languages including Alpha
which she had worked on. She then contributed to Project Y¹⁴², whose goal was
to be many times faster than the previous project, Stretch. For the Project Y
1205 computer, a compiler was built whose optimizer¹⁴³ Allen wrote. Project Y later
became ACS, IBM's Advanced Computing System. The ACS-1 had in turn for

¹³⁹Note Dennis Ritchie was a close collaborator of Kenneth Thompson and their Turing was awarded jointly, while Robert Floyd was Donald Knuth's most important scientific influence according to himself.

¹⁴⁰President of the ACM between 1968 and 1970, Vice-president from 1966 to 1968. See appendix.

¹⁴¹A compiler is a piece of software "that reads a program written in one language (...) and translates it into an equivalent program in another language". This definition is based on Aho, Sethi and Ullman 1986 : 1.

¹⁴²In her interview with Guy Steele, who also wrote her Turing biography, Allen refers to the project as "System Y". See Steele 2011. Brian Randell, who worked on the project from 1964 to 1966, and Lynn Conway, from 1965 onwards, (both colleague of Allen and Cocke at IBM,) keep with the nomenclature "Project Y". See Randell 2015 and Conway 2011.

¹⁴³In the classic compiler design book *Compilers: Principles, Techniques, and Tools*, which descends from a previous book by Aho and Ullman published in 1977, Aho, Sethi and Ullman write of code optimization : "Ideally, compilers should produce target code that his as good as can be written by hand. The reality is that this goal is achieved only in limited cases (...). However, the code produced by straightforward compiling algorithms can often be made to run faster or take less space, or both. This process is achieved by program transformations that are traditionally called *optimizations*. Compilers that apply code-improving transformations are called *optimizing compilers*."

ambition to be many times faster than the reference machine at that point¹⁴⁴
and later evolved into ACS-360 when a decision was made to support another
system¹⁴⁵. It was abandoned in 1969. After this, Frances Allen went on to
1210 work on ECS, the Experimental Compiling System^{146, 147}

On both of these projects, Y and ACS, Allen collaborated with John Cocke,
who was seven years her senior and was also key in the development of the RISC
architecture.

Together they wrote a series of articles and reports that reflected much of
1215 her practical work done at IBM on optimizing compilers such as the 1971 “A
Catalog of Optimizing Transformations”¹⁴⁸. These joint publications were pre-
ceded by Allen’s own, including “Program Optimization”, published internally
in 1966¹⁴⁹. In 1969 Cocke and Schwartz’ *Programming languages and their com-
pilers* was published at the Courant Institute, “an extremely good summary of
1220 the work done in the field”¹⁵⁰, followed in 1970 by Cocke’s own paper (research)
on (compiler) optimization “Global common subexpression elimination”¹⁵¹.

In recognition of her contributions, the ACM wrote in her Turing citation
that it had awarded her its highest distinction : “For pioneering contributions
to the theory and practice of optimizing compiler techniques that laid the foun-
1225 dation for modern optimizing compilers and automatic parallel execution.”

And, yet, it awarded Cocke and Allen the Turing Award in 1987 and 2006
respectively. This is to say that between both nominations lie almost 20 years.

Is is important to mention in this context, that, compared to the IEEE’s own

¹⁴⁴The IBM 7090 mainframe computer.

¹⁴⁵The IBM System/360 mainframe.

¹⁴⁶See Allen et al. 1980 for an overview of this project.

¹⁴⁷Unless otherwise stated, the sources for these information are : the Turing Award biog-
raphy of Frances Allen ; Smotherman 2017 ; Steele : 2011.

¹⁴⁸IBM Research Report RC 3548 from September 1971. Republished in Allen and Cocke
1972.

¹⁴⁹Allen 1969. “Allen’s seminal paper on Program Optimization (published internally in
April, 1966 and in an expanded version in the open literature in 1969), resulted from the
ACS work.” according to the her IEEE Computer Pioneer award biography. [https://www.
computer.org/web/awards/pioneer-frances-allen](https://www.computer.org/web/awards/pioneer-frances-allen)

¹⁵⁰Cocke and Schwartz 1969 ; Pollack 1971.

¹⁵¹Cocke 1970.

practices, the gap between Cocke's and Allen's nomination for the Computer
1230 Pioneer Award is similar. The latter prize was awarded to both of them in
1989 and 2004 respectively hence a gap in differentiated recognition of 15 years
(versus 19 years).

Margaret Rossiter who has looked at the wider history of women in science
in the USA and has written what is to our knowledge the reference text on the
1235 subject for that country, the three-volume *Women Scientists in America*, has
sought to generalize her findings by postulating the "Matilda Effect" in science.

In the abstract to her seminal article, she writes : "Recent work has brought
to light so many cases, historical and contemporary, of women scientists who
have been ignored, denied credit or otherwise dropped from sight that a sex-
1240 linked phenomenon seems to exist"¹⁵².

Perhaps the best example for such phenomena is the fate of Lise Meitner,
who not only had to overcome the great prejudices of her times against women
in both secondary and higher education¹⁵³, as the second woman ever to obtain
a PhD in physics at the University of Vienna¹⁵⁴, but whose 30 year collaboration
1245 with Otto Hahn had for outcome that he only was awarded the Nobel prize.

Much of the same could be written about Marie Curie, the first woman to win
the Nobel, whose 1903 Nobel prize in physics was only jointly awarded to her as
well as her husband, in addition to Becquerel, on account of the intervention of
prominent Swedish mathematician Mittag-Leffler ; and other important female
1250 scientists of past periods.

In the preface to her monograph on female Nobel winners, Folsing writes :
"At the yearly Nobel Prize ceremony, in Stockholm, the Swedish king almost
only deals with an assortment of men. Women, if at all, appear to the ceremony
as wives and as such fulfill a role barely more than decorative. Only in the most

¹⁵²Rossiter 1993.

¹⁵³Women in Austria were not allowed to study at university up until 1899. They were also
banned from attending high school, at least this was the case in 1892 in Vienna, where Meitner
was born. See Folsing 1991 : 148.

¹⁵⁴Sime 1996.

1255 exceptional of cases is a female scientist able to join the laureate ranks.”¹⁵⁵
She lists four additional women whose contributions were overshadowed by that
their male colleagues with regard to the Nobel : Mileva Maric, and Albert
Einstein, Chien Shiung Wu, and Tsung Dao Lee and Chen Ning Yang, Rosalind
Franklin, and Francis Crick, James Watson and Maurice Wilkins, and Jocelyn
1260 Bell Burnell, and Anthony Hewish. But, let us go back to computer science,
and the Turing Award.

Drawing on the work of Rossiter, computer scientist Lynn Conway, who was
a colleague of Allen and Cocke¹⁵⁶, has spoken of “the erasure of women” in
computer science, partly based on her own experiences and her work on VLSI
1265 design and at IBM¹⁵⁷.

A summary search reveals that now their important introductory textbook¹⁵⁸
on the topic can be regularly found attributed to Carver Mead only while their
legacy is in the process of crystallizing as “Mead & Conway revolution”¹⁵⁹.

In her case, her accomplishments were long unknown and her scientific legacy
1270 further complicated by the fact that she was a transgender woman and that her
previous accomplishments were cut off from her new identity and life. Due to
this, her education, at MIT, was interrupted and she was later fired from IBM
shortly after she came out¹⁶⁰.

11. Gender (3) : gendered research : the labor division within com- 1275 puter science. The gendered division of research topics

In following developments, we take a closer look at what we call the “labor
division within computer science”, which sees men, depending on whichever
hierarchy is currently in place, active and overrepresented in the most prestigious

¹⁵⁵Folsing 1991 : 7. Our translation.

¹⁵⁶Conway was staff at IBM and also worked on the ACS project, see Conway 2011.

¹⁵⁷Conway 2016.

¹⁵⁸Mead and Conway 1980.

¹⁵⁹See appendix.

¹⁶⁰Conway 2000; Hiltzik 2000.

areas of computer science, with women computer scientists in employment in
1280 others.

Indeed, we see no coincidence in the fact that the most prominent women
computer scientists all did work in software-related areas like compilers, as Allen
did, like Hopper did, and the “original ladies of the ENIAC”. They did so
because men were busy doing the real work of machine design, like Cocke himself
1285 did, like Neumann did before him, and he whomever he may be who came before
them.

Regarding this balance of tasks, Alan Kay has said of his employment of
programmer in the US Army in the early 1960s :

“They needed programmers. This was back in the days when pro-
1290 gramming was a low status profession and most of the programmers
were women. My boss was a woman. They also were taking lin-
guists who had served in Europe when they came back to the United
States. It was actually a pretty interesting bunch. I had a friend
who was a black guy who did what today we would call an operating
1295 system.”¹⁶¹

This is in complete reversal with our knowledge of current happenings in the
technology sector, where the most prestigious positions are all within software
(*e.g.* AI, ML) while women may be found, if at all, in systems engineering jobs,
or subaltern accounting or support positions, often the only women present at
1300 these companies¹⁶².

The labor division within computer science research can be traced back to
its very beginnings : Babbage created the analytical engine, while Ada wrote
programs for it, wrote a report for it and helped document/promote it. What
was unexpected, however, was that it was she, an amateur mathematician with
1305 little more than basic knowledge of mathematics as one historian of science

¹⁶¹Shasha and Lazere 1995.

¹⁶²This relies on ethnographic observations.

highlights¹⁶³, would be the one to understand and theorize on the true nature and important role of the new machine. She understood clearly, and wrote accordingly in her notes, that it was its potential to compute more than just numbers that mattered¹⁶⁴.

1310 This divide between machines (contemporaneously called “systems”¹⁶⁵, also alternatively referred to as “hardware”, “computer architecture”, “computer systems”, or indeed simply “systems”, and in past centuries as “engines”) and software is at the heart of many developments within computer science. Historically, women have made contributions in those areas, men in the former
1315 ones. This is all the more significant, as the formerly prestigious area of hardware systems originally populated primarily by men has become subordinate to computational software developments (AI) and this balance is now reversed.

In the following we ask the questions : what areas have attracted female Turing award winners? Ultimately is there a link between gender and research
1320 areas?

To answer this, we looked at the various domains of computer science that Turing award winners had made contributions in and correlated them with gender (of which the following table is the outcome).

We listed the areas in descending order according to the number of women
1325 that we found in them (as a percentage of total Turing award winners within these areas) together with other key areas¹⁶⁶.

Table 27: gender distribution of Turing award winners by research areas

<i>Area</i>	<i>Women</i> (% of total)
Compilers	1 (33%)

¹⁶³Swade 2008.

¹⁶⁴Lovelace 1843.

¹⁶⁵Although, this is also applied to (large) software and although this can also mean virtual machines.

¹⁶⁶The full table is available in the appendix

Operating Systems	1 (25%)
Computational Complexity	1 (14%)
Cryptography	1 (14%)
Programming Languages	1 (11%)
Computer Architecture	0%
Computer Hardware	0%
Computer Systems	0%

Of 32 total areas listed by the ACM, 5 only feature women, or 15%. They are : compilers, operating systems, computational complexity, cryptography and programming languages. In turn, this also means that 27 areas are completely
1330 void of women : the Turing Award committee seems to come to the conclusion that in all of those 27 areas there were no women that had made “lasting contributions” that were on the same level as those of the men whose work had respectively been recognized as worthy of the distinction.

The areas from which women are absent include much of systems, algorithms
1335 (combinatorial algorithms, analysis of algorithms) and various other fields of mathematics (*e.g.* numerical analysis, numerical methods).

The table reveals on the other hand “feminine” areas of computing, which is to say areas of computing where women are not only active but were judged worthy of the prize, we list them again here with their respective percentages
1340 : compilers (33%), operating systems (25%), computational complexity (14%), cryptography (14%) and programming languages (11%).

This fits with our general knowledge of the historic participation of women in computing, which saw them mostly working with programming languages during and after WW2¹⁶⁷.

1345 The percentages that we indicate are mostly useful in the sense that they

¹⁶⁷We refer to the quote by Alan Kay provided elsewhere here and especially to the monograph by Abbate, *Recoding Gender*, which contains many interviews with female computer scientists and programmers from that period.

give indications as to gender ratios and the proportion of men vs. women working within certain areas, with compilers and operating systems, both strongly connected domains, and often taught in combination, being the most “feminine” areas of computer science, at least based on the historical statistics drawn from the Turing Award.

In the following we attempt a broad classification of areas that go beyond the results exhibited previously¹⁶⁸.

Table 28: big areas of computing and female Turing award winners

<i>Main areas</i>	<i>Women (% of total)</i>
Software	8.6%
– Compilers	33% (1)
– Operating Systems	25% (1)
– Programming Languages	11% (1)
– Objected Oriented Programming	0% (0)
– Software Engineering	0% (0)
– Software	0% (0)
– Programming	0% (0)
– Databases	0% (0)
Systems (Hardware)	0%
– Computer Architecture	0% (0)
– Computer Hardware	0% (0)
– Personal Computing	0% (0)
– Computer Systems	0% (0)
Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning	0%
– Artificial Intelligence	0% (0)
– Machine Learning	0% (0)

¹⁶⁸The full table is available in the appendix. As with all such attempts, trying to subsume complexity into simpler forms necessarily means losing some of their distinctive qualities. We feel there is room for improvement here.

Cryptography	14%
– Cryptography	14% (1)
Computational complexity	7%
– Computational Complexity	14% (1)
– Analysis of Algorithms	0% (0)
Mathematics (other)	0%
– Combinatorial Algorithms [comb. optimization]	0% (0)
– Numerical Analysis	0% (0)
– Numerical Methods	0% (0)
– Proof Construction	0% (0)
Misc.	-
– Education	0% (0)
– Graphics	0% (0)
– Interactive Computing	0% (0)
– Internet Communications	0% (0)
– List Processing	0% (0)
– Verification of Hardware and Software Models	0% (0)
– Parallel Computation	0% (0)
– Data Structures	0% (0)
– Error Correcting Codes	0% (0)
– Program Verification	0% (0)

Note : categories are not listed alphabetically, but by order of number of women, then degree (including of certainty) to which the individual category belongs to the overarching one (*e.g.* Software, Systems, etc.).

1355

To provide some more context for these developments and to extrapolate on them, we try to integrate these findings into the broader history of women's place in computing.

It is interesting that the history of computers, computer science and com-

1360 puting in general, should be so strange. Indeed, it subverts much of our current
notions on the role and place of women within technology. There they operate
various, for the most part experimental machines, and program their novel sys-
tems, while here they are grossly underrepresented, in education, in industry,
in academia and various other places.

1365 Early computer pioneers, starting with Ada Lovelace in the previous century,
were in fact women. Babbage created the analytical engine, but she was the
one who understood its purpose was much bigger than just that of calculator.
“It might act upon other things besides number”, she wrote in her notes¹⁶⁹.

Women in computing are met again during WW2 when men became un-
1370 available and thus many women were thrust into technological employment,
as someone had to operate the emerging wave of computers after all. They
became typists, programmers, they punched cards to be processed by these new
machines, some made extraordinary contributions, in fact many of the early
programming languages and compilers were the works of women.

1375 In the late 1950s, as men had come back from duty, women were courted
by big companies such as IBM, presumably because they were the ones who
had primarily operated computers during the war and as such had the most
experience. In one famous brochure, from the “My Fair Ladies” campaign, a
typewriter with flowers overlaid on top catered to women especially¹⁷⁰.

1380 In the 1960s and 1970s, it had become common for major manufacturers
of computers to display women as objects of their advertisements : they were
alternatively seen typing while holding manuals, filing various tapes and in
one ad a woman wearing high heel boots and not much else is stepping on a
computer¹⁷¹.

1385 In the late 2010s, male recruits in major Chinese tech companies such as
Baidu, the leading search engine in that country among other things, and Al-
ibaba, a leader in e-commerce, are lured with promises of working in the same

¹⁶⁹Lovelace 1843.

¹⁷⁰See appendix.

¹⁷¹See appendix

company as attractive young women : one is dancing on a pole while two other’s presumably scripted dialogue include the line “I love tech boys”¹⁷².

1390 A brief history of women in computing sees them going from amateur math-
ematicians to programmer typists to ad-pinups, from 1850 to the present, with
a very late recognition starting to happen at the end of the last century when
the IEEE gave its highest distinction in computing to one of the original ladies
of the ENIAC, Frances Snyder-Holberton, in 1997 and when the ACM followed
1395 in 2006 by giving Frances Allen its Turing Award.

12. Ethnicity and the Turing Award

We use “race”, because of its prevalence in US-centric discussions and use that term, as it is commonly understood there, equivalently with ethnicity.

Looking at the ethnicity or “race” of Turing award winners, we come to
1400 the conclusion that here as well entire groups are objectively excluded from its
select - both academically and also socially as we have shown - pool of winners.

In a first attempt, we use birth place as proxy and reassess previously pre-
sented data to this effect.

Table 29: Turing laureates from outside North America and Europe

<i>Country</i>	<i>Turing winners</i>
North America*	43 (64%)
Europe	14 (21%)
Outside Europe / North America	7
– Israel	3 (4%)
– British India	1
– Ceylon	1
– China	1
– Venezuela	1

¹⁷²See appendix.

* USA and Canada.

1405 But, we are able to go further as we know in detail, from our prosopography,
who are behind the countries and what their circumstances are : in the case of
Ceylon, Antony Hoare, who is white, in the case of Venezuela, Manuel Blum,
whose Jewish parents had left Europe, in the case of British India, Dabbala
Reddy who is not white.

1410 None of the Turing laureates are black. None of them come from Africa.
None of them are American-African or Hispanic.

The table we established based on this knowledge and our findings, may not
be perfect but it should be attempted :

Table 30: Race and Turing laureates

<i>Demographics</i>	<i>Turing Award laureates</i>
Whites	59 (92%)
— North America*	43
— Europe	14
— Ceylon**	1
— Venezuela***	1
Non-whites	5 (7%)
— Israel	3
— British India	1
— China	1

n = 64 t = 64

1415 This analysis is based on places of birth and our knowledge of the population
based on collective biography (prosopography).

* There are no African-Americans among the Turing Award laureates.

** Antony Hoare, whose father was a colonial civil servant and who is white.

*** Manuel Blum, whose parents emigrated to Venezuela from Europe.

1420 Over 90% of Turing laureates are white and only 7% are non-white.

To establish this, and to provide more evidence, we have also approached the problem from another perspective. The ACM provides not only biographies from Turing Award laureates, but also photographs. We have used this resource as well.

1425 We proceeded to make a collage from them by using simple HTML code to load the images of Turing winners directly from the ACM website. The result of this is as follows, in the figure entitled “Ethnic (and gender) diversity amongst Turing winners”.

1430 In our review of Turing award winners between 1966 and 2016, we were only able to distinguish 2 non-white Turing Award laureates. They are Raj Reddy and Andrew Yao, of Indian and Chinese descent respectively. The overwhelming majority of Turing laureates is primarily from European ancestry. A significant portion is of Jewish origin¹⁷³.

13. Making an award : the politics of careful biographical attribution and the erasure of diversity

1435

When Alfred Nobel established the Nobel Prize at the end of the 19th century, he explicitly named physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature and peace in his 1895 will¹⁷⁴. For these disciplines or areas, the first Nobel Prizes were awarded in 1901.¹⁷⁵

1440 The original provisions of the Nobel prize did not - and sometimes could not - include a number of subjects, such a prominently mathematics or economics. Another one is computer science, which only became an individual discipline during the 1960s. In the case of mathematics, the Fields Medal serves as the discipline’s highest distinction¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷³Goldwasser, Feigenbaum, Blum, etc.

¹⁷⁴A copy of the relevant parts of Nobel’s will can be found in Nobel Foundation 1972 : x.

¹⁷⁵Ibid : 638-639.

¹⁷⁶For a discussion of the absence of a Nobel in mathematics, see Morrill 1995. He concludes, citing various previous commentaries, that Nobel may not have felt that mathematics had “sufficient relevance to human development” and rejects in the process competing explanations regarding a supposed rivalry between Nobel and mathematician Mittag-Leffler.

Figure 1: ethnic and gender diversity amongst Turing winners

1445 One of the primary challenges faced by creators of a new prize can be summed
up as follows : how to give stature and prestige to something just recently
created? Historically, there have been a number of ways that groups behind
such awards have employed to deal with this fundamental problem, such as
naming their prize a distinguished figure, associating it with an established
1450 institution, dote it with a large monetary reward (or any of those combined).

Of the so-called “Nobel prize in economics”, created two years after the
Turing Award, in 1968, it has convincingly been argued that it relied on an
usurpation of symbolic capital : the creators, Bank of Sweden, by naming the
prize after the older and more established Nobel prize had successfully monop-
1455 olized the former’s reputation for their own¹⁷⁷.

From other perspectives, much has been written, but effectively not enough,
about the erasure of various groups from the scientific enterprise, particularly
and most obvious women¹⁷⁸.

In the case of the Turing, there was no such obvious attempt to use the
1460 stature of another prize. Instead the creators used the name of arguably the
most iconic of all computer scientists ; both due to his foundational contribu-
tions in many fields of the discipline, but also for his involvement in decrypting
the Nazi codes during WW2 as well as for the more remarkable aspects of his
personal life.

1465 This is most evident in the ACM promotional video entitled “The origins of

hosts a collection of materials relating to the event, redirects to it as “Promotional Video”.
We hypothesize that this may have been the context for its creation.

¹⁷⁷Lebaron 2002.

¹⁷⁸The most authoritative account of the history of women in science is perhaps Rossiter’s
three-volume monograph called *Women Scientists in America*. For Europe, see the work of
Annette Vogt amongst others.

¹⁷⁹“A.M. Turing Award Video”. <https://amturing.acm.org/amtvcfm>. The title or mention
“The origins of the ACM A.M. Turing Award” stands above the video as well. This page
links to https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_8s451zYYE entitled “The ACM A.M. Turing
Award”.

¹⁸⁰The platform on which the video is hosted, YouTube, gives the following indication “Pub-
lished on 16 Jan 2013”, but we believe the date of its creation to be 2011. This is based
on the following URL, [delivery.acm.org/10.1145/2330000/2322176/AMTuringACM2011.mp4](https://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=2322176)
(note that this URL has been stripped from parameters, as its delivery is dependent on
various individual information such as IP, it is not directly accessible). The URL <https://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=2322176>, title “ACM Turing Centenary Celebration”, which

the award”¹⁷⁹¹⁸⁰. It is more than two-thirds a biography of Alan Turing - this includes the first minute - while less than twenty seconds of its almost 2 minute running time is on the award itself proper.

In this brief passage that concerns the award, as opposed to selected passages from Turing’s life, the narrator explains : “In 1966, the Association for
1470 Computer Machinery instituted the Turing award to honor the memory of Alan Turing. Over the years, it has become universally recognized as computing’s most prestigious award, given each year to individuals selected for making lasting major technical importance to the computing community.” In this both
1475 presentational and representational video the words ”lasting major technical words” are highlighted. But, it is also useful to note what is not.

No biography is neutral, neither in form nor in content, and in this case, it takes on the format of a list or succession of Turing’s various accomplishments : his 1936 paper “On computable numbers”, Bletchley Park, his later work on
1480 artificial intelligence¹⁸¹ (“Can machines think?”) are referenced.¹⁸²

But, both what is mentioned and left out is of importance : no word on his personal life. This is noteworthy in the sense that the Prize does not shy away from politics in other instances, for instance when it mentions the political activities of one winner who had been been an opponent to Norway’s joining of
1485 the European Union. As such, it would be surprising that where Alan Turing was concerned, any bits of private biography, of which we now know just how important they are to understanding his life, would suddenly be considered irrelevant.

“But Kristen was not just a pioneer and researcher in informatics.
1490 He was an engaged social and political citizen, involved in several aspects of society, including politics. During the intense political

¹⁸¹Turing 1950.

¹⁸²It should be mentioned here that where common or popular presentations of Turing’s contributions to computer science go, recent scholarship has sought to reevaluate the exact role played by Turing and the nature of his legacy. See Haigh 2014, Daylight 2014 and 2015 and Bullynck et al. 2015.

fight before the 1972 Referendum on whether Norway should become member of the European Common Market, he worked as coordinator for the large majority of youth organizations that worked against membership. He also was the leader (1990-1995) of Norway's No to the EU movement, which argued against Norwegian membership of the European Union and led to victory in the 1994 referendum.”¹⁸³

In the biographies of the laureates it publishes, the ACM neither blends out politics, nor family life, nor marital details, and the various conclusions that can be drawn from those as to sexual orientation or political affiliation or societal attitudes. We can only assume that, if it did not consider them to be irrelevant in the case of Turing, they must have then been inconvenient. Biographical details are only welcome as long as they fit the mainstream image of heterosexuality where sexuality is concerned, while, well noted, digressions are permitted in all other thinkable domains of politics and personal health (from one winner, we learn of his chain smoking habits through his Turing Award biography) and marriage and divorce.

“John was renowned for the breadth of his intellect, for his energy, for his insights and for his unconventional working methods. He often wandered the halls of IBM seeking out colleagues to chat with. He was a chain smoker, so an effective method of locating him was to follow the trail of his cigarette butts in the ash trays.”¹⁸⁴

This omission has also to be pointed out for another reason, namely that according to mathematician Andrew Hodges, author of the classic (authoritative) 1983 biography of (on) Turing called *The Enigma*, Alan had “played a central role in world history”, not for his politics, or lack thereof, but rather this was because “it was his individual freedom of mind, including his sexuality, that

¹⁸³Turing Award biography of Kristen Nygaard.

¹⁸⁴Turing Award biography of John Cocke.

mattered”¹⁸⁵.

One might even be tempted to use the words that professor Hofstadter has
1520 used when talking of Sara Turing, the mother of Alan Turing, “whitewash”¹⁸⁶,
and conclude that the ACM found attractive the idea of naming their prize
after the most iconic of all computer scientists, but found very advantage in the
notion that this man had also lived a life outside of mainstream society and
been homosexual.

1525 At a minimum, we must paraphrase him in writing that this was most likely
because the organizers of the prize, like his mother, “wore conventional blinders
and did not want to see, let alone say”¹⁸⁷. In fully embracing the name and
legacy of Turing, the ACM could have contributed to the progressive civil rights
movements of the times that saw the creation of the award in the late 1960s,
1530 by stating all that he had been, the resilience he had shown both in science and
life¹⁸⁸. And, that in any case they had used his name, the name of another
man, because it was those kinds of characteristics they hoped to see in future
winners (in addition to scientific merit).

But, it seems that, even now, this is a part of Alan Turing’s life and legacy
1535 the ACM would rather not be seen associated with openly. It cherry picked
parts from his biography, only those parts it deemed the best, creating a fairy
tale of a well-fitted, neither too modest, for he had been a great man and this
was to be an equally great prize, nor too abrasive portrait of a complex person

¹⁸⁵Hodges 2014 : xv.

¹⁸⁶Hodges 2014 : xii.

¹⁸⁷Hodges 2014 : xiii.

¹⁸⁸Alan Turing was subject of a lawsuit on 31st of March 1952, *Regina v. Turing and Murray*. Considering his status and the nature of the lawsuit (“gross indecency” based on the *Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885*, a Victorian era legal phrase for gay sex), it seems likely that in the following almost 15 years between this event and the creation of the Turing award, knowledge of this must have been public, including in America. Hodges refers to one newspaper article from that period (“University Reader Put on Probation. To have Organo-Therapeutic Treatment” by the Wilmslow newspaper) and also cites an episode where Turing announced the events to Max Newmann in the refectory, presumably of the University of Manchester, “in a particularly loud voice”, for all to hear. See Hodges 2014 : 464, 471, 472. But, he also writes that during the inquest, which had been attended by “a row of journalists”, “nothing was mentioned that hinted at sex, the trial, blackmail or anything of the kind” and that following this event “the national press made remarkably little of it, and nothing was said regarding the 1952 trial”. For this, see Hodges 2014 : 488.

; an image of a person that is ultimately non-existent for no one lives, not even
1540 the greatest of mathematicians, not even and everyone knows not Archimedes,
in the abstract, otherworldly confines of mathematical research alone ; the same
kind of willful denial and misplaced politeness that had made Turing's existence
so hard and ultimately tragic in lifetime, and his place inside the rigid structures
left over by Victorian society so unlivable, painful and strange¹⁸⁹.

1545 This is all the more incomprehensible and incompatible with a view of a
computer science prize that only cared about intrinsically scientific discoveries -
if such a view was tenable, to which many philosophers and historians of science
would have a very different one to oppose, one grounded in the actual, historical
development of sciences - as the Turing Award pages inject many elements from
1550 personal life into the biographies they craft for the Turing laureates, highlight-
ing often the most original and colorful aspects of their personalities and lives -
this winner worked as a store clerk after emigrating to America and another was
a poor student throughout high school - in portraits that ultimately culminate
in a synthesis of scientific advancements and personal life, often deeply interwo-
1555 ven, and where biography has a value other than (is not) merely accidental or
incidental or otherwise anecdotal.

Alan Turing was born in 1912. He died in 1953 at age 41. Neither Bletchley
Park, nor his much quoted paper of 1936 gives us any insight into the anomaly
that was his shortened life or helps us understand much of it, but an authentic
1560 portrait would. He died prematurely because he had the misfortune of being

¹⁸⁹For the sake of exhaustivity, we should mention that many poor biographies have been written about Turing, starting with his own mother's, who, as Hodges states, was writing about a stranger whose work she had not the intellectual capabilities to understand and whose personal life she arranged to her own satisfaction. Jack Copeland, a philosophy professor, has managed the incredible feat of discussing Turing's death over ten pages from the perspective of plausible modes, reviewing in great detail the many possibilities he had conjured up in his mind, without considering in his expose the cumulative sum of social climate, the law, the lawsuit, the chemical castration, the general reprobation against homosexuality, the absence of a normal future, the absence of a normal past, that can never be made good, or anything that would have occurred to anyone discussing the suicide, since it has been ruled so, of a homosexual man in early 20th century Britain, having gone through the legal and medical and criminal apparatus reserved to gay men of that time. We are aware of other biographies that attempt to assess the lawsuit against Turing from the point of view of Logic.

born into a society whose entire fabric, founded on the latest of scientific, political, psychological, psychiatric, judicial, criminal and societal consensus, seemed to agree, for the most part, that homosexuality was wrong and abnormal and that those who were it thus deserved reprobation, prison and exclusion from normal lives ; a society deeply unkind to and unfit for people like him. For this, he
1565 lost his employment and underwent chemical castration to avoid imprisonment. He killed himself shortly after¹⁹⁰

We must mention that subsequently, there has been disagreement about the nature of Turing's death, much of it originating from his mother, Sara Turing,
1570 who argued early on it was an accident¹⁹¹. However, we also know from Hodges that she had a strong inclination for shaping her son's legacy according to her own preconceptions and wishes, rather than truth¹⁹². This thesis was later reactivated by Jack Copeland in his book *Turing. Pioneer of the Information Age*, in which he goes to great length to discuss all thinkable alternatives, including
1575 murder, whilst also simultaneously paying extraordinarily little concern to the social context¹⁹³. Further, he employs, by choice or ignorance, none of the critical tools that are common place amongst historians where the use of primary sources are concerned. Of Sara Turing's biography, he comments for instance naively "Turing's mother Sara provides an intimate and often amusing picture
1580 of him in her biography"¹⁹⁴. In this, Hodges' discussion of the role of Sara Turing in shaping her son's legacy immediately after his death, and the ways she has constructed her biography, her narrative choices, and the incomplete source material she has drawn from, is far superior¹⁹⁵. The influence of her biography cannot be understated as this served as source for many publications
1585 during the 1960s and 1970s¹⁹⁶. Chris Bernhardt follows Copeland in his own

¹⁹⁰The cause of death was established as suicide (by the inquest), see Hodges 2014 : 488.

¹⁹¹Ibid.

¹⁹²Hodges 2014 : 531-533.

¹⁹³Copeland 2014 : 223-234.

¹⁹⁴Copeland 2014 : 239.

¹⁹⁵Hodges 2014 : 530-533

¹⁹⁶Hodges 2014 : 533

book, *Turing's Vision*, but provides no new information¹⁹⁷.

We were not able to find any references anywhere on the pages of the ACM to any of these events and with certainty not in the video that is meant to introduce the award. In this context, we also reviewed the 2012 “ACM Turing Centenary Celebration” : its event program¹⁹⁸, a 20-page brochure/pamphlet, also does not mention any of these details. Interestingly enough, however, the first panel is dedicated to “Turing the man”, but it relegates history largely to the episodic narration of “amusing incidents”¹⁹⁹ and its role to little more than that of cocktail party entertainment. We also reviewed the content produced on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Turing award in 2017 and were neither there able to find any comprehensive biography of the man they had chosen to name their prize after. For this event, they produced a 5 minute video, as well as a shorter 2 minute version, and in both cases as soon as the “Computing and Machinery Intelligence” part of Turing’s biography is reached, published in 1950, or 2 years before his death, the narration abruptly comes to a stop²⁰⁰.

These are the politics of careful attribution by which one is able to claim for themselves the stature, not of an older prize, as the so-called “Nobel in economics” had done, but of a great man who had preceded them, and whose many noteworthy accomplishments presumably made him palatable to the committee when settling on a name for their newly created prize, without having to deal with those deemed less consensual or perhaps marketable parts that make up a person’s life.²⁰¹

But, from his biographers we know now that Alan Turing “took no particular

¹⁹⁷See Bernhardt 2016 : 159-161.

¹⁹⁸“ACM Turing Centenary Celebration. Official Program.” <https://portalparts.acm.org/2330000/2322176/fm/frontmatter.pdf>

¹⁹⁹Ibid : 4. (Page 4 of the pamphlet.)

²⁰⁰For the 5 minute version, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MtGa_xvCgc&feature=youtu.be. The 2 minute version is found here <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=17qprcl6a-Y>. More information on this event can be found here : <https://www.acm.org/turing-award-50>

²⁰¹Bullynck et al. have argued that what specifically made Turing attractive to the ACM was that he represented a theoretical foundation for computing, see Bullynck et al. 2015.

1610 pains to hide [his sexuality]”²⁰² at a time when homosexuality was a criminal offense (punished by imprisonment and what was in many cases, objectively, the death of one’s social life). Alan Turing had lived an authentic personal life, as much as the society he had lived in, and their (dominant) belief system, permitted. And, it was this that was whitewashed.

1615 Essential to giving legitimacy to the criminalization of homosexuality were scientific societies like the ACM : they gave scientific seating to the aforementioned laws and policies. In the case of homosexuality, one association particularly stands out, the APA, the American Psychiatric Association, responsible for the formulation of the *DSM*²⁰³, a large body of prescriptive text used by psychol-
1620 ogists and psychiatrists in the treatment of their patients that has both national and international influence²⁰⁴. In its first edition, *DSM I*, published in 1952, the APA classified homosexuality amongst mental disorders under the overarching category of “000-x60 Sociopathic Personality Disturbance” as “000-x63 Sexual deviation”, along with “pedophilia, fetishism and sexual sadism (including rape,
1625 sexual assault, mutilation).”²⁰⁵ In *DSM-II*, published in 1968, homosexuality remained a mental disorder except that it was now part of the reworked nomenclature of “302 Sexual deviations” ; of sexual deviations, the APA writes “[t]his category is for individuals whose sexual interests are directed primarily toward objects other than people of the opposite sex, toward sexual acts not usually
1630 associated with coitus, or toward coitus performed under bizarre circumstances as in necrophilia, pedophilia”²⁰⁶. First listed amongst such practices : “302.0 Homosexuality”.²⁰⁷

These were the times Alan Turing lived in, this was the context in which he

²⁰²Hodges 2014 : xiii.

²⁰³*Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*.

²⁰⁴The power held by their profession prompted Canguilhem to note, with the University of Paris in mind, that from the Faculty of psychology to the nearest police station, one had only to walk the street down.

²⁰⁵American Psychiatric Association 1952 : 39.

²⁰⁶American Psychiatric Association 1968 : 44.

²⁰⁷In recent history, the APA, has done much of what it had done for the pathologization of homosexuality, for transgenderism, from *DSM-III* onwards, thus shifting it into a psychiatric-psychological matter instead of a civil and general medical one.

produced his work, these were the psychological elites of his day. It is a part of
1635 his legacy. Had it not been for it, Turing would have almost certainly lived a
longer, he might have lived another 40 years, and the Turing award might have
been the Von Neumann award ; and Turing its first winner²⁰⁸.

The erasure of diversity, far from what may be argued is just a statistical
artifact or aberration, few qualified women lead to a small body to recruit
1640 Turing Award laureates from, was a foundational act of the prize. Not much is
left of that what had made the life of Turing, after whom the prize is named,
ultimately the way it was, with all its quirks, his much admired and written
about freedom of spirit and independence of mind, once retold by the ACM
except for a sterile, convenient, incomplete promotional portrait²⁰⁹.

1645 In England, homosexuality was decriminalized in 1967²¹⁰. In 2013, Alan
Turing received a posthumous royal pardon²¹¹ and in 2017 a law called “Alan
Turing Law” was passed to pardon all other 49,000 men affected²¹². As of 2017,
homosexuality remains criminalized in 72 countries and punishable by death in
8²¹³.

1650 “An awards program (...) would be a fitting activity for the Associa-
tion as it enhances its own image as a professional society. (...) The
award itself might be named after one of the early great luminaries
in the field”²¹⁴

With such detachment, could the then chairman of the ACM Awards Com-
1655 mittee write on the day of 29th of August of 1966, shortly before the creation
of the Turing Award.

²⁰⁸The ACM in fact did consider naming the Turing Award the Von Neumann award in 1966, see ACM 1966.

²⁰⁹Historians of the Middle ages, no doubt, would have called this document a hagiography had this material belonged and been relevant to their objects and time period of study.

²¹⁰*Sexual Offences Act 1967*.

²¹¹Davies 2013.

²¹²*Policing and Crime Act 2017*.

²¹³Duncan 2017.

²¹⁴Association for Computing Machinery 1966.

14. Conclusion

We wanted to make sense of complex human behaviors, linked to academic and career choices, and, perhaps more importantly, look at them rationally where otherwise common sense and passion might prevail, and hopefully demystify the rules that govern professional and academic trajectories and successes, particularly those prone to idealism, because particularly notable, distinguished.

This paper sought to offer both an evidence-based overview of computer science grounded in statistical analysis as well as an anti-thesis to idealist conceptions of scientific development.

Our results were that, contrary to ideals of abilities alone determining success or recognition within the sciences that several factors had a disproportionate importance. We found that gender and network, as objectified among others by a systematic review of PhD advisors, colleagues and co-authors, play a big role in making future Turing Award winners. And further, in particular, that gender not only played a role in making careers, but influenced the choice of research topics following a pattern of historical bias. So far, only 3 women have received the prestigious prize²¹⁵.

But beyond this, we also came to the conclusion that diversity was not only absent when reviewing the laureates, but that the award itself had sought to erase diversity in the very act of naming the prize after Alan Turing on the basis on a carefully constructed biography that omitted much of his life and struggles as a homosexual computer scientist in the early 20th century. His sexuality, we often hear, or read, did not play a role, and he himself is portrayed as not having wanted to become a gay icon, but it is not doing so, to recognize that his work as a scientist was made harder because of it, that it was interrupted by it and that his early interests in science may have stemmed from an early love²¹⁶

²¹⁵For a speech by Frances Allen on this important issue, see Allen 2008.

²¹⁶"I regarded my interest in my work, and in such things as astronomy (to which he introduced me) as something to be shared with him and I think he felt a little the same about me." he wrote to the mother of Christopher Morcom. See Hodges 2014 : 61.

The Turing Award represents what it seeks to objectively, at least impar-
tially recognize : a field that for the most part, though through many clever
marketing tricks it tries to make appear otherwise, remains closed off to much of
the population, women, visible minorities, and much of the world demographic
outside of the United States and Europe.

A growing field within the social sciences is preoccupied with the “reflexivity”
of measurements, that is to say the effects that rankings, of which awards are
one variety, have on the reality they try or claim to capture ; in other words
what Marx had long called before them “real effects”. The Turing Award is a
prime example of such an occurrence. It does not find women, because it does
not reward women. It does not find minorities to reward, because it does not
reward minorities.

This was, essentially, the history of the Turing award in the 20th century.
Will it operate differently in this one?

We have raised some questions, important questions as we felt, that we do
we were not always able to answer. But, we have done our best to present the
evidence and where mistakes were made, they were honest.

We anticipate or hope they will be useful to those, in the present, in the
here and now of the 21st century CE, who are entangled in the contemporary
debates around gender gaps in technology, in politics, in the universities, among
presidents of scientific organizations, such as the ACM, or private companies
such as IBM and its many new competitors.

To questions such as “what is the point of all this?”, we can only say that,
and maintain that, there is intrinsic value in uncovering these happenings.

It is significant perhaps that when the ACM ordered, we assume, a book to
be made on its history and released it last year, none of the research, and none
of the researchers, sought to study these questions²¹⁷.

²¹⁷Its index table features a total of five 5 entries relating to the Turing Award. Nikivincze
does point out that so far only 3 women have won the Turing Award in the context of her
study of female PhDs in computer science. In the same volume, Toland has done remarkable
work on the SIGCAS, the Special Interest Group on Computers and Society, of the ACM :
see Toland 2017, in particular the appendix.

Communities of Computing is described as “the first book-length history of the Association for Computing Machinery (ACM)”. “Featuring insightful profiles of notable ACM leaders (...) and honest assessments of controversial episodes, the volume deals with compelling and complex issues involving ACM and computing.”

It warns, it “is not a narrow organizational history of ACM committees and SIGs²¹⁸”, but it does not consider that it is precisely the history of these and other committees and institutions, even from the perspective of the most conservative of organizational histories, as long as it counted and numbered who had done what when and for how long, very much as we have done here essentially, for the Turing Award committee, the ACM leadership, and the rest, that would have given them the information they needed to come to similar conclusions (as we have).

Over the years, the ACM has shown great concern in its history and has made many efforts to preserve and write its own history, starting with the very first issue of its first journal, when its president, Samuel Wilson, wrote about the functioning of the association in its first 6 years²¹⁹. This was followed up in the early 1960s when it asked its fourth president, Franz Alt, to do the same²²⁰. But, in many ways, because it limited these efforts to what it disavows now as “mere institutional history”, it never quite tackled the issues that might in fact have mattered, on a personal level²²¹, and few others matter more, to the people that it employed : to the women it did not promote to top roles in particular, to the many women it did not consider for the Turing Award, and the award itself for which it created a partial biography of a man, mirroring much of what it had done for its own.

²¹⁸SIGs are specific interest groups within the ACM, each dedicated to one area of computing or computer science.

²¹⁹Wilson 1954.

²²⁰the result of which is the 1962 article listed in the bibliography.

²²¹“Instead of repeating the abstruse technicalities of my trade, I would like to talk informally about myself, my personal experiences, my hopes and fears, my modest successes, and my rather less modest failures.” With those words, started the Turing award lecture of Antony Hoare. See Hoare 1980.

Actors have a view of history, and their own most of all. But, that is only one thing. And, it is explicitly not enough for historians to give their own of theirs. The other, just as important, are the structures they live in, and those that determine their lives, not completely, but in some ways certainly. History,
1740 as we understand it, as one of the social sciences, begins at the meeting of these two levels, between subjectively felt and structural reality.

—
In Europe, the major centers of computing are barely a mystery : in England, Cambridge, Oxford and London, in Switzerland, Zurich and Lausanne, in Scot-
1745 land, Edinburgh. And, so, the question is rather which researchers will do the work and more pragmatically which institutions will support them.

In 1993, mathematician and computer pioneer (scientist) Herman Goldstine, one of the creators of the ENIAC, the first electronic digital computer, wrote in the preface to *The Computer from Pascal to von Neumann*, a history he had
1750 himself shaped : “It is now 20 years (...) ; the world has been totally changed by the impact of the computer on our ways of thinking and acting. We all know, or at least sense, the many ways in which computer technology and its applications have modified our lives and ways of thought. They are so manifold that it would serve no useful purpose for me to detail examples here.”²²² The
1755 history of computer science and computing cannot be premature. It is belated, but at this point, better late than never.

“Without the right to tinker and explore, we risk becoming enslaved by technology”²²³ according to computer scientist Andrew Huang. Historians, particularly historians of science, have a crucial role to play in this context. And a
1760 responsibility too. They do so at much less risk than the “applied sociologists” of this world and the next.

—
We quoted Brecht at the beginning of this paper, according to whom because

²²²Goldstine 1993 : ix.

²²³Huang 2013 : ii.

things were the way the way they were, they do not need to stay the way they
1765 are.

History is one of the primary tools by which we can bring strangeness into
our present and turbulence and cracks into a seemingly well structured and
homogeneous surface, folly and unreason into a we are assured well-adjusted
present ; it helps us step back from our daily lives and gives us the means to
1770 reconsider the normal, current order of things as, objectively, one version of
many possible and attainable others.

In this century, data has become the currency with which we pay for a variety
of services. We pay for them by exchanging our memories. But, they, who rob
us of our dreams, rob us of our lives.

1775 In the days when Sussman was a novice, Minsky once came to him as he sat hacking at the PDP-6.

“What are you doing?”, asked Minsky.

“I am training a randomly wired neural net to play Tic-tac-toe”, Sussman replied.

1780 “Why is the net wired randomly?”, asked Minsky.

“I do not want it to have any preconceptions of how to play”, Sussman said.

Minsky then shut his eyes.

“Why do you close your eyes?” Sussman asked his teacher.

“So that the room will be empty.”

Acknowledgements

S. : thank you for getting me interested in computer science, and everything.

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²²⁴This article is wrongly printed as “The First 25 Years: ACM 1947-1962”, which does not make sense mathematically. It does handle the period up to 1972. This article was reprinted in *Communications* in 1987, with no modifications as far as we could tell, other than cosmetic, with the same mistake, together with Cochran’s which extends it by covering the (period) ACM’s history from 1972 to 1987, as well as Franz Alt’s original 1962 article on the first 15 years of the ACM.

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Appendix

Listing of supplementary documents

- *Table : Turing Award laureates (1966-2016)*
- *Table : Turing Award laureates by bachelor institutions*
- *Table : ACM council (1947 - 2018)*
- *Table series : CEOs/Presidents of IBM, Bell Labs and Intel (1914-2018)*
- *Table series : Turing award committees (2012-2018)*
- *Table : Female Turing winners and areas of computing*
- *Image series : Gender through corporate archives (1950s-present)*
- *Table : social origins of Turing winners (full table)*
- *Table : IEEE Computer Pioneer Award winners (1981-2018)*

Table 31: Turing Award laureates (1966-2016)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Winner</i>
1966	Perlis, Alan J
1967	Wilkes, Maurice V.
1968	Hamming, Richard W
1969	Minsky, Marvin
1970	Wilkinson, James Hardy (“Jim”)
1971	McCarthy, John
1972	Dijkstra, Edsger Wybe
1973	Bachman, Charles William
1974	Knuth, Donald (“Don”) Ervin
1975	Newell, Allen
	Nabin, Michael O.
	Simon, Herbert (“Herb”) Alexander
1976	Rabin, Michael O.
	Scott, Dana Stewart
1977	Backus, John
1978	Floyd, Robert (Bob) W
1979	Iverson, Kenneth E. (“Ken”)
1980	Hoare, C. Antony (“Tony”) R.
1981	Codd, Edgar F. (“Ted”)
1982	Cook, Stephen Arthur
1983	Ritchie, Dennis M.*
	Thompson, Kenneth Lane
1984	Wirth, Niklaus E
1985	Karp, Richard (“Dick”) Manning
1986	Hopcroft, John E
	Tarjan, Robert (Bob) Endre
1987	Cocke, John

1988	Sutherland, Ivan
1989	Kahan, William (“Velvel”) Morton
1990	Corbato, Fernando J (“Corby”)
1991	Milner, Arthur John Robin Gorell (“Robin”)
1992	Lampson, Butler W
1993	Hartmanis, Juris
	Stearns, Richard (“Dick”) Edwin
1994	Feigenbaum, Edward A (“Ed”)
	Reddy, Dabbala Rajagopal (“Raj”)
1995	Blum, Manuel
1996	Pnueli, Amir
1997	Engelbart, Douglas
1998	Gray, James (“Jim”) Nicholas
1999	Brooks, Frederick (“Fred”)
2000	Yao, Andrew Chi-Chih
2001	Dahl, Ole-Johan
	Nygaard, Kristen
2002	Adleman, Leonard (Len) Max
	Rivest, Ronald (Ron) Linn
	Shamir, Adi
2003	Kay, Alan
2004	Cerf, Vinton (“Vint”) Gray
	Kahn, Robert (“Bob”) Elliot
2005	Naur, Peter
2006	Allen, Frances (“Fran”) Elizabeth
2007	Clarke, Edmund Melson
	Emerson, E. Allen
	Sifakis, Joseph
2008	Liskov, Barbara

2009	Thacker, Charles P. (Chuck)
2010	Valiant, Leslie Gabriel
2011	Pearl, Judea
2012	Goldwasser, Shafi
	Micali, Silvio
2013	Lamport, Leslie
2014	Stonebraker, Michael
2015	Diffie, Whitfield
	Hellman, Martin
2016	Berners-Lee, Tim

Table 32: Shanghai Ranking of universities in computer science and engineering (2007-2017)

<i>Institution</i>	<i>CS & ENG* 2017</i>	<i>CS* 2009-2015</i>	<i>ENG* 2010-2016</i>	<i>ENG 2008-2009</i>	<i>ENG 2007</i>
MIT	1	2	1	1	1
Stanford	3	1	2	2	2
Berkeley	2	3	3	4	5

* Computer Science & Engineering

** Computer Science

*** Engineering/Technology and Computer Sciences

Sources :

– Academic Subjects - Computer Science & Engineering (2017)

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/shanghairanking-subject-rankings/computer-science-engineering-2017.html>

– ARWU-SUBJECT / ARWU-Computer Science

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/SubjectCS2009.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/SubjectCS2010.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/SubjectCS2011.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/SubjectCS2012.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/SubjectCS2013.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/SubjectCS2014.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/SubjectCS2015.html>

– ARWU-FIELD / ARWU-ENG / Engineering/Technology and Computer Sciences

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/FieldENG2007.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/FieldENG2008.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/FieldENG2009.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/FieldENG2010.html>

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<http://www.shanghairanking.com/FieldENG2014.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/FieldENG2015.html>

<http://www.shanghairanking.com/FieldENG2016.html>

Table 33: universities ranked by number of Turing award winners
based on bachelor's degrees (full)

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Bachelor students n (%)</i>
Berkeley	6
Cambridge	4
Carnegie Mellon University*	4
Harvard	4
California Institute of Technology	3
MIT	3
Oxford	3
University of Chicago	3
Duke	2
Stanford	2
Technion	2
Carleton College	1
Case Institute of Technology	1
City College of New York	1
Columbia	1
Copenhagen University*	1
ETH Zurich	1
Hebrew University	1
Queen's University	1
Leiden University**	1
Marburg	1
Michigan State	1
National Technical University of Athens	1
National University of Taiwan	1
New York State College for Teachers****	1
NYU	1

Oregon State University	1
Oslo****	1
Princeton	1
Sapienza University, Rome	1
Seattle University	1
Tel Aviv University	1
Toronto	1
University of Colorado at Boulder	1
University of Madras*****	1
University of Michigan	1
University of Texas at Austin	1
University of Virginia	1
Yale University	1

n = 64 t = 64

* Previously, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

** Registered by the ACM as University of Leyden.

*** Now, State University of New York at Albany.

**** Proxy by Master's degree.

***** Now, Anna University, Chennai.

Table 34: Universities ranked by the number of Turing award winners at the post-graduate level (full)

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Students</i>
Berkeley	8
Harvard	6
Princeton	6
Stanford	6
MIT	4
University of Michigan	3
Caltech*	2
CMU**	2
UUC***	2
Weizmann Institute of Science	2
Brandeis	1
Cambridge	1
Columbia	1
Copenhagen	1
Cornell	1
Duke	1
National Technical University of Athens	1
Oslo	1
Oxford****	1
Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn*****	1
Toronto	1
UCLA	1
University of Amsterdam	1
University of Chicago	1
University of Pennsylvania	1
University of Utah	1

Warwick	1
---------	---

n = 58 t = 58

Methodology : we register the PhD institution, where a laureate has a PhD,
and the Master's degree institution otherwise, for postgraduate study.

* California Institute of Technology.

** Previously, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

*** University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**** Including Hoare's postgraduate certificate in statistics.

***** Now, New York University Tandon School of Engineering.

Table 35: universities ranked by the number of Turing award winners based on PhD (full)

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Bachelor students n (%)</i>
Berkeley	7
Harvard	6
Princeton	6
Stanford	6
MIT	4
California Institute of Technology	2
CMU 2	
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign	2
University of Michigan	2
Weizmann Institute of Science	2
Brandeis	1
Cambridge	1
Copenhagen	1
Cornell	1
Duke	1
National Technical University of Athens	1
Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn	1
Toronto	1
UCLA	1
University of Amsterdam	1
University of Chicago	1
University of Utah	1
Warwick	1

n = 52 t = 52

Appendix : ACM council (1947 - 2018)

Let us preface this by saying that we have a very good knowledge of the period going from the creation of the ACM in 1947 up to 1975, for which we possess information on all presidents, vice-presidents and secretaries, so far as we know. In this first table, empty cells imply that the personnel (listed) remains unchanged from one year to the other.

For the period from 1976 to 2016, we are missing many information, including (on) nearly all of the vice-presidents and some of the secretaries. In this second table, where appointments are presented in two-year spans, which correspond to the length of their term, empty cells take on the meaning of lack of information.

Table 36: ACM council (1947 - 2018)

<i>Year</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Vice-president</i>	<i>Secretary</i>
1947	John H. Curtiss	John W. Mauchly	Edmund C. Berkeley
1948	John W. Mauchly	Franz L. Alt	
1949			
1950	Franz L. Alt	Samuel B. Williams	
1951			
1952	Samuel B. Williams	Alston Scott Householder	
1953			E. Bromberg
1954	Alston Scott Householder	D. Lehmer	
1955			
1956	John W. Carr III	Richard W. Hamming	Jack Moshman
1957			
1958	Richard W. Hamming	Harry D. Huskey	
1959			
1960	Harry D. Huskey	Jack Moshman	Bruce Gilchrist
1961			

1962	Alan J. Perlis	Bruce Gilchrist	Herbert S. Bright
1963			
1964	George E. Forsythe	Herbert S. Bright	E. H. Jacobs
1965			
1966	Anthony Oettinger	Bernard A. Galler	Donne Parker
1967			
1968	Bernard A. Galler	Walter M. Carlson	
1969			
1970	Walter M. Carlson	Anthony Ralston	C. L. Bradshaw
1971			
1972	Anthony Ralston	Jean Sammet	J. Hamblen
1973			
1974	Jean Sammet	Hertbert R. J. Grosch	
1975			
1976-78	Herbert R. J. Grosch		
1978-80	Daniel D. McCracken		
1980-82	Peter J. Denning		
1982-84	David H. Brandin		Adele Goldberg
1984-86	Adele Goldberg		
1986-88	Paul W. Abrahams		
1988-90	Bryan S. Kocher		
1990-92	John R. White		
1992-94	Gwen Bell		
1994-96	Stuart H. Zweben		
1996-98	Charles House		
1998-2000	Barbara Simons		
2000-02	Stephen R. Bourne		
2002-04	Maria M. Klawe		
2004-06	David Patterson		

2006-08	Stuart Feldman		
2008-10	Dame Wendy Hall		
2010-12	Alain Chesnais		
2012-14	Vinton G. Cerf		
2014-16	Alexander L. Wolf		
2016-18	Vicki Hanson	Cherri M Pancake	Elizabeth F. Churchill

Sources :

This is compiled primarily from Revens 1972, "ACM Past Presidents"²²⁵ and "ACM Council". <https://www.acm.org/governance/acm-council>

Note that there is disagreement between these two sources on the appointment of John Mauchly as president. Revens gives 1948, the ACM 1949 as starting year. We followed Revens in adopting 1948. Further Revens lists Herbert Bright as "H.S. Bright" then "H. Bright".

For the following people, we provide this additional information : Richard Hamming is the 1968 Turing award winner. John Carr III published various articles in ACM publications between 1952 and 1986²²⁶. Alston Scott Householder was a mathematician (Oak Ridge National Laboratory)²²⁷. Jack Moshman, PhD mathematics (Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Rutgers, Bell Labs)²²⁸. Herbert S. Bright, MS electrical engineering (Bell Labs)²²⁹. John Hamblen (University of Missouri-Rolla) was secretary of the ACM, 1972-1976²³⁰. Adele Goldberg became secretary of the ACM in 1982²³¹

²²⁵<https://www.acm.org/governance/past-presidents>

²²⁶For a list of his publications, see : https://dl.acm.org/author_page.cfm?id=81100073002&coll=DL&dl=ACM&trk=0

²²⁷For his presidential address to the ACM, see : Householder 1956

²²⁸This is based on information provided by his obituary published in the *Washington Post*, 26/08/2014.

²²⁹See his biographical entry in Lee 1995.

²³⁰Austing 1977 :643

²³¹This, we know from the "Oral History of Adele Goldberg" undertaken by the Computer

History Museum in 2010. Bruce Gilchrist (Columbia University) was a member of the ACM council and is the author of several publications in ACM journals²³². (Is D. Lehmer, mathematician Derrick Henry Lehmer of UC Berkeley?)

Table series : CEOs/Presidents of IBM, Bell Labs and Intel (1914-2018)

Table 37: CEOs of IBM (1914-2018)

<i>Year</i>	<i>President</i>
1914-1956	Thomas J. Watson
1956-1971	Thomas J. Watson Jr.
1971-1973	Thomas Vincent Learson
1973-1981	Frank T. Cary
1981-1985	John R. Opel
1985-1993	John F. Akers
1993-2002	Louis V. Gerstner Jr.
2002-2011	Samuel J. Palmisano
2012-now	Virginia “Ginni” Rometty

Source :

- “Former CEOs”. <http://newsroom.ibm.com/former-CEOs>
- “Virginia M. Rometty”. https://www-03.ibm.com/ibm/history/exhibits/chairmen/chairmen_11.html

Table 38: Presidents of Bell Labs (1925-2018)

<i>Year</i>	<i>President</i>
1925-1940	Frank Jewett
1940-1951	Oliver Buckley
1951-1959	Mervin Kelly
1959-1973	James Fisk
1973-1979	William Baker
1979-1991	Ian Ross

1991-1995	John Mayo
1995-1999	Dan Stanzione
1999-2001	Arun Netravali
2001-2005	Dan Stanzione
2005-2013	Jeong Kim
2013-2013	Gee Rittenhouse
2013-now	Marcus Weldon

Source : “Presidents of Bell Labs”. <https://www.bell-labs.com/about/history-bell-labs/presidents/>

Table 39: CEOs of Intel (1968-now)

<i>Year</i>	<i>President</i>
1968-1975	Robert Noyce
1975-1987	Gordon Moore
1987-1998	Andy Grove
1998-2005	Craig Barrett
2005-2013	Paul Otellini
2013-now	Brian Krzanich

Source :

- “Intel CEOs: A Look Back”. <https://newsroom.intel.com/editorials/intel-ceos-a-look-back/>
- “Brian Krzanich”. <https://newsroom.intel.com/biography/brian-m-krzanich/>

Table series : Turing Award committees (2012-2018)

09/11/2012

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Ravi Sethi	Avaya Labs
Member	Frances Allen	Stanford University
	Michael J Carey	IBM Fellow Emerita
	Jennifer Chayes	Microsoft Research
	Adele Goldberg	Neometron
	Michael I. Jordan	UC, Berkeley
	Barbara Liskov	MIT
	David H Salesin	University of Washington/Adobe
	Per O Stenstrom	Chalmers University of Technology

02/06/2013

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Adele Goldberg	Pharma Capital Partners
Member	Michael I. Jordan	UC, Berkeley
	Barbara Liskov	MIT
	David H Salesin	University of Washington/Adobe
	Per O Stenstrom	Chalmers University of Technology

28/08/2013

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Adele Goldberg	Pharma Capital Partners

Member	Michael I. Jordan	UC, Berkeley
	Barbara Liskov	MIT
	David H Salesin	University of Washington/Adobe
	Ravi Sethi	Avaya Labs
	Per O Stenstrom	Chalmers University of Technology

15/10/2013

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Adele Goldberg	Pharma Capital Partners
Member	Michael I. Jordan	UC, Berkeley
	Barbara Liskov	MIT
	David H Salesin	University of Washington/Adobe
	Ravi Sethi	Avaya Labs
	Per O Stenstrom	Chalmers University of Technology
	Eva Tardos	Cornell University
	Leslie G Valiant	Harvard University

21/08/2014

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Barbara Liskov	
Member	Adele Goldberg	Pharma Capital Partners
	Michael I. Jordan	UC, Berkeley
	David H Salesin	University of Washington/Adobe
	Per O Stenstrom	Chalmers University of Technology
	Eva Tardos	Cornell University

	Leslie G Valiant	Harvard University
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04/10/2014

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Barbara Liskov	
Member	Alex Aiken	Stanford University
	Adele Goldberg	Pharma Capital Partners
	Michael I. Jordan	UC, Berkeley
	David H Salesin	University of Washington/Adobe
	Per O Stenstrom	Chalmers University of Technology
	Eva Tardos	Cornell University
	Leslie G Valiant	Harvard University

06/09/2015

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Michael I. Jordan	
Member	Alex Aiken	Stanford University
	Barbara Liskov	MIT
	David H Salesin	University of Washington/Adobe
	Alfred Z Spector	
	Per O Stenstrom	Chalmers University of Technology
	Eva Tardos	Cornell University
	Leslie G Valiant	Harvard University

30/11/2016

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	David H Salesin	
Member	Alex Aiken	Stanford University
	Michael J Carey	
	David Heckerman	
	Alfred Z Spector	
	Per O Stenstrom	Chalmers University of Technology
	Eva Tardos	Cornell University
	Leslie G Valiant	Harvard University

03/07/2017

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Alfred Z Spector	
Member	Alex Aiken	Stanford University
	Michael J Carey	
	David Heckerman	
	Per O Stenstrom	Chalmers University of Technology
	Eva Tardos	Cornell University
	Leslie G Valiant	Harvard University

21/07/2017

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Alfred Z Spector	

Member	Alex Aiken	Stanford University
	Michael J Carey	
	David Heckerman	
	Eva Tardos	Cornell University
	Leslie G Valiant	Harvard University

20/09/2017

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>
Chair	Alfred Z Spector	
Member	Alex Aiken	Stanford University
	Michael J Carey	
	Shafi Goldwasser	
	David Heckerman	
	Joseph Sifakis	
	Olga Sorkine-Hornung	
	Eva Tardos	Cornell University
	Leslie G Valiant	Harvard University

16/05/2018 (current composition, no changes)

<i>Position</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Institution</i>
Chair	Alfred Z Spector	
Member	Alex Aiken	Stanford University
	Michael J Carey	
	Shafi Goldwasser	
	David Heckerman	

	Joseph Sifakis	
	Olga Sorkine-Hornung	
	Eva Tardos	Cornell University
	Leslie G Valiant	Harvard University

Table 52: Female Turing winners and areas of computing

<i>Area</i>	<i>Women (% of total)</i>
Compilers	33% (1)
Operating Systems	25% (1)
Computational Complexity	14% (1)
Cryptography	14% (1)
Programming Languages	11% (1)
Analysis of Algorithms	0% (0)
Artificial Intelligence	0% (0)
Combinatorial Algorithms	0% (0)
Computer Architecture	0% (0)
Computer Hardware	0% (0)
Computer Systems	0% (0)
Data Structures	0% (0)
Databases	0% (0)
Education	0% (0)
Error Correcting Codes	0% (0)
Graphics	0% (0)
Interactive Computing	0% (0)
Internet Communications	0% (0)
List Processing	0% (0)
Machine Learning	0% (0)
Numerical Analysis	0% (0)
Numerical Methods	0% (0)
Objected Oriented Programming	0% (0)
Parallel Computation	0% (0)
Personal Computing	0% (0)
Program Verification	0% (0)
Programming	0% (0)

Proof Construction	0% (0)
Software	0% (0)
Software Engineering	0% (0)
Verification of Hardware and Software Models	0% (0)

Table 53: Turing award winners listed by age (asc)

<i>Age</i>	<i>Name</i>
36	Donald Knuth
38	Robert Tarjan
40	Kenneth Thompson
42	Dennis Ritchie
42	Marvin Minsky
42	Edsger Dijkstra
42	Robert Floyd
43	Stephen Cook
44	Alan Perlis
44	John McCarthy
44	Dana Scott

Table 54: social origins of Turing winners (full)

	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Social category</i>
Adleman	Appliance salesman ²³³	Bank teller ²³⁴	Low
Allen	Farmer ²³⁵	Elementary-school teacher ²³⁶	Academic (low)
Bachman	College football coach (Michigan State) ²³⁷		Professional sports (Upper-middle class)
Backus	Wealthy stockbroker		Business (high)
Berners-Lee	Mathematician and computer scientist (Ferranti Mark I) ²³⁸	Mathematician and programmer (Ferranti Mark I) ²³⁹	Academic (both) ((very) high)
Blum			
Brooks			
Cerf	Aerospace executive ²⁴⁰	Homemaker ²⁴¹	Business (high) (possibly engineering)
Clarke			

²³³Turing Award biography.

²³⁴Ibid.

²³⁵Turing Award biography.

²³⁶Ibid.

²³⁷Charles W. Bachman (1892-1985). See New York Times 1985. His biographical entry at the College Football Hall of Fame provides further details : Northwestern, Kansas State (1920-27), Florida (5 years), Michigan State (1933-42 ; 1944-46) and Hillsdale College, see http://www.collegefootball.org/famer_selected.php?id=30056

²³⁸Conway Berners-Lee (1921-).

²³⁹Mary Lee Woods (1924-2017). Sources : Ferry 2018.

²⁴⁰Vinton Thurston Cerf. Sources : Jerome 2000.

²⁴¹Ibid.

Cocke	President of Duke Power Company (Duke Energy) and member of the Board of Trustees of Duke University ²⁴²		Business (high)
Codd	Leather manufacturer ²⁴³	Schoolteacher ²⁴⁴	Academic
Cook	Chemist for a subsidiary of Union Carbide and adjunct professor at SUNY ²⁴⁵	Homemaker and occasional English teacher at Erie Community College ²⁴⁶	Academic (both)
Corbato	Professor of Spanish literature at UCLA ²⁴⁷	(graduate student at Berkeley) ²⁴⁸	Academic (both)
Dahl	(descended on both sides from long lines of sea captains) ²⁴⁹	Housewife ²⁵⁰	Low (“neither his sister nor his brother was academically inclined”) ²⁵¹
Diffie	Professor specializing in Iberian history at City College of New York ²⁵²	Writer and scholar ²⁵³ (passed away while he was in high school)	Academic (both)

²⁴²Turing Award biography.

²⁴³Turing Award biography.

²⁴⁴Ibid.

²⁴⁵Turing Award biography.

²⁴⁶Ibid.

²⁴⁷Turing Award biography.

²⁴⁸Ibid.

²⁴⁹Turing Award biography.

²⁵⁰Ibid.

²⁵¹Ibid.

²⁵²Bailey Wally Diffie. Turing Award biography.

²⁵³Justine Louise Whitfield. Ibid.

Dijkstra	High-school chemistry teacher and president of the Dutch Chemical Society ²⁵⁴	"never held a formal job" ("had a lasting influence on his approach to mathematics and his emphasis on elegance.") ²⁵⁵	Academic
Emerson			
Engelbart	Electrical engineer who owned a radio shop (died when Engelbart was 9 years old) ²⁵⁶		Engineering
Feigenbaum	("stepfather took him on frequent visits to the Hayden Planetarium of the American Museum of Natural History") ²⁵⁷		
Floyd			
Goldwasser			
Gray	(U.S. Army ("an amateur inventor, patented a design for a ribbon cartridge for typewriters that earned him a substantial royalty stream"))	English teacher ("raised by his mother") ²⁵⁸	Academic
Hartmanis	Senior Latvian army officer (died during WW2) ²⁵⁹		Military
Hellman	High school physics teacher ²⁶⁰		Academic

²⁵⁴Turing Award biography.

²⁵⁵Ibid.

²⁵⁶Turing Award biography.

²⁵⁷Turing Award biography.

²⁵⁸Turing Award biography.

²⁵⁹Turing Award biography.

²⁶⁰Turing Award biography.

Hoare	Colonial civil servant ²⁶¹	Daughter of a tea planter ²⁶²	Civil service (presumably high)
Hopcroft	Janitor (“working class family”) ²⁶³ (Hopcroft’s grandfather was ”Jacob Nist, founder of the Seattle-Tacoma Box Company”)		Low
Iverson	Rabbi		Religious profession
Kahan	Ran a factory ²⁶⁴	Created dress designs for the factory run by her husband	Business ²⁶⁵
Kahn	(Through his father, related to futurist Herman Kahn)		
Karp	Middle school math teacher ²⁶⁶ (Junior high school teacher)		Academic

²⁶¹Sources : oral histories by the British Library and the Computer History Museum.
<https://sounds.bl.uk/related-content/TRANSCRIPTS/021T-C1379X0052XX-0000A0.pdf>
http://archive.computerhistory.org/resources/text/Oral_History/Hoare_Sir_Antony/102658017.05.01.pdf

²⁶²Ibid.

²⁶³Turing Award biography.

²⁶⁴Turing Award biography.

²⁶⁵Ibid.

²⁶⁶2013 video interview of Richard Karp by the Simons Foundation. <https://www.simonsfoundation.org/2013/12/13/richard-karp/>

Kay	Scientist ²⁶⁷ / physiologist, designed prostheses for arms and legs ²⁶⁸ / Designed arm and leg prostheses ²⁶⁹	artist and musician ²⁷⁰ / Musician ²⁷¹	Academic (grandmother was a lecturer and one of the founders of UMASS)
Knuth	Teacher in a Lutheran high school and a church organist ²⁷² (Ran a small printing company and taught bookkeeping at Milwaukee Lutheran High School)		Academic
Lamport			
Lampson			(“Born in Washington DC and educated at The Lawrenceville School, an elite boarding school 6 miles from Princeton New Jersey.”) ²⁷³

²⁶⁷Shasha and Lazere 1995.

²⁶⁸Ibid.

²⁶⁹Turing Award biography.

²⁷⁰Shasha and Lazere 1995.

²⁷¹Turing Award biography.

²⁷²Turing Award biography.

²⁷³Turing Award biography.

Liskov	Harvard, <i>Harvard Law Review</i> “Distinguished tax lawyer in San Francisco” ²⁷⁴	Dancer (graduated from Berkeley) ²⁷⁵	Academic (Artistic / Liberal professions)
McCarthy	Labor organizer and later Business Manager of the Daily Worker, a national newspaper owned by the Communist Party USA ²⁷⁶ (Organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Los Angeles)	Worked for a wire service, then for the Daily Worker and finally as a social worker ²⁷⁷	Press (Business) (Labor organization)
Micali			
Milner	Military family residing on the South coast of England ²⁷⁸	Military family residing on the South coast of England	Military ²⁷⁹
Minsky	Eye surgeon ²⁸⁰	Jewish activist ²⁸¹	Academic (Medical)
Naur	Painter ²⁸²	“no particular profession but came from a wealthy commercial background” ²⁸³	Artistic (Upper class)

²⁷⁴Moses Samuel Huberman. San Francisco Chronicle 2010 ; The Harvard Crimson 1926.

²⁷⁵San Francisco Chronicle 2010.

²⁷⁶John Patrick McCarthy. Turing Award biography. Additional sourcee : Markoff 2011.

In Markoff 2005, there is an important information regarding the chronology : “an Irish immigrant who later became business manager of (...) *The Daily Worker* after the family moved to Los Angeles because of their young son’s health problems.”

²⁷⁷Ida Glatt. Ibid.

²⁷⁸Turing Award biography.

²⁷⁹Ibid.

²⁸⁰Swedin 2005 : 188.

²⁸¹Ibid.

²⁸²Turing Award biography.

²⁸³Ibid.

Newell	Prominent professor of radiology at Stanford Medical School ²⁸⁴		Academic
Nygaard			
Pearl			
Perlis			
Pnueli	Professor (one of the founders of Tel-Aviv University and chaired the Hebrew literature department) ²⁸⁵	Teacher ²⁸⁶	Academic (both)
Rabin	Rabbi		Religious profession
Reddy	Farmer	Homemaker	Low ("first member of his family to attend college")
Ritchie	AT&T Bell Laboratories ²⁸⁷		Academic
Rivest			
Scott			
Shamir			
Sifakis			

²⁸⁴Robert R. Newell. Turing Award biography.

²⁸⁵Prof. Shmuel Yeshayahu ("Shay") Pnueli. Turing Award biography.

²⁸⁶Henya Pnueli. Ibid.

²⁸⁷Turing Award biography.

Simon	engineer Cutler-Hammer Manufacturing Company, and later also engaged in private practice as a patent attorney. awarded honorary doctorate in 1934 by Marquette University ²⁸⁸ / Worked for the Cutler-Hammer manufacturing company helping to design control devices ²⁸⁹	Piano teacher until marriage, then housewife ²⁹⁰	Academic
Stearns			
Stonebraker	Engineer ²⁹¹	School teacher ²⁹²	Academic
Sutherland	“Practicing engineer with a Ph.D. in civil engineering” ²⁹³	Teacher ²⁹⁴	Academic (both)
Tarjan	Psychiatrist (president of the APA) ²⁹⁵ (Child psychiatrist, ran a state hospital)		Academic (Medical)
Thacker	Electrical engineer ²⁹⁶ (in the aeronautical industry (graduated from Caltech)	Cashier and secretary (raised their two sons on her own)	Engineering (?)
Thompson	(US Navy) ²⁹⁷		Military (?)

²⁸⁸Simon 1980.

²⁸⁹Turing Award biography.

²⁹⁰Simon 1980.

²⁹¹Oral history by the Computer History Museum. [http://archive.computerhistory.org/](http://archive.computerhistory.org/resources/access/text/2012/12/102635858-05-01-acc.pdf)

[resources/access/text/2012/12/102635858-05-01-acc.pdf](http://archive.computerhistory.org/resources/access/text/2012/12/102635858-05-01-acc.pdf)

²⁹²Ibid.

²⁹³Turing Award biography.

²⁹⁴Ibid.

²⁹⁵American Journal of Psychiatry 1993.

²⁹⁶Turing Award biography.

²⁹⁷Turing Award biography.

Valiant	Chemical engineer ²⁹⁸	Multilingual translator ²⁹⁹	Engineering
Wilkes	Financial officer for the estate of the Earl of Dudley ³⁰⁰	Housewife ³⁰¹	Business
Wilkinson	“humble family in the dairy business (...) of five children”) ³⁰²	“humble family in the dairy business (...) of five children”) ³⁰³	Low
Wirth			
Yao			

n = 64 t = 64

²⁹⁸<http://www.heidelberg-laureate-forum.org/blog/laureate/leslie-g-valiant/>

²⁹⁹Ibid.

³⁰⁰Turing Award biography.

³⁰¹Ibid.

³⁰²Turing Award biography.

³⁰³Ibid.

Image series : Gender through corporate archives (1950s-present)

Images : IBM's "My Fair Ladies" campaign (1950s)

Source : IBM Archives³⁰⁴

Source : unknown³⁰⁵.

³⁰⁴http://sysrun.haifa.il.ibm.com/ibm/history/witexhibit/wit_decade_1950.html.

³⁰⁵<http://globalnerdy.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2007/02/my-fair-ladies.jpg>

Images : Digital Equipment Corporation's PDP-11 and 8 ads (1970s)

Source : 1970 PDP-11 brochure (top, front cover, bottom, p. 11)³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶Computer History Museum. <http://archive.computerhistory.org/resources/text/DEC/pdp-11/Digital.PDP-11.1970.102646128.pdf>.

Source : ca. 1971 PDP-8 family advertisement³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷Computer History Museum.
minicomputers/11/intro/1910.

<http://www.computerhistory.org/revolution/minicomputers/11/intro/1910>

Video captions : Alibaba recruitment campaign (2010s)

Source : Alibaba recruitment videos³⁰⁸

³⁰⁸Human Rights Watch 2018.

Image : Matilda effect in computer science

The image is a screenshot of a Google search result for the book "Introduction to VLSI Systems" by Carver Mead. The search bar at the top shows the query "Introduction to VLSI Systems" with the Google logo partially visible on the left. Below the search bar, there are tabs for "All", "Images", "Videos", "News", "Shopping", and "More", with "All" being the selected tab. The search results indicate "About 6 150 000 results (0,38 seconds)". The main result is for the book "Introduction to VLSI systems" by Carver Mead. Below the title, it says "Book by Carver Mead". There are icons for liking and disliking the book. A snippet of the book's content is shown: "Mos devices and circuits - Integrated system fabrication - Data and control flow in systematic structures - Implementing integrated system designs : from circuit topology to patterning geometry to wafer ...". Below this, it says "Originally published: 1978" and "Author: Carver Mead". There is a link to "Google Books". Below the book information, there is a section titled "People also search for" with a "View 25+ more" link. This section displays five book covers with their titles and authors: "Introduction to VLSI Systems" by Ming-Bo Lin, "Principles of CMOS VLSI Design" by Kamran Eshraghian, "VLSI Systems and Com..." (partially visible), "Introduction to VLSI Circuits and Systems" by John P. Uyemura, and "CMOS VLSI Design: A Circuit and Physical Perspective" by David Harris. At the bottom right of the search results, there is a "Feedback" link.

Introduction to VLSI Systems

Book by Carver Mead

Did you like this book?

Mos devices and circuits - Integrated system fabrication - Data and control flow in systematic structures - Implementing integrated system designs : from circuit topology to patterning geometry to wafer ...
[Google Books](#)

Originally published: 1978
Author: [Carver Mead](#)

People also search for [View 25+ more](#)

Book Title	Author
Introduction to VLSI Systems	Ming-Bo Lin
Principles of CMOS VLSI Design	Kamran Eshraghian
VLSI Systems and Com...	
Introduction to VLSI Circuits and Systems	John P. Uyemura
CMOS VLSI Design: A Circuit and Physical Perspective	David Harris

[Feedback](#)

Accessed 05/2018.

Table 55: Turing award winners by research topics

<i>Analysis of Algorithms</i>	Hopcroft, John E (1986)
	Knuth, Donald (“Don”) Ervin (1974)
	Lamport, Leslie (2013)
	Pearl, Judea (2011)
	Tarjan, Robert (Bob) Endre (1986)
<i>Artificial Intelligence</i>	Feigenbaum, Edward A (“Ed”) (1994)
	Minsky, Marvin (1969)
	Newell, Allen (1975)
	Pearl, Judea (2011)
	Reddy, Dabbala Rajagopal (“Raj”) (1994)
	Simon, Herbert (“Herb”) Alexander (1975)
	Valiant, Leslie Gabriel (2010)
<i>Combinatorial Algorithms</i>	Karp, Richard (“Dick”) Manning (1985)
<i>Compilers</i>	Allen, Frances (“Fran”) Elizabeth (2006)
	Cocke, John (1987)
	Perlis, Alan J (1966)
<i>Computational Complexity</i>	Blum, Manuel (1995)
	Cook, Stephen Arthur (1982)
	Goldwasser, Shafi (2012)
	Hartmanis, Juris (1993)
	Micali, Silvio (2012)
	Stearns, Richard (“Dick”) Edwin (1993)
	Valiant, Leslie Gabriel (2010)
<i>Computer Architecture</i>	
	Brooks, Frederick (“Fred”) (1999)
	Cocke, John (1987)
	Thacker, Charles P. (Chuck) (2009)
	Wilkes, Maurice V. (1967)

<i>Computer Hardware</i>	Wilkes, Maurice V. (1967)
<i>Computer Systems</i>	Corbato, Fernando J (“Corby”) (1990)
<i>Cryptography</i>	Adleman, Leonard (Len) Max (2002)
	Blum, Manuel (1995)
	Goldwasser, Shafi (2012)
	Micali, Silvio (2012)
	Rivest, Ronald (Ron) Linn (2002)
	Shamir, Adi (2002)
	Yao, Andrew Chi-Chih (2000)
<i>Data Structures</i>	Hopcroft, John E (1986)
	Tarjan, Robert (Bob) Endre (1986)
<i>Databases</i>	Bachman, Charles William (1973)
	Codd, Edgar F. (“Ted”) (1981)
	Gray, James (“Jim”) Nicholas (1998)
	Stonebraker, Michael (2014)
<i>Education</i>	Wilkes, Maurice V. (1967)
<i>Error Correcting Codes</i>	Hamming, Richard W (1968)
<i>Finite Automata</i>	Rabin, Michael O. (1976)
	Scott, Dana Stewart (1976)
<i>Graphics</i>	Sutherland, Ivan (1988)
<i>Interactive Computing</i>	Engelbart, Douglas (1997)
<i>Internet Communications</i>	Cerf, Vinton (“Vint”) Gray (2004)
	Kahn, Robert (“Bob”) Elliot (2004)
<i>List Processing</i>	Newell, Allen (1975)
	Simon, Herbert (“Herb”) Alexander (1975)
<i>Machine Learning</i>	Valiant, Leslie Gabriel (2010)
<i>Numerical Analysis</i>	Kahan, William (“Velvel”) Morton (1989)
	Wilkinson, James Hardy (“Jim”) (1970)
<i>Numerical Methods</i>	Hamming, Richard W (1968)

<i>Objected Oriented Programming</i>	Dahl, Ole-Johan (2001)
	Nygaard, Kristen (2001)
<i>Operating Systems</i>	Brooks, Frederick (“Fred”) (1999)
	Liskov, Barbara (2008)
	Ritchie, Dennis M. (1983)
	Thompson, Kenneth Lane (1983)
<i>Parallel Computation</i>	Valiant, Leslie Gabriel (2010)
<i>Personal Computing</i>	Kay, Alan (2003)
	Lampson, Butler W (1992)
	Thacker, Charles P. (Chuck) (2009)
<i>Program Verification</i>	Dijkstra, Edsger Wybe (1972)
	Pnueli, Amir (1996)
<i>Programming</i>	Backus, John (1977)
	Dijkstra, Edsger Wybe (1972)
	Knuth, Donald (“Don”) Ervin (1974)
	Perlis, Alan J (1966)
<i>Programming Languages</i>	Backus, John (1977)
	Hoare, C. Antony (“Tony”) R. (1980)
	Iverson, Kenneth E. (“Ken”) (1979)
	Kay, Alan (2003)
	Lamport, Leslie (2013)
	Liskov, Barbara (2008)
	Milner, Arthur John Robin Gorell (“Robin”) (1991)
	Naur, Peter (2005)
	Wirth, Niklaus E (1984)
<i>Proof Construction</i>	Lamport, Leslie (2013)
	Milner, Arthur John Robin Gorell (“Robin”) (1991)
<i>Software</i>	Floyd, Robert (Bob) W (1978)
	Stonebraker, Michael (2014)

<i>Software Engineering</i>	Brooks, Frederick (“Fred”) (1999)
<i>Verification of Hardware and Software Models</i>	Clarke, Edmund Melson (2007)
	Emerson, E. Allen (2007)
	Sifakis, Joseph (2007)

Source : ACM³⁰⁹. The categories are ACM’s own.

³⁰⁹“A.M. Turing Award Winner Research Subjects. <https://amturing.acm.org/bysubject.cfm>

US states with colleges attended by Turing laureates (bachelor)

US states with colleges attended by Turing laureates (Master of PhD)

```

<!DOCTYPE html>
<html>
<head>
<style>
.row {
    display: flex;
}
.row img {
    width: 100%;
}
</style>
</head>
<body>
<div class="row">
    <div class="column">
        
    </div>
    <div class="column">
        
    </div>
    <div class="column">
        
    </div>
    <div class="column">
        
    </div>
    <div class="column">
        
    </div>

```


Table 56: IEEE Computer Pioneer award winners (1981-2018)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Winner</i>
1981	Jeffrey Chuan Chu
1982	Arthur Burks
1982	Harry D. Huskey
1984	Willem L. van der Poel
1984	Nathaniel Rochester
1984	Nicholas C. Metropolis
1984	Jerrier A. Haddad
1984	John Vincent Atanasoff
1985	Heinz Zemanek
1985	David J. Wheeler
1985	Ivan Sutherland
1985	Alan Perlis
1985	John McCarthy
1985	John G. Kemeny
1986	Adriann van Wijngaarden
1986	James H. Pomerene
1986	Peter Naur
1986	Cuthbert C. Hurd
1987	Nicklaus E. Wirth
1987	Arthur L. Samuel
1987	Reynold B. Johnson
1987	Robert R. Everett
1988	Marcian E. Hoff, Jr.
1988	Freidrich L. Bauer
1989	Gordon D. Goldstein
1989	F. Joachim Weyl
1989	Marshall C. Yovits

1989	Mina S. Rees
1989	Ralph L. Palmer
1989	James A. Weidenhammer
1989	John Cocke
1990	C.A.R. Hoare
1991	Thomas E. Buchholz
1991	Thomas E. Kurtz
1991	Robert W. Floyd
1991	Bob O. Evans
1992	Douglas C. Engelbart
1992	Stephen W. Dunwell
1993	Willis H. Ware
1993	Jack S. Kilby
1993	Erich Bloch
1994	Ken L. Thompson
1994	Dennis M. Ritchie
1994	Harlan D. Mills
1994	Gerrit A. Blaauw
1995	Kenneth Olsen
1995	Marvin Minsky
1995	Butler Lampson
1995	David Evans
1995	Gerald Estrin
1996	Antonin Svoboda
1996	Arnolds Reitsakas
1996	Ivan Plander
1996	Grigore C. Moisil
1996	Romuald W. Marczyński
1996	Alexey A. Lyapunov

1996	Sergey A. Lebedev
1996	Laszlo Kozma
1996	Antoni Kilinski
1996	Laszlo Kalmar
1996	Robert E. Kahn
1996	Lubomir Georgiev Iliev
1996	Jiri Horejs
1996	Jozef Gruska
1996	Victor M. Glushkov
1996	Norbert Fristacky
1996	Edgar Frank Codd
1996	Richard F. Clippinger
1996	Angel Angelov
1997	Frances Elizabeth (Betty) Snyder-Holberton
1997	Homer (Barney) Oldfield
1998	Irving John (Jack) Good
1999	Herbert Freeman
2000	Georgiy Lopato
2000	Gennady Stolyarov
2000	Harold W. Lawson
2001	William H. Bridge
2001	Vernon L. Schatz
2002	Robert W. Bemer
2002	Per Brinch Hansen
2003	Martin Richards
2004	Frances (Fran) E. Allen
2006	Arnold M. Spielberg
2006	Mamoru Hosaka
2008	Carl A. Petri

2008	Edward J. McCluskey
2008	Betty Jean Jennings Bartik
2009	Lynn Conway
2009	Jean Sammet
2011	David Kuck
2012	Cleve Moler
2013	Edward Feigenbaum
2013	Stephen B. Furber
2014	Linus Torvalds
2015	Peter M. Kogge
2015	Michael J. Flynn
2016	E. Grady Booch
2018	Bjarne Stroustrup
2018	Barbara Liskov

Source : IEEE Computer Pioneer Award³¹⁰.

³¹⁰<https://www.computer.org/web/awards/pioneer>

A well of loneliness : diversity among leading Linux kernel developers (2005-2020)

Camille Akmut

February 5, 2020

abstract Fifteen years of Linux kernel development are reviewed from the point of view of gender diversity. Study based on total commits (as opposed to e.g. mailing list participation) : $\geq 1,400$, corresponding to top 50 Linux kernel developers (including Linus Torvalds).

Table 1 – Diversity among Linux kernel developers (2005-2020)

		commits		
1	tiwai	6,207	Takashi Iwai	m
2	ickle	5,401	?	?
3	arndb	4,633	Arnd Bergmann (?)	m (?)
4	joberg	4,435	Johannes Berg (?)	m (?)
5	gregkh	4,344	Greg Kroah-Hartman	m
6	bigguiness	4,196	H Hartley Sweeten	m
7	htejun	4,132	Tejun Heo	m
8	broonie	4,060	Mark Brown	m
9	mchehab	3,988	Mauro Carvalho Chehab	m
10	morimoto	3,387	Kuninori Morimoto	m
11	davem330	3,217	David S. Miller	m
12	danvet	3,187	Daniel Vetter	m
13	JoePerches	3,131	Joe Perches (?)	m (?)
14	skeggsb	3,115	Ben Skeggs (?)	m (?)
15	vsyrjala	3,102	Ville Syrjala (?)	m (?)
16	linusw	2,971	Linus Walleij	m
17	AxelLin	2,929	Axel Lin	m
18	ColinIanKing	2,676	Colin Ian King	m
19	dhowells	2,452	David Howells (?)	m (?)
20	bzolnier	2,424	Bartlomiej Zolnierkiewicz (?)	m (?)
21	jwrdegoede	2,316	Hans de Goede	m
22	larsclausen	2,302	Lars-Peter Clausen	m
23	andy-shev	2,288	Andy Shevchenko	m
24	jhovold	2,146	Johan Hovold	m
25	ralfbaechle	2,123	Ralf Baechle	m
26	masahir0y	2,060	Masahiro Yamada	m
27	ebiederm	1,934	Eric Biederman (?)	m (?)
28	AdrianBunk	1,914	Adrian Bunk	m
29	paulmck	1,847	Paul E. McKenney	m
30	heicarst	1,819	Heiko Carstens (?)	m (?)
31	vireshk	1,752	Viresh Kumar	m
32	herbertx	1,732	Herbert Xu	m
33	ffainelli	1,730	Florian Fainelli	m
34	groeck	1,691	Guenter Roeck	m
35	hverkuil	1,676	Hans Verkuil (?)	m (?)
36	tmlind	1,656	Tony Lindgren	m
37	torvalds	1,595	Linus Torvalds	m
38	kees	1,575	Kees Cook	m
39	jankara	1,554	Jan Kara	m
40	ozbenh	1,543	Benjamin Herrenschmidt	m
41	chucklever	1,507	Chuck Lever	m

42	neilbrown	1,501	Neil Brown	m
43	mripard	1,473	Maxime Ripard	m
44	mpe	1,471	Michael Ellerman	m
45	pinchartl	1,456	Laurent Pinchart (?)	m (?)
46	krzk	1,456	Krzysztof Kozlowski	m
47	ian-abbott	1,444	Ian Abbott	m
48	kaber	1,427	Patrick McHardy	m
49	GustavoARSilva	1,426	Gustavo A. R. Silva	m
50	djbw	1,416	Dan Williams	m

Table 1: “...to master, excluding merge commits” /torvalds/linux/

Measured 05/02/20 c. 9.40 am (no refresh)

Gender was identified based on names, photos, user names, 'Linux kernel report', mailing lists, commit messages...

An error would have consisted to give for time period "2002-2020" — otherwise indicated by Github. As the *Linux kernel developer report* makes additionally clear : the "git era" of Linux kernel development starts in 2005¹ (git was released that year...).

Table 2 – Aggregated results

Gender	n	Percentage
Female	0	0%
Male	50	100%

Table 2: Diversity among top 50 Linux kernel developers (2005-20)

¹"the beginning of the git era (the 2.6.11 release in 2005)". Linux Foundation 2017 : 11.

Table 3 – Diversity among Linux kernel developers (2005-2017)

Name	“Changes” / %	
H Hartley Sweeten	6,034 0.9%	m
Al Viro	5,904 0.9%	m
Takashi Iwai	5,089 0.8%	m
Mauro Carvalho Chehab	5,039 0.8%	m
David S. Miller	4,044 0.6%	m
Johannes Berg	4,014 0.6%	m
Mark Brown	3,978 0.6%	m
Tejun Heo	3,951 0.6%	m
Russell King	3,692 0.6%	m
Greg Kroah-Hartman	3,593 0.6%	m
Thomas Gleixner	3,582 0.6%	m
Christoph Hellwig	3,498 0.5%	m
Hans Verkuil	3,419 0.5%	m
Ingo Molnár	3,128 0.5%	m
Chris Wilson	3,090 0.5%	m
Arnd Bergmann	3,071 0.5%	m
Geert Uytterhoeven	3,011 0.5%	m
Dan Carpenter	2,994 0.5%	m
Eric Dumazet	2,988 0.5%	m
Joe Perches	2,937 0.5%	m
Alex Deucher	2,757 0.4%	m
Daniel Vetter	2,688 0.4%	m
Laurent Pinchart	2,687 0.4%	m
Axel Lin	2,670 0.4%	m
Trond Myklebust	2,554 0.4%	m
Ben Skeggs	2,516 0.4%	m
Arnaldo Carvalho de Melo	2,456 0.4%	m
Bartłomiej Zolnierkiewicz	2,331 0.4%	m
Kuninori Morimoto	2,300 0.4%	m
Linus Walleij	2,281 0.4%	m

Source (except gender) : ” *Top 30 kernel developers, 2.6.11-4.13*” Linux Foundation 2017

Table 4 – Aggregated results

Gender	n	Percentage
Female	0	0%
Male	30	100%

Table 4: Diversity among top 30 Linux kernel developers (2005-17)

References

- "Linux kernel source tree". <https://github.com/torvalds/linux/graphs/contributors> ("Contributions to master, excluding merge commits")
- Linux Foundation. 2017. "Linux kernel development report".

More data on an exclusive group : Linux kernel developers and diversity (2005-2020)

Camille Akmut

February 5, 2020

abstract One hundred Linux kernel developers were reviewed, in total.
Commits : ≥ 935 . (This group shares similar traits with early 20th c. college culture.)

Figure 1: Linux kernel summit 2011 (Linux foundation)

Table 1 – Diversity and Linux kernel developers, #51-100 (2005-2020)

...		commits		
51	rostedt	1,382	Steven Rostedt	m
52	geertu	1,382	Geert Uytterhoeven	m
53	lwfinger	1,362	Larry.Finger (?)	m (?)
54	alexandrebelloni	1,354	Alexandre Belloni	m
55	JuliaLawall	1,349	Julia Lawall (?)	f (?)
56	tomba	1,340	Tomi Valkeinen	m (?)
57	olsajiri	1,332	Jiri Olsa (?)	m (?)
58	bebarino	1,315	Stephen Boyd	m
59	AlanStern	1,300	Alan Stern (?)	m (?)
60	ujfalusi	1,299	Péter Ujfalusi	m
61	ukleinek	1,271	Uwe Kleine-König	m
62	wildea01	1,243	Will Deacon (?)	m (?)
63	jtlayton	1,235	Jeff Layton (?)	m
64	dtor	1,222	Dmitry Torokhov	m
65	palosaari	1,206	Antti Palosaari	m
66	jnikula	1,183	Jani Nikula	m
67	elfring	1,170	Markus Elfring	m
68	egrumbach	1,170	Emmanuel Grumbach (?)	m (?)
69	paulgortmaker	1,160	Paul Gortmaker	m
70	dwmw2	1,154	David Woodhouse	m
71	holtmann	1,138	Marcel Holtmann	m
72	kuba-moo	1,135	Jakub Kicinski	m
73	lag-linaro	1,096	Lee Jones	m
74	jhedberg	1,095	Johan Hedberg	m
75	paulusmack	1,088	Paul Mackerras	m
76	rustyrussell	1,083	Rusty Russell	m
77	martinezjavier	1,057	Javier Martinez Canillas	m
78	bjorn-helgaas	1,050	Bjorn Helgaas	m
79	rmilecki	1,038	Rafał Milecki	m
80	airlied	1,035	Dave Airlie	m
81	borkmann	1,027	Daniel Borkmann	m
82	fweisbec	1,025	Frederic Weisbecker	m
83	akpm00	1,021	Andrew Morton (?)	m (?)
84	lyakh	1,020	Guennadi Liakhovetski	m
85	jpirko	1,018	Jiri Pirko	m
86	rjwysocki	1,015	Rafael J. Wysocki	m
87	tomasbw	1,012	Tomas Winkler	m
88	sfrothwell	1,011	Stephen Rothwell	m
89	utrace	1,008	Oleg Nesterov (?)	m (?)
90	kdave	1,005	David Sterba (?)	m (?)
91	kattisrinivasan	999	K. Y. Srinivasan (?)	?

92	ardbiesheuvel	998	Ard Biesheuvel	m
93	acpibob	995	Robert Moore	m
94	dsahern	982	David Ahern	m
95	tytso	969	Theodore Ts'o	m
96	ebiggers	968	Eric Biggers	m
97	michalsimek	957	Michal Simek	m
98	wens	955	Chen-Yu Tsai	m
99	aakoskin	935	Aaro Koskinen	m
100	ummakynes	931	Pablo Neira Ayuso (?)	m (?)

Table 1: "...to master, excluding merge commits" /torvalds/linux/

Measured 05/02/20 c. 9.40 am (no refresh)

We continue to indicate information not directly derived from Github profiles with (?)

Table 2 – Aggregated data

Gender	n	Percentage
Female	1	2%
Male	49	98%

Table 2: Diversity : Linux kernel developers, #51-100 (2005-2020)

Table 3 – Total aggregated data

Gender	n	Percentage
Female	1	1%
Male	99	99%

Table 3: Diversity, top 100 linux kernel developers (2005-2020)

References

– “Linux kernel source tree”. <https://github.com/torvalds/linux/graphs/contributors>
(“*Contributions to master, excluding merge commits*”)

– Linux Foundation photographs

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/linuxfoundation/22747710852/in/album-72157660376885370/>

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/linuxfoundation/6306036922/in/album-72157627910931679/>

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/linuxfoundation/6305975680/in/album-72157627910931679/>

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/linuxfoundation/5182564838/in/album-72157625402551490/>

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/linuxfoundation/30804670406/in/album-72157676268395315/>

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/linuxfoundation/30724804272/in/album-72157676268395315/>

CC BY 2.0 (creativecommons.org)

Addition to previous study

Chris Wilson is `ickle` (based on “*Signed-off-by*” information in their commits)?

While we did our best, we may not have been able to identify all non-binary identities, just as binary ones. Sorry!

Annex

- Linux kernel summit 2010 - group photo
 - Linux kernel summit 2011 - group photo
 - Linux kernel summit 2015 - group photo
 - Linux kernel summit 2016 - group photo
 - Linux kernel summit 2016 - gentlemen eating*
-
- Linux kernel summit 2011 - two gentlemen talk [front cover]

(*a woman is seen in the background)

Figure 2: Linux kernel summit 2010 (Linux foundation)

Figure 3: Linux kernel summit 2011 (Linux foundation)

Figure 4: Linux kernel summit 2015, Seoul (Linux foundation)

Figure 5: Linux kernel summit 2016, Santa Fe (Linux foundation)

Figure 6: Linux kernel summit 2016, Santa Fe #2 (Linux foundation)

Just us boys : diversity in the GNU project as measured by mailing list activity.

Camille Akmut

October 4, 2019

Abstract

Structure and patterns of a male-dominated culture. Statistics measured over a period of one year (leading up to, including September 2019).

1 Introduction : GNU is not...

In the following we measure diversity in the GNU project by using mailing list activity, as proxy¹.

Specifically, we chose **info-gnu**, where announcements relating to the GNU project are posted.

All the major figures (e.g. Richard Stallman, Werner Koch, Alexandre Oliva...) of this free software project – arguably the most important of all – make regular appearances here and release information regarding their respective areas, or software.

These encompass the well-known ones : GNU itself, GPG, Linux-Libre, GCC, GDB, coreutils, etc.

GNU is not for women – such would be the conclusion of anyone going through our statistics.

And, if the mostly passive attitudes adopted so far have led to such results, surely they can no longer be considered enough.

At the turn of the last century, men formed peculiar circles, still, in and around universities.

The more prestigious these places, the longer it took them to admit women inside their walls – and longer still to admit them as equals.²

In the novels of Waugh and Forster, where the old, male-exclusive university system still exists, undisturbed by the advances of times, the absence of women goes largely unnoticed : unproblematic.

”*This is just how things are*”, ”*They’ve always been this way*” – so went their inner lives.

Lise Meitner (who ended up finding a place within academia) or Emmy Noether had no place in these novels, no more than they had in the times they depict...

As to the satisfaction of their pleasures, these gentlemen, knowledgeable as they were about ancient Greek texts, had long found solutions of their own.

To heterosexual casuistics³ of old days correspond now intricate rationalizations to make up for the absence of women and minorities of various kinds :

They blame schools, they blame society, even the weather or the stars if they could – so long as not themselves.

And, so, they continue to live peaceful lives, not unlike the eternal Cambridge and Oxford of aforementioned novels... ”*Just us boys*” is their motto – now as it was then.

¹Other proxies (i.e. approximations) can be used.

²This is consistent with phenomena in other areas; the greatest inequalities are usually found at the top, never at the bottom : board of directors, executives and CEO’s, software engineer positions, etc.. Or project leaders, as in this case.

³Casuistics were (largely obscure, if not irrational) conditional statements that formed complex moral and philosophical systems amongst Medieval scholars such as those of Christianity – though, certainly, not only them.

2 Raw data

Project	Author	Gender
– September 2019		
GNU Project	Richard Stallman	m
Texinfo	Gavin Smith	m
GDB	Joel Brobecker	m
GNU Datamash	Assaf Gordon	m
GNU Linux–libre	Alexandre Oliva	m
Bison	Akim Demaille	m
GNU Mes	Jan Nieuwenhuizen	m
GNU Wget2	Tim Ruhsen	m
GNU gama	Ales Cepek	m
– August		
GNU findutils	Bernhard Voelker	m
Libgcrypt	Werner Koch	m
Emacs	Nicolas Petton	m
nano	Benno Schulenberg	m
FreeIPMI	Albert Chu	m
GNU Scientific Library	Patrick Alken	m
GCC	Jakub Jelinek	m
Unifont	Paul Hardy	m
Gnuastro	Mohammad Akhlaghi	m
GNU C Library	Carlos O’Donell	m
– July		
GNU Stow	Adam Spiers	m
Denemo	Richard Shann	m
GNU direvent	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
rush	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
GnuPG	Werner Koch	m
GNU Linux–libre	Alexandre Oliva	m
GNU gama	Ales Cepek	m
pies	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
rush	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
– June		
GNU Guile	Ludovic Courtes	m
GNU Stow	Adam Spiers	m
Nettle	Niels Moller	m
Nettle	Niels Moller	m

GNU APL	Dr. Jurgen Sauermann	m
mailutils	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
GNU Guile	Ludovic Courtes	m
Gawk	Arnold Robbins	m
nano	Benno Schulenberg	m
Dr. Geo	Hilaire Fernandes	m
GNU Artanis	Nala Ginrut [Lei Mu]	(?)
IceCat	Ruben Rodriguez	m
Unifont	Paul Hardy	m

– May

GnuPG	Werner Koch	m
GNU OrgaDoc	Adam Bilbrough	m
GNU libidn2	Tim Ruhsen	m
Bison	Akim Demaille	m
GNU Guix	Ludovic Courtes	m
Bison	Akim Demaille	m
GNU gettext	Bruno Haible	m
GNU Mcron	Adam Bilbrough	m
Unifont	Paul Hardy	m
GNU Shepherd	Ludovic Courtes	m
GDB	Joel Brobecker	m
GNU gettext	Bruno Haible	m
GNU CSSC	James Youngman	m
LibreJS	Ruben Rodriguez	m
GNU Linux-libre	Alexandre Oliva	m
GCC	Jakub Jelinek	m
GNU Guix	Ludovic Courtes	m
Emms	Yoni Rabkin	m

– April

dico	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
nano	Benno Schulenberg	m
rush	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
GNU Shepherd	Ludovic Courtes	m
Gnuastro	Mohammad Akhlaghi	m
nano	Benno Schulenberg	m
Emacs	Nicolas Petton	m
Gawk	Arnold Robbins	m
wget	Darshit Shah	m
wget	Darshit Shah	m

– March

GnuPG	Werner Koch	m
nano	Benno Schulenberg	m
GnuPG	Werner Koch	m
LibreJS	Ruben Rodriguez	m

coreutils	Padraig Brady	m
Unifont	Paul Hardy	m
GNU Linux-libre	Alexandre Oliva	m
GNU Octave	John W. Eaton	m
– February		
GNU Dr. Geo	Hilaire Fernandes	m
GNU ddrescue	Antonio Diaz Diaz	m
dico	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
tar	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
mailutils	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
cflow	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
GCC	Jakub Jelinek	m
GNU MCSim	fredomatic [Frederic Bois?]	m
FreeDink	Sylvain Beucler	m
Texinfo	Gavin Smith	m
GnuPG	Werner Koch	m
GNU libidn2	Tim Ruhsen	m
GNU gama	Ales Cepek	m
GNU Binutils	Nick Clifton	m
– January		
GNU MPFR	Vincent Lefevre	m
GNU C Library	Siddhesh Poyarekar	m
Bison	Akim Demaille	m
Bison	Akim Demaille	m
FreeIPMI	Albert Chu	m
FreeDink	beuc [Sylvain Beucler]	m
GNU Ocrad	Antonio Diaz Diaz	m
GNU MDK	Jose A. Ortega Ruiz	m
Readline	Chet Ramey	m
Bash	Chet Ramey	m
GNUstep	Ivan Vucica	m
GNUstep	Ivan Vucica	m
GNUstep	Ivan Vucica	m
autoconf	Peter Simons	m
GNU libidn2	Tim Ruhsen	m
GNU moe	Antonio Diaz Diaz	m
GNU ed	Antonio Diaz Diaz	m
recutils	Jose E. Marchesi	m
tar	Sergey Poznyakoff	m
diffutils	Jim Meyering	m

[Note : Lei is given to both men and women]

3 Statistics

Month (2019)	Male participants	Female participants
Sep.	100%	0%
Aug.	100%	0%
July	100%	0%
June	100%(?)	0%(?)
May	100%	0%
Apr.	100%	0%
Mar.	100%	0%
Feb.	100%	0%
Jan.	100%	0%

Table 1: Diversity in the GNU project and `gnu-info` mailing list participation.

Bibliography

`info-gnu`. <https://lists.gnu.org/mailman/listinfo>

Announcing future research

—. (upcoming). ”*Yann Le Cun : portrait of a small-time engineer.*”

Note : from the very bottom of French engineer schools crochettied his way to the top of international scientific society!

—. (upcoming). ”*Danah Boyd never bothered anyone. Science in the interest of the rich and mighty.*”

Note : celebrated by the EFF and employed by Microsoft, but ”famous artists are quickly forgotten” according to Peter Doig.

—. (upcoming). ”*Saint Sheryl.*”

Note : on Sheryl Sandberg, and more on corporate diversity. Dumb like her barbies – said someone I know...

Becoming professional tech journalists –
beginnings of a new social category. From Reality
Hackers to a reality check : Origins of *Wired*
(1984-2003)

Camille Akmut

February 18, 2022

brief

Technology journalists transitioned from fairly obscure figures to in demand stars of the news and publishing world. This work retraces the origins and ascension of this now dominant social group, producers of ruling discourses; based on ~~now~~ largely forgotten publications of the 1980s as well as better known, experimental magazine *Mondo 2000*. Up to St. Jude's death.

I *high frontiers* a drug, science, art newspaper of the 1980s

In the beginning there was a modest newspaper called *High Frontiers* that covered “Psychedelics, Science, Human Potential, Irreverence & Modern Art”. “A S.F. Bay Area Publication” of about 30 pages, sold for - then 1 dollar.¹

1.1 drugs + science : mckenna, leary and the fundamental fysiks group

Stylistically, *High Frontiers* set the tone for the entire series : Presented as “*the Space Age Newspaper*” for the topics of drugs, science and art, it would be critical of others but only so much as critical of itself, and self-derisive.

Among later features of note of *Mondo 2000* were for example the publication of, often very explicit, negative, reader feedback (along the lines of about “you complete fuckers, idiots”...), as well as various linguistic shenanigans that resembled or were derived from elite academic culture or hacker tradition : e.g. circles like the Fundamental Fysiks Group, associated with Berkeley, or early hackers as found at MIT.

*

To give a few examples only : the usual “table of contents” is replaced by a “table of contexts” in one of the issues, and by “offerings” in R 6, readers writing letters to *Reality Hackers* were in turn called “reality hecklers”, etc. The staff addressed readers with the uncertain, affectionate “Dear Mondoids” (e.g. #4)

*

In *High Frontiers*’s “premier issue”, members of those societies were represented such as in particular in the person of Jack Sarfatti.

Thematically, *High Frontiers* set the standard for at least two corner stones of later publications (like *Mondo*), drugs combined with science : Contributors of that first issue included Terence McKenna and Timothy Leary, musing about space and time, and sperm, and of course their topic of predilection, drugs were never far away.

However, in the case of Leary, drugs were a means to an end, namely research on intelligence increase which he felt was a pressing matter following his release from prison (as explained at the beginning of the 1987 issue). In Leary’s mind, at least, drugs were a way “[of] turning yourself on, booting up your brain, activating new circuits in your mind.”

For McKenna (who wrote a column-style “psychopharmacognosticon”), drugs seemed to be a way a way to break with deeply ingrained societal normal states, and established norms, as well as a means to understand human evolution as

¹ *High Frontiers*, “premier issue” cover.

part of re-written history of mankind where drugs were according to him a key factor in the evolution of humans².

Other writers close to them would later join in : Ram Dass in the next issue, for instance, Andrew Weil in this one.

Weil, another graduate of Harvard, "a medical doctor and nationally recognized pharmacologist", explained his introduction to the subject so :

I was to start my Freshman year ... and I was in a course called "Sociology in American Society." We had to write a term paper, and I wrote on the subject of "Drugs in Society." That gave me an excuse to read everything on the subject and I came upon Aldous Huxley's book *The Doors of Perception*. He was up at M.I.T. that year, this was the fall of 1960, lecturing on visionary experience. I wrote him a letter and asked him where I could get some mescaline

3

As for the second corner stone of this publication – namely, science – it would be laid with the inaugural Nick Herbert "Fringe science" column in issue 2 of *High Frontiers*; a tradition that would endure throughout modifications all the way to *Mondo's* (symbolic) end.

Together with Sarfatti, and later Saul-Paul Sirag (*Mondo*), they would be constitutive of *High Frontier's* and then *Mondo's* science department. Their connection? The Fundamental Fysiks Group, an association of physicists that melted science and philosophy, around Berkeley.

Perhaps the best known historical antecedent was the, so-called, "School of Vienna"⁴.

Characteristic of such groups were the grouping of scientists together with philosophers and historians, and other like-minded people; they did not share the aversion for the humanities that unfortunately characterizes some of their successors.⁵

1.2 art and lifestyle: wilson, burroughs, and "durk and sandy"

Finally, the art corner stone of this older publication was represented by such writers as Robert Anton Willson (#2), Burroughs (#3), both of which would re-appear in issues of *Mondo*.

Meanwhile the "Human Potential" thematic was furthered, in addition to Leary's intelligence enhancement, by the appearance of long time collaborators Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw, who wrote -and sold- a variety of "life extensions" tips and products, as well as "designer" solutions (e.g. food, lifestyle), often referred to as simply "Durk and Sandy".

²See his incalculably numerous lectures and talks, e.g. *Alien Dreamtime*, and his book *Food...*

³issue 1, p. 8.

⁴See Jean Cavailles' review, of which we have produced a translation.

⁵(we leave the question of whether this trait is to the detriment of their 'hard science' aside)

Artists like ^aBestie Boys and Todd Rundgren were interviewed, featured (#4).

1.3 fourth issue : introduction of "reality hackers"

Thematically, still, the first two to three issues of *High Frontiers* were more reminiscent of 1960's counter-culture literature, despite their 1980's publication date, than the later explicit cyberpunk affiliations and leaning of *Mondo 2000*.

A significant changed occurred with issue 4 of *High Frontiers*, whose table of contents read :

STEAL THIS DECADE: THE SIXTIES!

...

INTO THE NINETIES: THE REALITY HACKERS TAKE OVER!

Illustration : section titles in *High Frontiers*' fourth issue

The fourth issue of *High Frontiers* made it clear : keep the 1960's, if you want, here come the hackers – by which motto they meant to clarify their increasing interest in, and orientation towards electronics, computers and their counter-cultural uses.

On the occasion of issue 4, a hacker convention was visited and became the location of an interview;

A special section was dedicated to new technologies;

Leary was interviewed as part of a piece echoing the format of the film *My Dinner with Andre*, including thoughts on nanotechnologies.

*

The allusion to *My Dinner with Andre* merits a detour, as this reference is quite representative for the magazine's later interests : the film's arguably most memorable segment is a mind experiment along the lines of contemporary adaptations of Cartesian doubt "What if this is all fake and we live in a simulation" (culminating in the popularity of 1990's mega-success *The Matrix*, and found since everywhere from entrepreneur tweets to hit animation *Rick and Morty*), applied to the specific issue of New Yorkers' apparent inability to leave their city despite much complaints and attempts to do so.

*

R.U. Sirius, Somerset Mau Mau and Queen Mu were publishers.

II *reality hackers* transition to the 1990s

A major contributor was still mostly missing from *High Frontiers*, to push its slightly outdated style towards modernity : the legendary hacker Jude Milhon, a.k.a. St. Jude, made a brief appearance in issue 4 under the "Proofreading" staff section but only became an editor in the follow-up magazine.

The 1987 High Frontiers issue announced a newsletter that would bring readers "*new information from the frontiers of technology and consciousness*"⁶, called Reality Hackers. Whereas the former was an annual publication, the latter would appear more frequently. It also reflected a shift in interests.

2.1 thematic shift towards "information technologies"

Issue 5 of *Reality Hackers* was a complete break with the former hippie-and-space newspaper, it now featured the following modern subtitle :

Information technologies & Entertainment [for Those on the Brink]

It had now shed its former Beatnik culture meets space age enthusiasm for science origins, and understood its new mission to be the coverage of computer technologies.

However, Reality Hackers was not to be a mere straight-down-to-facts-and-specs publication (a la Byte),

As its revised subtitle made evident, the vision was of a cool tech magazine that should be different from what had existed. It proposed to do that by mixing new tech with sex and cultural tour de force writings, and the drug gurus' teachings (which could be kept).

2.2 fortunate intuition : computers are sexy

Another new orientation was the melange of suggestive imagery put in contrast with hard computer facts and heady essays.

The cover of issue 5 of *Reality Hackers*, in addition to a new thematic, also announced new aesthetics that would characterize Mondo's distinctive style, recognizable among thousand, namely the here born, fortunate intuition that mixing computers with sex was probably not such a bad idea.*

⁶H 4, Front page.

*Beyond the general idea that sex sells, the publishers of Mondo were not alone in this, but could look back on a long tradition of sexualized computer imagery (see in part. ad campaigns for systems such as Digital Equipment Corporation's PDP : mini-skirts, boots, possibly inspired by Stark Trek costumes). For contemporary magazines : *Amiga Magazine*, *Your Amiga* (04/1990) ... from the same period.

Illustration: issue 5 *Reality Hackers* cover (l), *Mondo* 5 (r) comparison

Mondo 2000's issues – systematically headed by women on their covers – popped out from any kiosks and vendor racks, among otherwise mostly gray, uninspired IT tomes.

First experiments leading to this distinctive new genre of literature happened in *Reality Hackers*, issue 5 showed two space enthusiasts having a good time and rubbing and frotting (to unheard rhythms).

In issue 5 of *Mondo*, shown here for comparison purposes, the male and female cartoon characters were replaced by their human counterparts in similar-enough positions (the subject of the cover being, real-life, astrophysicist Fiorella Terenzi).

But, just who was *Reality Hackers* for? The fifth issue provided an answer, by clarifying who the so-called "reality hackers" were, in the first place.

1. USING HIGH TECHNOLOGY FOR
A LIFE BEYOND LIMITS.
2. EXPANDING THE EFFECTIVE-

NESS & ENJOYMENT OF THE
HUMAN BRAIN, MIND,
NERVOUS SYSTEM & SENSES.

3. BLURRING THE DISTINCTION
BETWEEN SCIENCE FICTION
& REALITY.

4. MAKING BIG BUREAUCRACY
IMPOSSIBLE.

5. ENTERTAINING ANY NOTION -
USING WHAT WORKS.

6. INFUSING NEW ENERGY INTO
POST-MODERN CULTURE.

7. USING HARDCORE ANTHRO-
POLOGY TO UNDERSTAND
HUMAN EVOLUTION.

8. USING MEDIA TO SEND OUT
MUTATIONAL MEMES
(THOUGHT VIRUSES).

9. BLURRING THE DISTINCTION
BETWEEN HIGH TECHNOLOGY
& MAGIC.

10. REPLACING NERD MYTHOLOGY
WITH SEXY, HEALTHY,
AESTHETIC & ARTFUL TECHNO-
MAGICIANS OF BOTH GENDERS.

We reproduce this document in full due to, our perception of its importance : another such explicit exposition of objectives is not known to us.⁷

The answer they provided made once again clear that the publishers' and editors' interest lied not only with computers but their intelligent, useful, or weird or sensual applications (anything beyond dominant, commercial uses, essentially) : they wrote about "reality hackers" seeking joy, for themselves and others, alleviating pain, nuisances, threats (e.g. bureaucracy), knowledge (through their proposed revisions of anthropology and new interpretations of contemporary culture), against dogma ("using what works), etc..

⁷R 5, Front page.

The reference to, specifically, "hardcore anthropology" to serve a new vision of human development seems to be a reference to fellow collaborator McKenna.

The next nearest document is a description of contents to expect, as it appeared at the end of issue 6 :

Illustration: issue 6 *Reality Hackers* end

2.3 wider changes in society

High Frontiers' succession by *Reality Hackers*, and ultimately *Mondo 2000* can also be related to wider societal changes. The transition lied somewhere between :

i. computers, previously machines associated with academic labs and military installations as well as their belonging and property, had become within reach of the middle classes at the end of the previous decade (the close releases of popular Apple, Commodore, Tandy/Radio Shack offerings), both due to households friendly cheapening and living-room or even bedroom compatible miniaturization.*

ii. initiatives like the GNU operating systems, the liberation of the BSD code from AT&T legacy parts, restrictive licensing and fees (the "Net" releases, in part.) in the 1980's.

iii. democratization of the internet outside university elites and expert, hacker circles - by roughly the mid-1990's, 5% of the World had now access to it - and the co-introduction of the web

*A further point of reference in addition to the 1977 turning point : in Byte issues from 1991, personal computers (based on Intel 386, bottom of the range) were advertised for e.g. "\$1895.00" [currently 4,000 dollars]

To sum up : the 'personal' computer extracted this new object from previous strongholds and put it in everyone's homes; free software was the translation of hacker culture ideals, and made it possible in the domain of computers; the internet and web created a massively-connected world;

The mythical T1-3 lines (e.g., mentioned in the more cyberpunk leaning episodes of X-Files) were replaced by relatively cheap, unspectacular 28k/56k/ISDN modems that made browsing and playing online games bearable, popular (before current high-speed). And while not everyone could transform their operating system, soon everyone could install a "Linux distribution" as found on the CD-Roms of thick IT magazines;

issues previously only explored theoretically in science fiction had now crossed over to reality. Mondo was one of the publications that took them seriously, when few others would - then.

2.4 increase in polish and professionalization

In *Reality Hackers* issue 6 – almost twice as thick as the previous one – the table of contents sees the introduction of sub-topics (letters, columns, features) that would be kept in Mondo's organization, and can be regarded as a movement towards ever more professionalization.

TABLE OF CONTEXTS	
4	MONDO BIZZARRO [Editorial]
7	Letters to the Editors
12	MIND MACHINES TODAY Jay Cornell
23	ARTIFICIAL REALITY TECHNOLOGIES Timothy Leary & Eric Gullichsen
27	DOKTOR MABUSE: HACKER TO THE M-M-MAX Morgan Russell
32	SUFI LaMAYA Phoenix and Arabeth
36	FEED YOUR HEAD: PSYCHOACTIVE DESIGNER FOODS Durk Pearson & Sandy Shaw
43	PSYCHESUPERSONIC CUTTING EDGE Musaios
45	Interview: ANDRIJA PUHARICH Lawrence Gerald
54	YESTERDAY IS JUST A SPACETIME TWIST AWAY Nick Herbert
59	DESIGNER VIRUSES Queen Mu
63	PSYCHEDELIC FUTUROLOGY IN BERLIN Terence McKenna

editorial
4 SOAPBOX <i>by Jas. Morgan and accomplices</i>
6 HACKER BIOS
8 REALITY HECKLERS <i>Letters to the Editor</i>
columns
10 FRINGE SCIENCE <i>by Nick Herbert</i>

Illustration: issue 5 *Reality Hackers*, table of content / 6, the same

In terms of design, *Reality Hackers* had improved when compared to previous offering *High Frontiers*, and was more polished, and cool, while never reaching the heights of Mondo 2000 under Bart Nagel (although charming, on its own).

III *mondo 2000*

"Mondo 2000 is published quarterly" its inside pages said⁸

During its existence, it managed to create a unique publication based on a formula steadily improved from iteration to iteration — H, R, now M — melding computers and elements of modern counter-cultures (drugs, sex, hip-hop)...

"More polish, less (of the) explosive" could be the formula behind Mondo 2000, when compared with its direct predecessor Reality Hackers.

3.1 content focusing : more computer-centric material

In one of the issues⁹ Mondo claimed to be 'the most subversive/dangerous new magazine'.

But, if this was true, the more risky articles were now to be a thing of the past. Instead more and more articles were computer-centric :

In fact, what turned out to be the first issue of Mondo 2000 was originally conceived as, supposed to be a cyberpunk special issue of *Reality Hackers*, and was announced so in its pages.

Illustration: issue 6 *Reality Hackers* end / issue 7,, - 1 of Mondo 2000

The cover even bears the mention of "issue #7" and makes this lineage clear though the imagery of a reader holding a Reality Hackers issue (the previous issue, 6, with Sun Ra) despite the, new, "Mondo 2000" title.

⁸M 4 staff.

⁹(5, 9?)

Gone the articles on AIDS as a "designer virus" or "biological warfare experiment", relegated to yesteryear.¹⁰.

In later issues, when it came to technically sound articles, Norman French regularly provided some of the best coverage of this magazine : the most memorable of which probably the series of PGP articles¹¹.

Mondo's claim to subversiveness was nonetheless serious

While we won't re-print the pictures of e.g. peeing babies, nude photos of Michael Jackson were shown (in a photo collage/montage?) with what appears to be female genitalia¹². Meanwhile Oridge's icogonography blending gory, sexy, and the bizarre and obscure still provided plenty of material to be shocked or angry about, and would unlikely be published today (in Wired, or most other places elsewhere). Androgyny, gender-bending was also regularly included.

As for the sex appeal dimension of this publication, no changes were further made to this winning formula.

Illustration: issue 1 and 5 *Mondo 2000*

Cyber-Babe: "YOU MEAN... IT'S ALREADY TOMORROW?"

3.2 experienced staff and long-time collaborators

Contrary to previous iterations, which sometimes could be very rough (HF's "premier issue") or relied on fairly new personnel, Mondo 2000 enjoyed now a mostly experienced staff assembled over half-a-decade of prior errors and trials.

¹⁰For example, R 5. The reader would search in vain trying to find anything even remotely close or comparable in their latest issue of, supposedly subversive, Wired magazine...

¹¹M 5, 9.

¹²2 102

The core members of staff of Mondo emerged as :

- R. U. Siruius (editor-in-chief),
- Queen Mu (in a neology rank above everyone else's),
- St. Jude (senior editor),
- Bart Nagel (art director),
- Jas. Morgan (as music/arts editor),

Many others contributed over the years, some disappearing along the way, others rising in rank, e.g. publishers and editors Morgan Russell, Michael Synergy, Hultkrans, art director Foley...

They received continued support and cooperation from long term collaborators McKenna, Herbert, Leary, Durk and Sandy, Robert Anton Wilson... – to which was now added heavyweight John Barlow (a contributing editor from issue 4 on).

Joi Ito was listed as a Tokyo correspondent (due to Leary?). The latest trends from Japan regularly appeared in the magazine (by other people).

3.3 golden age

During its existence, Mondo managed to create a unique publication based on a formula steadily improved from iteration to iteration — H, R, now M — where cyber age pin-ups (covers), avant garde cultural criticism (e.g. Dery), the best of current science fiction (Gibson, Vinge, Stephenson...) encountered solid technical exposes (on e.g. then-just-released encryption solutions), always elevated by philosophical texts provided by members of the Fundamental Fysiks Group and political discussions of latest legal threats and soon to be passed laws (prison, patents, etc,¹³).

Issue 1 brought together the original hackers Lee Felsenstein and Richard Stallman : respectively a second generation (hardware) hacker from California, and the 'last true hacker' whose profile concludes the reference book *Hackers*.

Felsenstein had been involved in the Homebrew Computer Club (where Apple's founders found much inspiration, before hastily closing their systems despite having greatly benefited previously from the exchange of knowledge that characterized this group of tinkerers), and the Community Memory Project, a democratic initiative aiming to give everyone access to a -digital- forum.*

¹³e.g. *HR4079* in #3, Stallman's "UN Treaty" in 4...

*Computers were put in everyday places and people could add items and find items written by others based on keywords. Cf. Colstad/Lipkin 1975, *ACM Computer and Society* 6(4)

Il. : Felsenstein in *Triumph of the Nerds* (1996); Fundamental Fysiks Group

Stallman, then unburdened by the pro-corporate think tank Open Source Initiative, was able to express his full views on software and property, which he has since then never done with such ardor, partly due to the influence of the OSI as a "more flexible" representation of free software... :

Interviewed by R.U. Sirius, he concluded in quasi-Marxist terms :

"PEOPLE WHO SELL SOFTWARE ARE CRIMINALS"

M2: Your value system would not necessarily prevent you from taking from people who are trying to be proprietary, from grabbing it, using it, and making your own changes.

RS: Right. Software hoarding is a crime. If I can thwart that crime successfully, protect its victims, then I will do it.

All the people who sell software are guilty of this crime.

M2: This idea that information should be free, is this something that is specific to computers? What about works of art or bootlegging records...

RS : I would say that whenever something can be copied by the general public, the general public has a right to do so. The more society becomes information instead of material objects, this question of whether a person can copy things will make the difference between a world of universal prosperity or a world of constant rat race. You can create so much artificial scarcity by owning information. Once the great bulk of the things we value is information, the only thing to do is eliminating ownership.

14

¹⁴Compare with current day Richard Stallman's defense of some aspects of capitalism, such as having nice specialty food products, etc. He opposes what he calls "*out-and-out socialism*". Old age does not bring wisdom, always, and perhaps young Richard can teach old RMS something. [news item 14 feb. 22]

Issue 3 covered the, nascent, EFF (interview with Barlow, among others).

Nick Herbert regularly contributed thought-provoking, interesting essays (e.g. "*when metaphysics will be outlawed, only outlaws will do metaphysics*"). In that same issue he wrote, for instance :

What would it be like to experience the world via the sonar sense of a dolphin or a bat, or sense electric fields as certain fish do? How does a plant feel while it is grazing on photons of light? If you could directly experience the sizzling sensation of photosynthesis, how would you describe the taste and smell of sunlight?

When science succeeds in developing mind-links that permit us to share the inner experiences of other sentient beings, such questions will become more than academic.

Issue 3 was also the occasion of an ethnographic-style excursion to SIGGRAPH (one of the ACM special interest groups); where cool computer animations can, sometimes, be seen.

Issue 4 featured a conversation with Hip-hop group Digital Underground, including critics of the label system (which Cornel West would no doubt call "back on the plantation").

Issue 5 had the excellent articles on Phil Zimmerman's fight against upcoming legislation as context for the creation of PGP (followed up in issue 9).

6 contains an article on Peter Chung. *Aeon Flux* has philosophical themes in common with *Ghost in the Shell*, e.g. the issue of memory and personality persistence across multiple/artificial bodies. Hence also its succession by an article on cyborg (bodies) makes sense, in this context.

Illustration : SIGGRAPH Proceedings 1995; *Aeon Flux* (1991-1995)

One part of their publishing activity consisted in re-publishing and bringing to a new audience and generation classic pieces of hacker literature (such as in part. "Hacker Conscience" by The Mentor, from magazine *Phrack*);

At other times it published excerpts from works it thought interesting (such as Cronenberg on Cronenberg in 8)

Issue 7 was short (110 pages, compared with over 130 for both preceding issues) and belongs to the weakest. It marked a first sign of decline.

Issue 8 was better : Sarfatti and Herbert were in conversation, excerpts of a book on Cronenberg...

Issue 9 was arguably the last bang before the end : it included the second article on PGP, Linklater...

Issue 10 had old guests among whom Terence McKenna (as if to say goodbye).

3.4 symbolic end

In issue 11, R. U. Sirius became an "*Icon-at-Large*", Jude Milhon was downgraded to "Cyberpranx" editor.¹⁵

Issue 12 was the infamous Paul McEnery issue : Paul McEnery speaks. Paul McEnery on Paul McEnery. Paul McEnery on the importance of Paul McEnery...¹⁶

Meanwhile, remaining long-time staff Wes Thomas and Jas. Morgan attempted to maintain the old editorial line. But, no St. Jude, no R.U. Sirius, the magazine is dead.

is mentioned

In issue 11, already, Wired and the new Mondo seems to associate themselves with them, as if equals.¹⁷

In 1992, the magazine published its first book (*A User's Guide to the New Edge*).

The same year Boing Boing published a parody of the magazine's -now recognizable- format and style.

In 1993, a weak Mondo issue appeared with mostly forgettable pieces (10).

Mondo had done so well (in the genre it had created for itself) that it outdid itself and made itself useless. Now every magazine was a "mondozine". The most baffling example being Time Magazine's february 1993 issue on... "Cyberpunk" (realized by some of Mondo's staff).

In 1995, the *Cyberpunk Handbook: The Real Cyberpunk Fakebook* was published at Random House (ed. R.U. Sirius).

A few years later Mondo stopped publication altogether.

3.5 final stages of professionalization

The design of Mondo reached new heights with art director Bart Nagel.

The table of contents of issue 2 - in which he appears credited - becomes notably more stylized (compare with the first issue).

¹⁵By 1995, R. U. Sirius had still the emeritus status of "icon at large" while Jude Milhon leaned way as "contributor editor" (14?).

¹⁶In case some readers wondered also "whoever that is, and whatever hole he crawled out of" : he was in 10-11.

¹⁷ p. 35

When Milhon is promoted to Senior Editor in issue 5 she uses "Jude Milhon" for credits, rather than St. Jude.

Issue 9's most profound change is the introduction of the category of 'tech editor' (given to early collaborator Wes Thomas (writer and publicity for the first two issues). Another sign of many, of professionalism displayed outwardly.

Editor-In-Chief	<i>R. U. Sirius</i>
Art Brute	<i>Bart Nagel</i>
Associate Art Director	<i>Heide Foley</i>
Senior Editor	<i>Jude Milhon</i>
Music & Arts Editor	<i>Jas. Morgan</i>
Managing Editor	<i>Andrew Hultkrans</i>
Tech Editor	<i>Wes Thomas</i>
Editorial Assistant	<i>Sam Telli</i>

Illustration : issue 9 *Mondo 2000* (staff section)

4 *wired* : into the 2000s

Early articles were written by former Mondo 2000 staff or contributors.

Its style was clearly inspired by Mondo's (formatting table of contents, reader feedback, sections and columns e.g. "Electrosphere" ...).

Wired marked yet another step towards professionalization : it emerged as a publication where cool ads – as seen prev. in Mondo¹⁸ – were becoming aggressively omnipresent almost indistinguishable from the edgy articles that appeared *in-between them*. Ads such as by Intel, Digital DEC (comparing themselves to a high-speed train...), HP, luxury cars, CK, Guess jeans, drinks etc. could be found ad nauseam on the inside.

4.1 the first five years

While already much more mainstream than Mondo 2000, Wired continued at least in the first 5 to 7 years to publish uneasy pieces : Among them were now classics, many due to Mondo's collaborators :

In 1993, Gibson's "Disneyland with the death penalty" appeared, describing his impressions of Singapore as a mix of super sophisticated tech and very strict laws, customs.

In 1994, R. U. Sirius and St. Jude could be found among few writers.

Illustration : *Wired* 1994 2

In that same year, John Barlow was also represented ("Jackboots on the Infobahn", 4), who described Clipper as "*last ditch attempt by the United States, the last great power from the old Industrial Era, to establish imperial control over cyberspace.*"

R. U. Sirius published a stand alone article ("Pomo To Go"), in 6.

In 1995, St. Jude gave a noted interview, containing the famous quote, "Girls *need* modems."¹⁹

¹⁸See the ads of companies like Sense-8 or Lapis...

¹⁹2.

Wired: What do you think about feminism and technology?
St. Jude: I think tech will solve all our problems, personal and scientific. Girls *need* modems.

Illustration : *Wired* 1995 2, contents and interior

Eno became one of the covers of 1995 (#5).

In 1996 *Wired* called the "Fall of the EFF" on its cover.

Illustration : *Wired* 1996 2, cover and contents

The Electronic Frontier Foundation went to Washington to "hack politics down to its constituent parts." Then it helped pass the FBI's loathsome Digital Telephony Bill. And discovered it was Washington that had reverse engineered the EFF, driving it into dissension, debt, disgrace - and right out of town.

Mondo's love affair with Barlow and the EFF came here to a stop if not an end.

Their critique targeted the (admittedly risible) liberal's never dying dream of "changing things from the inside", as they say, until the inside changes them invariably. Aaron Swartz belonged for much of his life - except arguably the end - to this unfortunate category. Cory Doctorow is another such figure, whose pathological interest in reformist politics would be deserving of a new inferno circle.

In 1996, still, Levy's hard hitting "Clipper chick" appeared - a play on words about a certain female cryptographer (due to cozy relationships with NSA).

Illustration : *Wired* 1996 9

Although "soft" by Reality Hackers standards, multiple of these articles would be probably difficult to publish today (except R.U. Sirius' forray into anti-communist cultural essays, that one not).

4.2 the professional journalists

Illustration : ad examples (1996, 2003) *Wired*

The last phase past the few first years of existence of the magazine is one of rapid corporatization and turn towards the mainstream - coinciding with its sale and massive editorial change.

Illustration : staff (2002) *Wired*

Cool ads meet - sometimes indistinguishable - edgy articles, was the new formula of this magazine, culminating in the sale to Conde Nast in 1998 and the new millenium, Chris Anderson (Mr. equations) line and era.

"We decided to put the Internet-founding subculture behind us, and be more mainstream with technology. We banned Burning Man and drug culture and the letters TCP/IP,"

Anderson said.²⁰

²⁰"For Wired, a Revival Lacks Ads", *New York Times* 17/05/09.

The mummification, the museufication of the original hackers behind Wired's formula hence could begin :

In 2003, St. Jude's death notice was published.²¹

First signs of this shift were already visible in previous years (historical classifications, however useful, should not be too rigid, or be blinding) ;

this was in part. true in instances such as the interview of Steve Jobs ("the next insanely great thing"²²) or when Wired's, now professional journalists called Ray Smith of Bell "the smartest telco CEO"²³.

Journalists' role was not anymore to highlight the fringes of technology, it was not to shed light on what happened in the shadows of mega-corporations, it was not publishing seldom heard voices in the service of, ex gratia, democracy.

No, it would be to amplify already deafening tones, and for journalists to become the faithful stenographers of new-lords, from now on.

conclusion

During glorious live-fast-or-die existences , the publications High Frontiers, Reality Hackers and Mondo 2000 managed to do many things :

One of Mondo's achievements — in an era before diversity and inclusion politics and rhetoric — was to create an intellectual space where pioneering hackers and crackers met hip hop groups, trans. artists, outsider scientists...; thus creating a truly diverse and unique location in space and time — accessible infinitely through archives — that stands in bitter, bitter, oh so stark contrast with most journals and magazines published today.

Those courageous few who want the more sweat-inducing content of earlier years will find a way to back issues of "H" and "R".

As the magazine evolved to become Mondo, its interest in and liberal attitude towards conspiracy, alternative and uncertain theories would play a bigger and bigger role (except *My Dinner...* would be replaced by more timely *Slacker*).

In its golden age (issues 1 to 11 - as now everyone knows), Mondo maintained a complicated balance between fringe roots and increased interest, content that remained truly shocking at times while not risking liberal consensus rejection (maybe it was just fun, or a joke!).²⁴

This publication will no doubt come as a shock to all-the-best-opinions blessed liberals, found in such great masses in dominant places.

It treats alternative beliefs and theories cautiously, perhaps based on the intuition if not knowledge that some of yesterday's egregious madmen are tomor-

²¹7.

²²1996 2.

²³1995 2.

²⁴Zizek would perhaps place them in the category of "undogmatic conspiracies", that is : conspiracies that are based on a certain kind of rationalism.

row geniuses, and that today's truth is still not safe from the long, fermenting work of history.

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Introducing *Mondo 2000* and its predecessors to a new audience — working research documents.

Camille Akmut

February 13, 2022

abstract

An overview relating to staff, authors, contributors, institutions and events is provided, as well as table of contents for issues 1 to 11 of *Mondo 2000*, 5 and 6 of *Reality Hackers*, and 4 of *High Frontiers*; covering pre-history, beginnings all the way up to “symbolic” end of this hacker magazine which originated as a drug, science, art newspaper.

Note : references to issues of *High Frontiers* and *Reality Hackers* are preceded by the mention of H and R respectively. When nothing is specified, or cannot be derived obviously from the content, M is meant (standing in place for Mondo).

R. U. Sirius / Ken Goffman	Editor-In-Chief. Becomes "Icon-at-Large" from #11. Ken Goffman was a Publisher in <i>Reality Hackers</i> (R 5,6). R.U.Sirius listed on the cover of <i>High Frontiers</i> ' "premier issue"	H, R, M
Queen Mu / Alison Kennedy	Credited as Domineditrix (above Editor-in-Chief in M). Alison Kennedy appeared in the first issue under "Design & Layout", in #2 a writer ("Grammar..."); Publisher, Proofreading, Advertising Sales in Reality Hackers (R 5,6) Publisher in H (at least 4), Domineditrix (... 3,4)	H, R, M
St. Jude / Jude Milhon	First issue note : " <i>Her racy tale is chronicled in the book Hackers but she prefers to maintain a mysteriously low profile.</i> " Senior Editor ($\geq$ #5), "Cyberpranx" in 11. Column "Irresponsible Journalism" (4-8,11). Was Editor in Reality Hackers (R 6), Proofreading (R 5).	H, R, M
Morgan Russell	Publisher and Editor in Reality Hackers (R 5,6). In M : Associate Editor (#1), "European Correspondent" (3)	H, R, M
Bart Nagel	Art Director of Mondo	M (cred. from #2)
Thaddeus Now,	Art Director of Reality Hackers (R 5,6)	R
Roger Raupp		
Jas. Morgan	Music Editor, later also "Music & Arts" (from M #7)	R, M
Michael Synergy	Associate (#1,2,4), Editor (3) then Contributing (5-8, not in 9-10)	R. M
Heide Foley	Associate Art Director (from #7), Deputy (6), Design Assistance (2-5)	M (... from 2)
Wes Thomas	Tech Editor (#9-10), Editor (11), PR/Publicity (1,2,7...). "Hyperwebs"	M
Uncle St. Nunzio	Managing Editor of Reality Hackers (R 5,6)	R
Allan Lundell	Listed as "Future Media" in #1.	R 4, M
Andrew Hultkrans	Managing Editor (from #5)	M (appears in 4)
Gareth Branwyn	Street Tech Editor (from #4, not in 9-10)	M (from 2)
Joey/Joichi Ito	"Tokyo Correspondent" (#3-11) [versatile, academic entrepreneur]	M (in #3)
Timothy Leary	Contributing Editor (#4-11...). Drug expert/leader	H 1,4; R 5,6; M
Nick Herbert	Column "Fringe Science" (H 4; R 6; M #1-7,9 not 10-11). Contributing Editor (11). <i>Quantum Reality</i> . Fundamental Fysiks Group	H 2,4; R 5,6; M
Gracie and Zarkov	Contributing Editor (#4-11...) (culture reviews)	R 6, M
"Durk and Sandy"	D. Pearson, S. Shaw. Column (#1-4) 'life extension(s)' 'designer foods'..	R 5,6ad/ref; M
Rudy Rucker	Contributing Editor (... #9). Ed. for <i>A User's Guide to the New Edge</i>	M
John Perry Barlow	Contributing Editor (#4-5,7-11...). Grateful Dead, EFF	M 2,3...
Robert Anton Wilson	Column (#1-3). SF author, futurist... (assoc. with Leary, Sirag)	H 2; M
Mark Dery	Column "Guerrilla Semiotics" (#5-7...)	M (from 5)
Terence McKenna	Drug guru/philosopher, researcher, etc.	H 1,2,4; R 5,6; M 1,10
Jack Sarfatti	Fundamental Fysiks Group	H 1, M 8
Brian Eno	Artist (generative art system, "non-musician", <i>Another Green World</i> , <i>Before and After Science</i> , Bowie's <i>Low</i> and other Berlin albums etc etc.)	R 6; M 4
Peter Lamborn	anarchist, Temporary Autonomous Zone	R 6 end; M 5 end,
Wilson / Hakim		9
Bey		
Ram Dass	guru, professor (assoc. w. Leary)	H 2
Sun Ra	Artist	R 6
Lee Felsenstein	One of the original hackers. Homebrew Computer Club, Community Memory project	M 1, 2, see, also, <i>Hackers</i> part two
Richard Stallman	Free software, GNU, FSF, 'last true hacker'	M 1, 4, <i>Hackers</i> end
Vernor Vinge	Science-fiction author, <i>A Fire Upon the Deep</i> (1992) ('singularity')	M 1
Abbie Hoffman	Youth International Party, Chicago Seven	M 1 end quote
Genesis P. Orridge	Pioneering trans. artist	M 3, ref 6:124, 9
Saul-Paul Sirag	Fundamental Fysiks Group	M 3
Somerset Mau Mau	Listed on the cover of <i>High Frontiers</i> ' "premier issue" with R.U. Sirius, resurfaces in Mondo's eighth issue	H 1,4; M
Sense-8	Company advertised in Mondo 2000	

Stephen Wolfram SIGGRAPH HR 4079	(proprietary) <i>Mathematica</i> software, known to students Important computer graphics conference (one of the ACM S.I.G.s) National Drug and Crime Emergency Act - " <i>prisoners may be housed in tents and other temporary facilities</i> ", " <i>prisoners shall work absent medical certification of 100 percent disability</i> " congress.gov 80\$ a month, 19% interest breasts Hip-hop group (associated with Tupac)	R 6 ref, M 3 M 3... M 3
Dr. Forshan Digital Underground Phil Zimmermann	Creator of PGP [encryption for the masses], hailed as hero by the magazine M 4:20 footnote Astrophysicist	M 3:100 M 4 M 5,9,10 (v 1.0, 2)
Jeff Milstead Fiorella Terenzi		M 5 cover and interview
Peter Chung Henry Rollins Neil Young	Animator : <i>Aeon Flux</i> , <i>The Animatrix</i> ... Black Flag Went from touching songs, to unrecognizable hippies-and-queers hating Reaganite, to liberal.	M 6 M 6 M 6
KRS-One Neal Stephenson David Cronenberg	"Hip means to know", Hop means to move <i>Snow Crash</i> (1992) <i>Scanners</i> , <i>Videodrome</i> ... as well as lesser known movies on transgenderism, crossdressing and homosexuality in the Chinese tradition ("Cut sleeve").	M 7 M 7 review M 8
Lydia Lunch Richard Linklater	artist (associated, a.o., with Sonic Youth) <i>Slacker</i> (1990) [b.], <i>Dazed and Confused</i> (1993)... Themes : youth, underground, alternative beliefs - in common with the magazine's	M 9 M 9
Iggy Pop	The Stooges ("I Wanna Be Your Dog"), dislikes clothes	M 11

Illustration : *Alien Dreamtime*

Illustration : 'real crimes' aficionado segment in *Slacker*
(a.k.a. hey, remember, we had an anthropology class together...)

- But, then, of course, there's my real favorite one right here. Which you really should snap up