

SOCIAL SCIENCE
IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST:
A FIFTIETH-YEAR HISTORY
OF THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Anne Frantilla
Bentley Historical Library
The University of Michigan

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ISR
Celebrating *50* Years

of *Social Science in the*
Public Interest

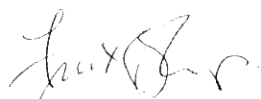
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FOREWORD

AS ARCHIVISTS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN WORKING AT THE Bentley Historical Library, we face many challenges in documenting the history of this complex, multidimensional institution. Because of the nature of organizations, it has often been easier to capture documents relating to the administration of the institution than to identify records that provide real insight into the intellectual vitality that has characterized the University of Michigan since its earliest days. The Institute for Social Research is a splendid example of a part of the university that has both a distinguished intellectual heritage and a rich documentary legacy. This legacy reveals the vision, research energy, and pioneering methodologies that constitute the Institute's intellectual tradition. At the Bentley Library, we are pleased to hold the papers of the founders of the Institute and those of many faculty and scientists associated with ISR, as well as the records of ISR itself. Rather than a record of institutional administration, the combined archive presents the history of a set of interrelated ideas and how those ideas took form in an institutional setting. At the request of Professor David L. Featherman, current director of the ISR, Anne Frantilla of the Bentley Library staff, combed the extant record and has recounted a history of the Institute on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. I am grateful to Prof. Featherman for his recognition of the importance of making the extraordinary history of the ISR better known. I also want to express my thanks to Erik Austin, Martin Gold, James House, Robert Kahn, Gwen Maes, Mary Vardigan, and William Zimmerman who provided Ms. Frantilla with insightful comments on earlier drafts of this history. The Bentley Library is pleased to work with the ISR on a continuing basis to document its important contributions to the social sciences and its use of social science to foster a better understanding of our world.



Francis X. Blouin Jr.
Director

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INSTITUTE AND CENTER DIRECTORS

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Rensis Likert	1948-1970
Angus Campbell	1970-1976
F. Thomas Juster	1976-1986
Philip E. Converse	1986-1989
Robert B. Zajonc	1989-1994
Harold K. Jacobson	1994-1995
<i>acting</i>	
David L. Featherman	1995-

SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER

Rensis Likert	1946-1948
Angus Campbell	1948-1970
Robert L. Kahn	1970-1976
Stephen B. Withey	1976-1982
Howard Schuman	1982-1990
Jerald G. Bachman	1990
<i>interim</i>	
James S. House	1991-

RESEARCH CENTER FOR GROUP DYNAMICS

Dorwin P. Cartwright	1948-1959
Alvin F. Zander	1959-1978
Philip Brickman	1979-1982
Robert B. Zajonc	1982-1989
Richard E. Nisbett	1989-1996
James E. Jackson	1996-

CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

Warren E. Miller	1970-1981
Philip E. Converse	1982-1986
Harold K. Jacobson	1986-1996
William Zimmerman	1996-

INTER-UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

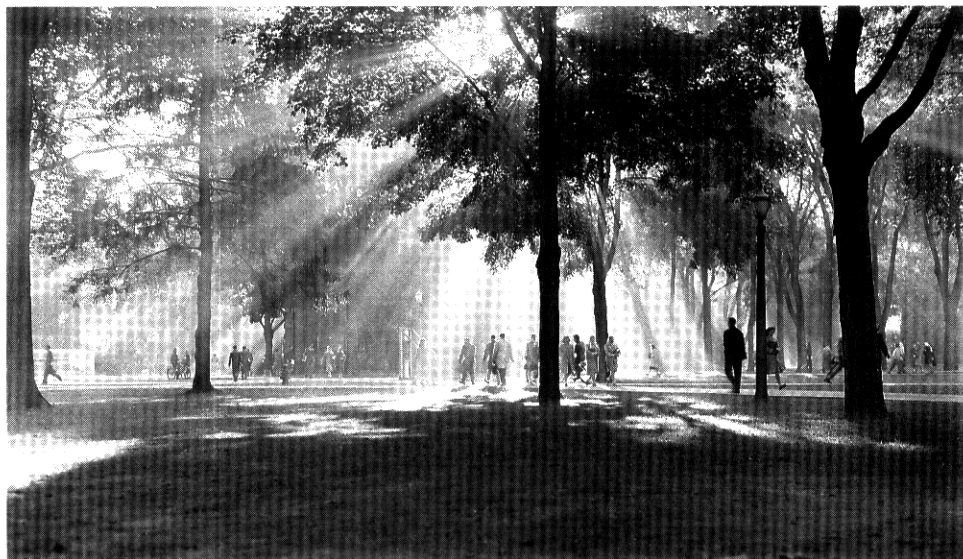
Warren E. Miller	1962-1970
Samuel H. Barnes	1970-1971
<i>acting</i>	
Richard Hofferbert	1971-1975
Jerome M. Clubb	1975-1991
Richard C. Rockwell	1991-

POPULATION STUDIES CENTER

David Lam	1998-
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CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON THE UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

Floyd C. Mann	1964-1973
Nathan S. Caplan	1973-1974
<i>acting</i>	
Donald C. Pelz	1974-1979
David G. Bowers	1979-1980
Lee Sechrest	1980-1984
Jerome Johnston and Paul Wortman	1984-1986



The University of Michigan Diag in 1947.

INTRODUCTION

FOUNDED IN 1946 AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, WITH NO guarantee of permanency or ongoing support, the Survey Research Center grew into the largest institution for interdisciplinary research in the social sciences in the world. It has advanced understanding of society and human behavior through empirical research of extraordinary scope and breadth. The Survey Research Center was established in 1946, and the Research Center for Group Dynamics followed two years later. In 1949, the Institute for Social Research was created as an umbrella organization for both centers. The Center for Political Studies was formed in 1970, growing out of a strong tradition of research on political behavior within the Survey Research Center. The Population Studies Center was added as a fourth center in 1998. Over the past five decades, the Institute for Social Research (ISR) has contributed powerfully to the body of knowledge about human behavior and social interaction, collecting data of interest to the general public, to decision-makers in government and the private sector, and to scholars everywhere.

Each of ISR's centers investigates key facets of the human experience. The largest of the centers is the Survey Research Center, which explores drug use, poverty, health in the workplace, aging, and economic behavior. Through scientific sample surveys, the Survey Research Center uses quantitative data to track and analyze social changes. Early discrete studies measuring public attitudes and behavior with respect to a specific issue gradually grew into larger research programs organized around larger themes, such as organizational behavior. The Research Center for Group Dynamics focuses on the individual in society, with a special emphasis on group processes and social cognition. It probes processes such as decision-making, prejudice, judgment, and emotion in laboratory and a variety of natural settings. This center has one of the largest research programs on African Americans in the United States. A national resource for research and training, it investigates mental health, aging and human development, and race and political participation. The Center for Political Studies

analyzes interactions among institutions, political processes, and individuals, with its core focus being national election studies and the attitudes and voting behavior of the electorate. Current work focuses on cross-national research, with a special emphasis on world politics, comparative politics, and international relations. Established in 1961, the Population Studies Center is a national laboratory for population studies with an international scope.

The reasons for the success and broad contributions of ISR in its first fifty years are reflected in its history. The Institute was from the beginning a vehicle for research that transcended both academic divisions and social, economic, and political issue areas. Its structure and funding bases incorporated this endemic flexibility, enabling it to respond to continually changing problems in society. Throughout the history of ISR, researchers have had a high degree of independence, with each study director taking charge of an individual project and its budget, from writing the initial proposal to completing the final report. Program units range in size from one person to large interdisciplinary field research efforts, and continuity is based more upon evolving research interests than upon the requirements of the parent organization. The ongoing search for new funding sources encourages a constant reassessment of scientific issues and both national and international socioeconomic problems. The success of ISR is also due, in no small part, to the firm and continuing conviction on the part of its researchers and staff that their work helps inform and shape solutions for problems of human and social behavior. The contributions ISR has made over its first fifty years are also strengthened by the fertile and fostering environment provided by the University of Michigan.

SOCIAL RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE ROOTS OF THE CORE SOCIAL SCIENCES—GENERALLY ACCEPTED as psychology, anthropology, economics, sociology, history, and political science—predate the foundation of ISR by many years. All of these disciplines were already well-represented at the University of Michigan when the Survey Research Center was established in 1946. The value placed on interdisciplinary work in the first decades of the twentieth century contributed to a healthy environment for the establishment and growth of a social research institute in the second half.

John Dewey was on the faculty at Michigan between 1884 and 1894. Although a philosopher, he made significant contributions in psychology, including encouraging the founding of the first psychological laboratory at Michigan. Dewey also drew upon sociology in his courses on political philosophy. Henry Carter Adams, who taught at Michigan in the 1880s and early 1890s, approached sociology from the field of political economy; he encouraged his student Charles Horton Cooley, also a Dewey student, to develop courses in sociology. As a sociologist, Cooley introduced many ideas that would later be pursued as themes of research at ISR. At Michigan from 1892 until his death in 1929, Cooley “developed a theory of society from sociopsychological principles, including ideas regarding the growth of the self, the process of communication, the mutual conditioning of individual and group behavior, the functioning of primary and secondary groups...”¹

The university was also involved in early settlement-house work, such as that begun by Jane Addams in the 1880s at Hull House in Chicago. The university’s social settlement work, an affiliation with the Chicago Commons settlement house begun in 1897, was described in 1904 as work that was becoming “truly representative of the social spirit of the university.”² A 1904 participant, University of Michigan student Anne Huber, stated, “An intelligent interest in

the work of social settlement is a part of University life and an intelligent sympathy with this enlarged idea of a University is a part of education.”³

The professionalization of both social work and the various social science disciplines was evident in the years following World War I, at Michigan and elsewhere in the United States. The formation of the national Social Science Research Council in 1923 in New York City as a vehicle to advance interdisciplinary research in the social sciences was a symbol of the substantial development in this area.⁴

The year after Cooley’s death, social scientists from eight departments at the University of Michigan organized to support work in the social sciences. They incorporated on January 6, 1930, as the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) of Michigan. Their stated purpose was to “encourage, aid, counsel, support ..., and/or to carry on or conduct, directly or indirectly...research in any of the general fields of the social sciences.”⁵ One of the earliest discussions of the SSRC of Michigan centered on the possibility of creating a social science research center in Detroit and the numerous projects such a center could support.⁶

Discourse among social scientists was fostered by an administrative structure at Michigan that encouraged and ultimately institutionalized research units, setting them apart from teaching units on campus. Recognizing that graduate work was more research-oriented than instruction-based, a graduate department was established in 1911, with Karl E. Guthe (*physics*) as the first dean. Independent of any faculty, the graduate department had its own budget for administrative purposes. It also had the authority to disperse university research funds, and most general fund expenses for research went through it as well. President Alexander Ruthven suggested the establishment of university-wide divisional committees in 1929 to help coordinate this flow of money.

In 1934, a Division of Social Sciences was formed within the graduate school, consisting of members of faculties from ten departments. It was established not only to provide an advisory

voice to the president regarding research projects funded through the graduate school but also “to stimulate informal cooperation among the departments.”⁷ The SSRC of Michigan was dissolved and in its place, a committee on social science research was formed within the Division of Social Sciences. Its members acted, according to Professor Carl E. Guthe (*anthropology*), not “as representatives of the department, but rather as representatives of their several fields in the social sciences. The committee is trying to eliminate departmental lines.”⁸ One of the earliest issues addressed by the committee was whether or not an institute should be set up as a “center and clearing house for local research.”⁹ This debate echoed discussions of the SSRC of Michigan regarding the creation of a social science research center in Detroit. The committee decided that because the interests reflected in the local research projects were so diverse, and because no need had been articulated, the time was not yet ripe for the creation of such an institute.

“The need of the community is the opportunity of the social scientist; it is a challenge and a test as well.”
—Professor Charles F. Remer

In a 1934 committee report to President Ruthven, Professor Charles F. Remer (*economics*) created a strong context for the importance of social research, citing “the promise which it holds out for direct aid in the determination of social policy and in the solution of important current problems.”¹⁰ In promoting the value of social science research, Remer pointed out that research was needed regarding racial problems and problems resulting from the Depression stating, “the need of the community is the opportunity of the social scientist; it is a challenge and a test as well.”¹¹ He went on to cite a report by the national SSRC that pinpointed the university as the most appropriate place for a social science research institution.¹²

In 1935, the University of Michigan Graduate School became self-sustaining through a bequest by Horace H. Rackham in the amount of \$6.5 million. The school had responsibility for major research projects not governed by any other university unit, such as the Institute of Public and Social Administration founded in 1936 or the Institute for Human Adjustment in 1937. The Institute of Health and Social Sciences was organized in Detroit in 1935, and the chair of the Division of Social Sciences was chosen as one of the members of the executive committee.

“... Our country badly needs the social scientist who has the ability to develop the highly specialized and complex methods necessary to an understanding of our great social questions.”
—James Pollock, political scientist

Clarence S. Yoakum served as dean of the graduate school from 1935 to 1945 and proved to be an enthusiastic supporter of the social sciences. At a conference of University Social Science Research Organizations held at the University of Michigan in 1936, Yoakum reported on activities at Michigan and suggested that social scientists were still searching to define the boundaries of social science and to determine techniques and methodology. “In the physical and biological sciences we know that within a generation or two certain residue of research reaches practice... If we draw a larger circle, endeavoring to mark off the social sciences from other fields of investigation, there arises a whole series of interesting yet perplexing questions... To what extent is the field of social studies self-contained? Is there a soil into which the roots of the social studies may thrust themselves and gain added strength and perspective?” After listing the various projects and publications under way at Michigan, Yoakum stated that it is not possible “to trace an unbroken common thread or to define a distinctive approach which can be designated a school of thought.” He also alluded to the search for methodologies and techniques of research and stated that Michigan is weak in the “technological field.”¹³

The idea of a separate center for social science research was brought up again in 1941 by political scientist James Pollock. In a memo to President Ruthven, Pollock described the importance of social research and the need for a separate school. “A whole host of complex social problems crowd in upon us and cry for attention and solution... War, tanks, cyclotrons, will not solve these problems... Our country badly needs the social scientist who has the ability to develop the highly specialized and complex methods necessary to an understanding of our great social questions.” Requesting a total endowment of \$3 million, Pollock proposed a building to house economics, political science, and sociology, with space for the Bureau of Government and a statistical laboratory.¹⁴ His proposal was not funded.

Again in 1943, the Division of Social Sciences requested a more research-oriented office, specifically the establishment of an Office of Research, Surveys and Services within their division to

“stimulate, organize, direct, and correlate surveys and investigations in the fields of the social sciences...” in the postwar adjustment period.¹⁵ In August of the same year, Ruthven responded to the request and wrote, “If we could find a separate endowment, I would be in favor of starting the project immediately.”¹⁶ Although repeated requests were made in the early 1940s for the establishment of a social research unit, the time was not yet right. It would take the proper combination of timing, expertise, and support to bring the plan to realization.

By 1946, the University of Michigan was strong in the social and behavioral sciences and had a long tradition of interdisciplinary dialogue. Social scientists in the mid-1940s at the university were searching for a “methodology,” a unifying program and/or building and funding for social science research. There was a sense that spending and research in the social sciences needed to “catch up” with the physical sciences, especially at Michigan where research in the physical sciences was heavily supported by the U.S. government and university administration during and just after World War II. Combined with the postwar sense of urgency of social scientists to assist with finding solutions to the problems left by a world war, the timing was right for the establishment of a strong social science research institution at the university. The core of a program with roots in social psychology was in place. Donald G. Marquis in psychology, Robert C. Angell in sociology and Theodore M. Newcomb, who had a joint appointment in psychology and sociology, would all provide strong support for the establishment of ISR. The administrative structure was in place, and the graduate school encouraged pure research units. In addition to these factors, there was keen interest on the part of several individuals who had roots at the University of Michigan.

THE ORIGINS OF THE SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER AND THE CREATION OF THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

THE SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER



Rensis Likert, pictured here in the 1926 University of Michigan yearbook, the Michiganensian, graduated in sociology the same year.

THE VISION THAT CREATED ISR WAS THAT OF RENSIS LIKERT, ITS FIRST director. Likert graduated from the University of Michigan in 1926 in sociology, taking classes in economics and sociology from Charles Horton Cooley. Originally planning to major in engineering, he changed to sociology and went on to receive his Ph.D. in psychology from Columbia University in 1932. Likert's Ph.D. thesis demonstrated that the measurement of attitudes by means of a 5-point scale, now known throughout the world as the "Likert scale," produced results equivalent to the more complex Thurstone method of paired comparisons. It was the combination of sociology and psychology that was at the center of his research and contributions to social science. He worked briefly for New York University, and then accepted a position as director of research for the Life Insurance Agency Association in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1935. While there, Likert conducted a series of studies on the effectiveness of different styles of supervision.

In September 1939, Likert was appointed director of the Division of Program Surveys in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The division's original mission was to conduct surveys on farmers' experiences and opinions about the various programs of the Department of Agriculture, such as domestic allotments, soil conservation, farmer resettlement, and others. Likert argued that farm problems and reactions needed to be seen in the larger context of national and international problems and in terms of separate issues such as national morale, and the division was expanded. During the war, it received contracts with the Treasury and Federal Reserve Board, initially for war-bond surveys. After World War II, the division was called upon by the Office of War Information and other Washington agencies to gather information regarding public attitudes, experiences, and behavior relating to governmental policies, agricultural productivity, and public finance.

Likert and others collaborated in the development of a method for sampling households based on the identification and listing of small units of land area throughout the country. The theory underlying this procedure and the specific techniques of selection formed the basis for what later became known as “area probability sampling.” Likert also introduced the use of open-ended questions in gathering information from individual respondents, letting the respondent interpret the question in his or her own terms rather than choose among specified alternatives.

Under Likert’s able and buoyant leadership, the Division of Program Surveys brought together a group of young social scientists with backgrounds in laboratory psychology and scientific methods. These scientists believed that social behavior could be explained in terms of attitudes and motivational patterns. They contributed to an important link between the academic culture and the applied research of business and government.¹⁷ “In the brief period from 1942 to 1946 this group of social scientists completed a large number of research projects and demonstrated to many policy makers and program administrators the value and validity of properly designed surveys. Charles Cannell, Dorwin Cartwright, George Katona, and Leslie Kish were among those who worked together at the Program Surveys. In the process of their work they changed the methods of social research and were changed themselves.”¹⁸

Angus Campbell was one of the social scientists who joined Likert in Washington, D.C. He had graduated in psychology from the University of Oregon and completed his doctorate at Stanford in 1936. While at Stanford, Campbell met Kurt Lewin, a visiting professor in the psychology department. Campbell taught briefly at Northwestern University, and in 1942 he joined the Department of Agriculture’s Division of Program Surveys. It was here that he had his first intensive contact with the new methodology of the sample survey and met those who were to become lifelong colleagues.



Theodore M. Newcomb joined the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan in 1941 and by 1946 headed a new doctoral program in social psychology. A followup study of his 1934 Bennington College study on the impact of college on students' attitudes and beliefs was conducted twenty-five years later. His research focused on theories of interpersonal behavior and attitude change.

In 1945, after the war ended, Likert and his colleagues sought an environment that would foster the work they had started. The Division of Program Surveys would be abolished on August 1, 1946. According to Likert, “We had developed survey research methodology to a point where it was a new, important, powerful research tool. No university in the U.S. was training people in basic methodology... So we thought that there was a great need for survey research methodology in its entirety to be taught in a single institution to use it in a coordinated way.”¹⁹ The group of researchers wanted an association with an academic institution that could offer greater freedom in the conduct of research, greater effectiveness through association with a teaching faculty in the social sciences, and greater opportunities for contributions to the social sciences through teaching and publication of research results.

Several universities were considered. The criteria were that the university be large, have strong social science departments, have an administration with considerable interest in social sciences, and be located in a geographic location that would make it easy to travel to New York, Washington, D.C. and other places to arrange for contracts and grants. The University of Michigan met those criteria, and it was also in the small town of Ann Arbor, an attractive location for bringing up families.

THE CREATION OF THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

At the University of Michigan, Donald G. Marquis (*psychology*), Robert C. Angell (*sociology*), and Theodore M. Newcomb, who directed a new interdisciplinary doctoral program in social psychology, supported the idea of a University of Michigan Survey Research Center. Both Marquis and Newcomb knew Likert. Likert had recommended Marquis to the dean of Literature, Science, and the Arts for the position of chairman of the psychology department in the early 1940s. Newcomb first came to Michigan in 1941 and worked briefly for Likert in Washington, D.C., as part of the war effort in 1944 and 1945. Although Newcomb was wooed by Cornell University in 1947 and offered a position as chairman of the

Department of Psychology, he turned them down and wrote that “Michigan has made it possible for me to devote full time to our very promising program in social psychology.”²⁰

Social scientists at the university were aware of the need and had asked for a central location for social science research. Provost James P. Adams supported the social sciences but knew that a new research center would not be approved without outside funding. Here was a group of individuals with a strong applied research background and the willingness to secure their own funding. The establishment of the Social Science Surveys Project, as it was originally called, was approved tentatively by the University of Michigan Board of Regents on June 21, 1946. The provisions were as follows: the project should be supported entirely by outside funds, appointments are to be made for one year and without possibility of tenure, and “this project may be terminated at any time in the discretion of the Board of Regents.” The board also determined that the project should retain its indirect costs received from grants and contracts and stipulated that it should tentatively report to the provost. Described as “a research, service, and training project of the University,” the board changed the name to the Survey Research Center and the effective date of its establishment was August 1, 1946. The Board of Regents would appoint a director who, along with an executive committee, would oversee the center. Work began in Washington, D.C., and Angus Campbell was the first to arrive in Ann Arbor, opening the center in November in the basement of University Elementary School. Early in 1947, the rest of the staff followed.

And with that thin line of support, the Survey Research Center (SRC) was founded. Not knowing what the future would bring, but full of optimism and a firm faith in the contributions their research would make, Rensis Likert, Angus Campbell, Charles Cannell, George Katona, and Leslie Kish moved to Ann Arbor. Within two years they were joined by Robert Kahn, Daniel Katz, John Lansing, James Morgan, and Stephen Withey, among others. The early minutes of the SRC Executive Committee reflect the diversity and energy of the staff as well as their commitment to



Donald Marquis and Theodore Newcomb (left) encouraged Likert, and later Dorwin Cartwright, to move to the University of Michigan.

furthering the scientific methodology of social science. Projects discussed included proposals for a study of the use of libraries for the Carnegie Corporation and the American Library Association, an investigation of interviewing techniques employed in public



Angus Campbell (left) and Rensis Likert go over plans for a survey in 1948.

opinion work for the national SSRC, and work on the role of the interview in the case study for the Veterans Administration. Discussion also took place regarding possible research in the area of housing in conjunction with Dean Wells Bennett and Professor George Brigham of the School of Architecture.

There was a rigorous adherence to the standards established for accepting research. In March 1947, the American Pharmaceutical Association proposed to study the nation's druggists. The survey was not approved, however, because the results could not be published and the organization "apparently meant to use the research to establish a competitive advantage."²¹ Again in May 1947, a project proposed by Ford Motor Company was turned down because the company was not willing to make the results public. Proposals that were limited to a narrow commercial purpose and did not tie into a program of significant research were not supported. An early progress report stated that SRC could provide facilities to "businesses, foundations, governmental and other agencies for conducting surveys on all kinds of economic, social and business problems. In doing work for business organizations, the Center is limiting itself to problems of social importance and is publishing the major findings of each study."²²

The staff of SRC believed that the sample interview survey was one of the most useful and powerful research tools of the social sciences. One of their goals was to provide a means of teaching survey methodology. They began almost immediately to teach graduate courses offered jointly by social science departments and SRC.

The first Summer Institute in Survey Research Methods was held in 1948. Aimed at those who could not leave their jobs for significant periods of time during the school year, the Summer Institute offered courses in all phases of survey research methods. In 1950, approximately fifty students attended the Institute. By 1960, it attracted 89 participants and was known as one of the major resources in the world for the methodological training of professionals and scholars from other countries and institutions. Continuing to the present day, the Summer Institute meets the needs of both University of Michigan graduate students and people of various other backgrounds, from business, public health, education, industry, and government. The Summer Institute offers from eight to ten courses each year in research design, survey design, sampling, measurement, computing, and analysis.

By 1948, four members of the staff were appointed by the psychology and sociology departments as professors or associate professors, and one member was appointed by the economics department. Believing it was important to strengthen the individual departments, and not compete with them, the SRC staff taught through the various departments, primarily psychology, sociology, and economics. All staff members were active in professional associations as well, presenting papers and publishing results of their research.

Two contracts that SRC brought with them from Washington, D.C. were the key to their financial survival for the first few years of their existence. One was from the Office of Naval Research and the other was from the Federal Reserve Board. The Office of Naval Research focused on the underlying principles of organizing and managing human activity and on researching techniques to increase productivity and job satisfaction. The nationwide surveys conducted for the Federal Reserve Board studied economic behavior and motives influencing economic behavior and proved to be accurate indicators of consumer sentiment.

THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR GROUP DYNAMICS

“... We have learned to control and mobilize the forces of physical nature before we have discovered how to control ourselves in the use of these forces.”
—Kurt Lewin

In July 1947, Rensis Likert suggested that the Research Center for Group Dynamics (RCGD), then at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, join SRC. The director, Dorwin Cartwright, had worked with Likert and Campbell in Washington, D.C. He was introduced to the Executive Committee on November 20, 1947, and in January 1948, with support from the Division of the Social Sciences and Provost Adams, the Regents approved the move of RCGD. RCGD came with grants from the Office of Naval Research, the American Jewish Congress, and a three-year grant from the Field Foundation for \$15,000 a year, which undoubtedly was a significant factor in the Regents' decision. As with the SRC, space and building services would be provided by the university, and RCGD would retain its overhead costs. RCGD officially became part of the university in July 1948, although it was not until February 1949 that a name for the umbrella organization could be agreed upon: the Institute for Social Research.

Founded at MIT in 1945 by Kurt Lewin, with initial financial grants provided by the Field Foundation and the American Jewish Congress, RCGD focused on a very different type of social science research than SRC. Its original focus was the scientific study of the functioning and behavior of groups and the application of its research findings to the solution of social problems involving the relations among people in groups. The basic principles of group dynamics were investigated in a variety of settings including industry, educational institutions, government, communities, and laboratories. Lewin used the term “action research” and intended his research to result in guiding the actions needed to solve social problems, reducing the gap between social science knowledge and the utilization of that knowledge. He was convinced, as were other social scientists in the 1940s, that “we have learned to control and mobilize the forces of physical nature before we have discovered how to control ourselves in the use of these forces.”²³ Lewin valued Likert's work at the Division of Program Surveys and cited his work as an example of the progress being made in social science.²⁴

Following Lewin's death in 1947, staff at RCGD made a decision to relocate to a university with stronger resources in the social sciences. Staff at RCGD were approached by many universities, and Dorwin Cartwright, John R. P. French, Leon Festinger, and Ronald Lippitt visited the University of Chicago. Cartwright and Lippitt were in contact with Cornell, the University of Minnesota, University of California-Berkeley, Washington University, Western Reserve, and Harvard.²⁵ Cartwright was committed to moving RCGD and the core team of researchers as a whole. In explaining why he chose the University of Michigan, Cartwright wrote that one of the most important reasons was "the strong emphasis placed by the University upon social science and especially upon social psychology. The University was one of the first in the country to offer a Ph.D in Social Psychology. The degree is administered by an inter-departmental committee and reflects the good state of cooperation between the Departments of Sociology and Psychology. The Survey Research Center...brought to the campus a large group of social psychologists working on many research problems bordering closely upon the work of the Center... There can be no doubt that Ann Arbor in the coming years will be the scene of some of the most important developments in social science."²⁶



Dorwin Cartwright served as director of RCGD from 1948 to 1959. A social psychologist, Cartwright had an enduring interest in the mathematical intricacies of graph theory and questions about the nature of groups.

Cartwright also had been encouraged by Theodore Newcomb. The focus of the doctoral program in social psychology Newcomb headed was to study the general problem of individual roles as determined by multiple-group membership, and the problems of intragroup dynamics. Newcomb wrote to Cartwright, "Specifically, your laboratory on small groups would provide the *pièce de résistance* in both of these areas, and in a very important sense I would want to place that laboratory course at the very center of the program."²⁷ Newcomb told Cartwright that part of the reason he decided to stay at Michigan, although he'd been courted by Cornell University, was "my hope that you guys will be here, together with my certainty that you won't be there... I am betting on Michigan and so, I hope, will you."²⁸

Founding members of RCGD who came with Cartwright to the University of Michigan included Leon Festinger, John R. P. French Jr., and Ronald Lippitt. Alvin Zander soon joined them. The first offices of RCGD at the University of Michigan were in the new building of the School of Business Administration, with rooms for group experimentation in a separate building, Tappan Hall. Early research included a project at the Dodge Local of the United Automobile Workers that provided an objective evaluation of the effects of a program designed to lead to better acceptance of minority groups within the union. Another laboratory experiment investigated various effects of discrimination on group morale and functioning, and the effects of group action aimed at overcoming the discrimination. Other research projects included the determinants of the perception of social power, and a study of morale at the Michigan Bell Telephone Company, resulting in changes at the company intended to improve productivity and job satisfaction. The senior staff of RCGD met weekly in a theoretical seminar, making it possible for the staff “to maintain an integrated theoretical approach to the various research projects underway and to advance theoretical thinking in several areas.”²⁹ The weekly seminars continue to the present day. As with SRC, the importance of communicating findings was stressed early on, and the journal *Human Relations* was published jointly by RCGD and the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in London, in part to fulfill this goal. RCGD staff also participated in the graduate teaching program in their first year at Michigan.

SPACE FOR ISR

WHEN THE SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER MOVED to the University of Michigan in 1946, offices were provided in the basement of University Elementary School. Of this space Robert Kahn said, "It was a real jolt to me to see where the SRC was. We were in a bunch of windowless rooms in the basement... And while I could walk under most of the steam pipes without bumping my head, those of my colleagues who were significantly taller bore the scars of that location." When the Research Center for Group Dynamics arrived in 1948, additional space was provided in the School of Business Administration building, with laboratory space in Tappan Hall, meaning that the new Institute for Social Research was physically located in three separate buildings.

In November 1949, ISR was moved to University Hall, but with the decision to tear down that building, plans were made for ISR to be transferred to West Hospital in 1950. Robert Kahn remembers that the hospital was known as the Rapid Treatment Center, "where injections of penicillin were given for venereal disease. We took over when the medical staff giving those treatments moved somewhere else. They left us some dramatic charts, which we found in one or two desks, and the other reminder of the previous tenants was the occasional man coming up the steps and looking around in a bewildered fashion and asking where the doc was...we had plenty of space and in some ways it was a nice, old building."³⁰

During discussions of a new building, those at ISR emphasized the need to be on main campus, rather than on north campus, in



West Hospital, where ISR was located from 1950 until 1962.

"...we had plenty of space and in some ways it was a nice, old building."

order to be physically closer to the research community with which they worked. By 1960, ISR staff members were located in a total of five facilities, one of which was a laboratory in the basement of University High School. In 1962, although plans were under way for a new building, the Institute was moved to the Argus Building, previously a camera factory. The previous year the site for the new building had been selected. The architect, Alden B. Dow Associates, was appointed and fundraising was initiated as well. ISR was required to raise money for the \$2 million needed for the new building. The National Institute of Health committed \$400,000 on the basis of matching funds, and the remainder was raised from corporate, individual, and foundation grants.

The ground-breaking was held on May 4, 1964, on Thompson Street, with the building scheduled for completion in August 1965. Staff began moving into the building in December of that year. Enormously

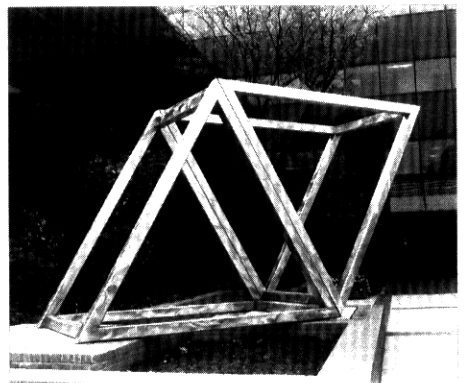
important as a visual symbol, the new ISR building represented not only the success of the Institute and of social science research but also ISR's acceptance as an important piece in the University of Michigan landscape and community. The building's interior design reflected the manner in which staff interacted. Donald Pelz noted that the offices "were grouped around bays, ...symbolic of the way ISR functioned. There was a lot of interaction and communication among the staff."³¹

The building was formally dedicated on March 30, 1966, and for the first time since 1948, SRC, RCGD, and CRUSK were all located in the same building. Vice President A. Geoffrey Norman presided over the dedication, and Executive Vice President for Research Marvin L. Neihuss, Governor George Romney, and Rensis Likert each made speeches. The next two days were devoted to scientific meetings and concluded with an address on "Social Research and Social Policy" given by undersecretary Wilbur Cohen of the U.S. Department of Housing Education and Welfare.

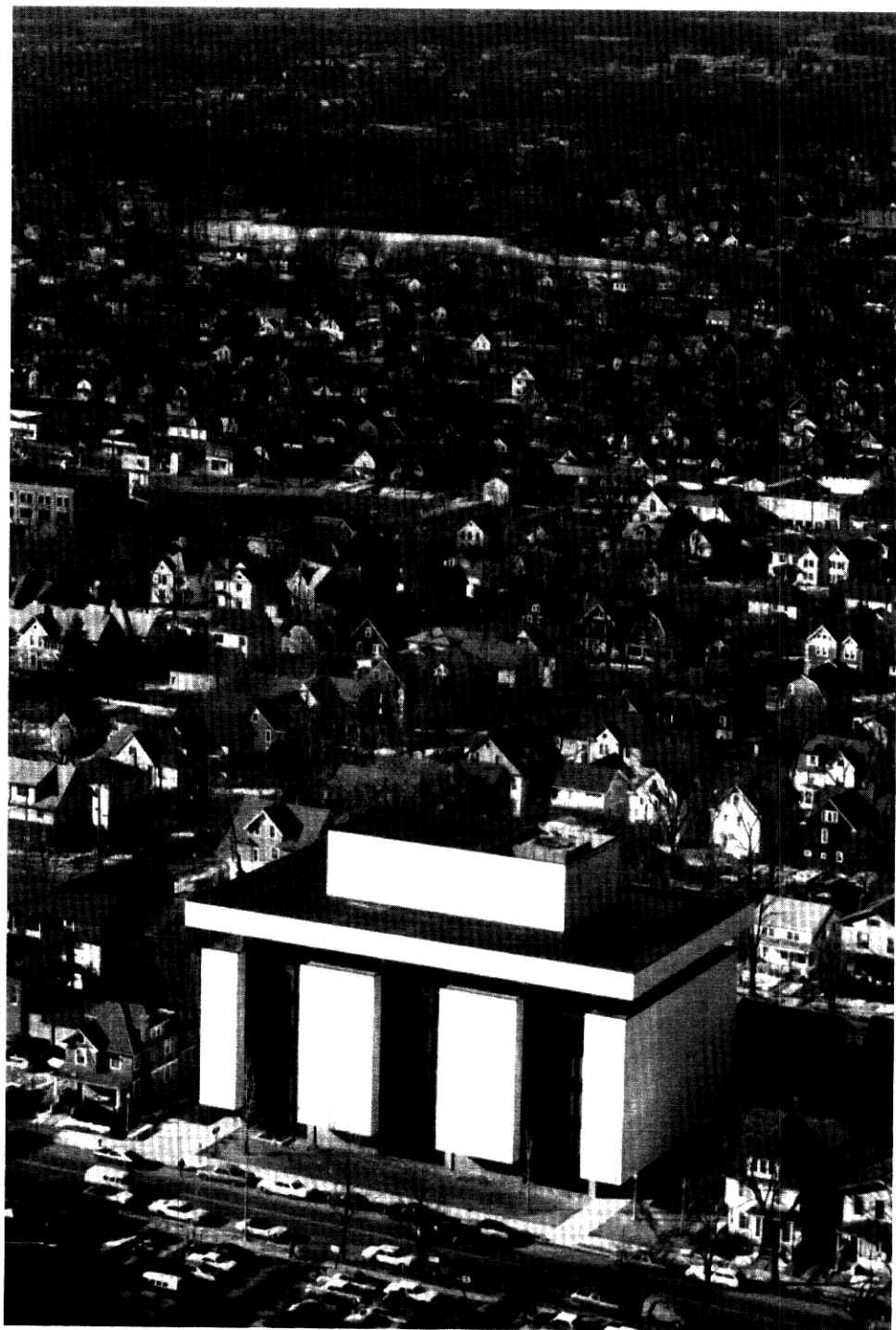
Almost the instant staff moved into the building, however, they had outgrown the space. By 1970, 457 full-time equivalent salaried staffs were employed at ISR, requiring space to be rented in the City Center Building and additional storage space to be rented on North Main. Regents approved construction of new office facilities for ISR in 1970, but plans were put on hold when it was learned that the National Science Foundation would not be able to provide construction support. Plans were approved by the Board of Regents in 1972 for a new building west of the original building, requiring the demolition of two houses.

The architectural firm of Alden B. Dow Associates, which had designed the original building, was approved to draw up plans. Construction on a five-story addition was begun two years later, and staff moved in during 1976. Thomas Juster wrote to President Harold Shapiro: "This new addition provided very little net increase in available space, but simply enabled us to locate all existing research activities within a single structure, thus greatly aiding the essential process of interchange among and within various ISR programs."³²

Plans were made for a third wing to the building in 1980, with occupancy planned for spring of 1982. Financial constraints put the project on hold, however, and it was not until 1988 that ground was broken for the second addition and third wing of ISR. In 1990, the geometric sculpture *Convergence* by artist Jon Rush was placed at the Thompson Street entrance, symbolizing change.



Convergence by Jon Rush, in 1990.



ISR IN THE 1950S

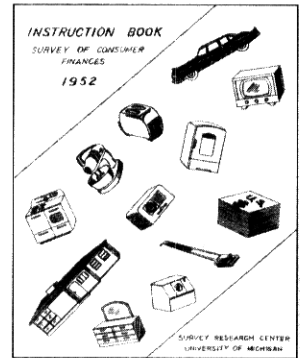
*And those at ISR
fervently believed
in their work
as a tool for
finding solutions
to the problems of
human and
social behavior.*

BY 1950, ISR WAS OFF TO A STRONG START. FINANCIALLY, IT BROUGHT in enough contracts to sustain itself. In the first year research contracts totaled \$244,000 and in the second \$346,000, corresponding closely with the estimates Likert made to Provost Adams in the spring of 1946. The stipulation that overhead on projects be retained by ISR was fortuitous, enabling the staff to support itself between projects. The requirement that ISR be self-sustaining pushed researchers to constantly reassess areas of research and encouraged cross-disciplinary research in ways that central financing of research might not have. The structure of the Institute was strongly in place, with SRC and RCGD broadly defining the nature of research. The system of programmatic research allowed flexibility in topics and granted program directors autonomy to conduct the projects independently. And those at ISR fervently believed in their work as a tool for finding solutions to the problems of human and social behavior.

Provost Adams was very supportive during the establishment of SRC and during its initial years at Michigan. Because SRC staff, and later ISR, were not affiliated with a specific department, and did not have particular teaching responsibilities, they were able to establish a university-wide research-based operation. ISR was admitted to the Division of Social Sciences in 1951, integrating more fully into the university community. The same year, ISR requested that the director's salary be absorbed by the university. Demonstrating its commitment to ISR, the university provided for the salary of Likert in 1953, Campbell in 1954, and Cartwright in 1955. In 1957, special-duty assignments began, allowing staff leave to do research, much like a sabbatical. Although tenure was requested for ISR staff in the 1950s, it was not granted until 1968, and all ISR staff were appointed up until that time for a one-year fiscal period only.

SRC IN THE 1950s

The research at SRC, the largest of the centers throughout ISR's history, was diverse. Primarily, it was concerned with the application of sample survey methods to a variety of psychological, social, economic, and political problems. One of the earliest programs, begun in 1947, was the Economic Behavior Program, initiated by George Katona and directed by him until his retirement in 1970. "The program reflected Katona's training in both economics and psychology and his conviction that to understand economic behavior requires an understanding of psychological factors. To explain and predict patterns of spending, saving, and investing, he analyzed consumer motives, attitudes, and expectations."³³ Katona pioneered the development of the science of behavioral economics, believing that consumers are important as an independent factor affecting the U.S. economy and its level of activity. He was unique among economists, many of whom were reluctant to research the behavior of consumers and businessmen.³⁴



The Survey of Consumer Attitudes interviewer instruction book, 1952.

The Economic Behavior Program conducted a number of national surveys. The Survey of Consumer Finances was conducted annually in cooperation with the Federal Reserve Board from 1946 to 1971. Beginning in 1972, it was administered by the Federal Reserve Board only. The survey focused on the financial situation of consumers, studying their incomes, savings, assets, and debts and asking respondents for predictions of financial conditions and intentions for their assets. Results, published in the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, were widely used by government agencies, business groups, and economic analysts. While contributing to economic theory, the immediate practical uses of the surveys included the regulation of installment credit and the assessment of the housing market.

The Survey of Consumer Attitudes, another Economic Behavior Program survey, was designed to measure changes in consumer

optimism and confidence. It sought opinions on current business conditions, reasons for choices consumers made, and expectations for the near future. It measured the complex motivational forces that influence the American people to buy or save. The accuracy of short-term business activity forecasts improved immensely with these studies. Continuing to the present day, the Survey is a leading indicator for the U.S. Commerce Department's national forecasts, as well as an index of changes in American lifestyles. Other projects undertaken by the Economic Behavior Program during the 1950s included studies on social welfare policy, the travel market, and outdoor recreational facilities.



Program directors Charles F. Cannell (left), John B. Lansing, and George Katona (seated), director of the Economic Behavior Program, talk over plans for one of the periodic surveys of current consumer attitudes in 1959.

Acknowledging the importance of large-scale organizations in shaping individual lives and social interactions, the Organizational Behavior and Human Relations Program was another early program of SRC. Started by Daniel Katz and Likert, the program grew out of the research funded by the Office of Naval Research. Research included the problems of conformity, dependence, and the reconciliation of organizational requirements with individual needs. In 1953, when the program was called Human Relations and Social Organization, a nationwide sample survey of the adult population was completed, focusing on the function of work. A first effort to establish a “base line” to facilitate comparative studies of employee satisfaction in various organizations and industries, the study included the role of the housewife as an occupational category. In 1957, another study reported on why people either liked or disliked their jobs, listing the principal sources of job satisfaction as recognition, achievement, autonomy, affiliation, and fair evaluation.

The Organizational Behavior and Human Relations Program focused increasingly on organizational structure and life in the mid-1950s. The explanation of organizational effectiveness continued to be the central research agenda, and the comparison of effective and ineffective organizational units continued to be the dominant research strategy. But the search for explanatory variables

was broadening. Between 1947 and 1961, more than eighty studies of large organizations were conducted in factories, utilities, unions, administrative and marketing organizations, hospitals, and civic, educational, and political organizations. Likert's book *New Patterns of Management*, published in 1961, summarized the principles and practices used by the highest producing managers and proposed a more effective system of management. The theories of management developed by Likert described a participative style of management that has only recently been embraced in the United States as a key to increased productivity and better employee morale.

Political behavior was an early and continuing area of interest within SRC. Initially much smaller than the Economic Behavior Program or the Organizational Behavior and Human Relations Program, and originally part of the Public Affairs Program when it was initiated in 1949, this area of study would culminate in a separate center in 1970. By 1956, the Political Behavior Program was separate from Public Affairs. The research in Public Affairs began as a series of small-scale national surveys of public understanding and evaluation of national affairs,



Elizabeth Douvan was one of a few women at ISR in the early years. When she asked to be involved in a 1954 study for the Boy Scouts of America, she was told that it was doubtful "those men who are on the board of the Boy Scouts would sit still for having a girl tell them what they should be doing." So Douvan had a collaborator who represented the study to the board. She found that "once they could see that I knew the study, I could answer their questions about it and so forth, they were perfectly content." The study focused on a national sample of boys 14 through 16 years of age to determine their primary needs, problems and concerns, the extent of their organizational life, and their unsatisfied needs for leisure activity. In 1956 Douvan directed a study for the Girl Scouts of America for a comparable study of adolescent girls. She is pictured here (second from right), working on the Girl Scout Study. One of those who assisted with the development of the questionnaire was Margaret Mead, who spent a day with Douvan, Steve Withey, Carol Kay, and Joe Adelson going over the questionnaire. The results of the study provided some of the earliest baseline data for describing the adolescent population of the United States. Actively involved in research projects today at ISR, Douvan has focused on adolescence, women, and the family.

Staff at ISR accurately predicted, although unofficially, the late switch of independent voters to Harry Truman and the outcome of the 1948 election.

especially as they concerned American relations with other countries. A 1947 survey on public views on American foreign policy began with the following questions: “1. Now that the war is over, how do you feel about the way the countries of the world are getting along together? 2. In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the United States has been acting in world affairs? Why do you feel that way? 3. Some people think that since the war this country has gone too far in concerning itself with problems in other parts of the world. How do you feel about this?”³⁵

Instructions for interviewers in all programs emphasized the importance of approaching the interviewee in the correct manner, demonstrating the care with which interviews were conducted. Ongoing research on interview methodology reflected issues illustrated in these instructions: “In this study the way in which you introduce yourself and the subject is especially important for two reasons: 1. the subject is so big and important that people are likely to be ‘scared off’ if it sounds too formidable and impressive; 2. the introduction ‘structures’ the respondent’s thinking, so that he knows in general what he is going to be talking about. If the introduction is misleading, he starts off on the wrong foot... It is also very important, however, that you not mention the specific subject matter of the questions, for we are very interested in the spontaneous comments people make about specific problems in foreign affairs while answering the early questions in the interview.”³⁶ SRC staff presented findings of the Public Affairs Program studies to groups in the Department of State and the Council of Foreign Relations, among others.

As a measure of political interest and participation, a 1948 questionnaire on foreign affairs contained two questions relating to the population’s intention to vote. With the answers to these two questions, staff at ISR accurately predicted, although unofficially, the late switch of independent voters to Harry Truman and the outcome of the 1948 election. The commercial pollsters, on the other hand, missed the presidential forecast. The certainty of Truman’s defeat was so widespread that the *Chicago Tribune* announced the loss in front-page headlines before the returns

were in. Unlike the polls, the prediction at ISR was based on a national probability sample. The first national election study, conducted after the 1948 election by Angus Campbell and Robert Kahn, established SRC's emphasis on a social-psychological approach to the study of individual electoral behavior.

In 1952, an elaborate investigation of the behavior of the national electorate during an election period was undertaken by Angus Campbell and Warren Miller within the Public Affairs Program. The study focused on psychological factors mediating the individual's external world and his or her behavior. The factors included personal characteristics such as self-confidence and sense of obligation in the role of citizen. Two years later, inquiries were extended to the question of group influence

on voting during the congressional elections. In 1955, the Rockefeller Foundation provided a grant for research on the 1956 presidential election; this study duplicated sections of the 1952 study and pursued the work begun on the role of group membership in influencing political attitudes and action. By 1960, the first national panel study of political behavior was established. Reinterviews were taken in 1958 with a large portion of the 1956 election study respondents, and repeated in 1960, when fourth and fifth interviews were obtained with the 1956 sample. This study allowed a detailed comparison of electoral behavior in three very different elections and provided an opportunity to analyze stability and change in a variety of politically relevant social and economic phenomena. Methodologically, many innovations resulted from the need to combine survey data with other kinds of data, both



Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Angus Campbell (left to right) discuss the National Election Study in 1956. Warren Miller was director of the Center for Political Studies from 1970 to 1981. He came to ISR in 1951 and worked with Campbell and others throughout the 1950s and 1960s who were pivotal in the introduction of social-psychological factors to the study of voting behavior.

individual and aggregate. Census data, election statistics, content analysis of newspapers, and roll call records of legislative behavior were united with survey data for direct tests of hypotheses embracing phenomena usually treated at separate and different analytic levels. This added both historical depth and contemporary contextual breadth to the analysis of political behavior.

Early research projects in the Public Affairs Program included the following: analysis of public attitudes towards programs of American aid to Europe; an assessment of public interest in problems of civil defense; a study of big business from the perspective of the general public; and a study regarding attitudes toward atomic energy developments, which was made possible by a grant from the Michigan Memorial Phoenix Project. Studies of public reaction to various international events, foreign policies, and national and state problems continued to be studied throughout the 1950s. As with most programs in SRC, sociopsychological factors were the core of the studies. The overall purpose of the program was to conduct research studies that resulted in a clearer social-psychological theory of the determinants of reaction to significant social events and widespread social influences. Studies in the program showed that the public's evaluation and decision-making result from patterns of attitudes and that these patterns are related to people's values and beliefs about their identity.

By the mid-1950s, the study of mental health was another important focus of work at SRC. In 1951, the SRC undertook a study of public understanding of mental health problems, a new area in survey research, funded by the National Institute of Mental Health. The study was successful and led to other studies on the sense of personal effectiveness. In 1957, the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health requested a national survey of adjustment problems to gather information on the state of emotional and behavioral well-being in the nation and the prevalence and distribution of symptoms of both mental illness and well-being. It was the most extensive sample survey of mental health undertaken at the time. Gerald Gurin, Joseph Veroff, and Sheila Feld reported on the results in *Americans View their Mental Health*.

SAMPLING SECTION

The primary task of the Sampling Section was to design and execute samples needed by the various programs of SRC, but the contributions of the section were wide-ranging. They included consulting on statistical problems; consulting on sample designs for other groups, universities, and countries; researching the development and application of new sampling methods; teaching sampling methods in university courses; and training sampling statisticians from other countries.

Leslie Kish and Irene Hess directed the Sampling Section through the 1960s. One of the major contributions was the development of methods of probability sampling and the application of these methods to the complex problems of social research. Methods of “controlled selection” made it possible to use relatively small but widespread samples to represent national populations. *Survey Sampling*, published by Kish in 1965, became a standard reference book for students and practitioners. In 1962 Kish began the successful Sampling Program for Foreign Statisticians, with emphasis on training sampling statisticians for the developing world.



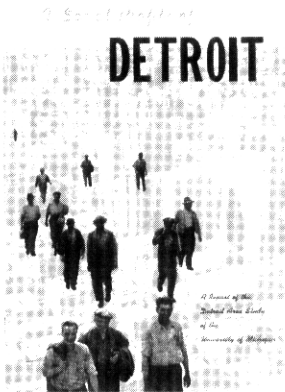
Ruth Griggs and Leslie Kish plan one of ISR's early samples.

FIELD SECTION

Within the Interview Methodology Research Program, Charles Cannell directed studies that first focused on measuring the frequency and magnitude of response problems and went on to analyze the causes of such problems in the 1960s. Studies were also conducted on interviewing techniques and question wording and structure so as to increase response validity. Cannell and Robert Kahn published *The Dynamics of Interviewing: Theory, Techniques, and Cases* in 1957. In the late 1960s Cannell conducted research designed to improve the accuracy of responses in survey interviews by overcoming problems of memory and perceived threat of embarrassment. For example, the amount of talking

and interacting the interviewer did and the amount of positive reinforcement used affected the quality and quantity of the respondent's answers.

STUDIES IN COOPERATION WITH OTHERS



*Cover for
A Social Profile
of Detroit:
A Report of
the Detroit
Area Study
(1952).*

The Detroit Area Study (DAS), established in 1951, was a joint program with the sociology department of the University of Michigan and SRC. Partially funded by the Ford Foundation, DAS was administered through the sociology department. The goals of DAS were to train students in the methods of field research in the social sciences, to provide Michigan faculty members with relevant data for basic research, and to supply the state with socially useful data regarding its major metropolitan area. The problems investigated initially included political behavior, voluntary group membership, social stratification, child-rearing practices, religious preferences, intra- and intercommunity

migration, and the meaning of work. Each year, a faculty member in the social sciences undertook a research project in one of these problem areas. Today, the DAS is administered through the Survey Methodology Program at ISR with the sociology department. It is especially valuable because it provides students with an opportunity to participate in a study from beginning to end, thereby gaining a better understanding of survey research. The students are able to participate in conceptualization of the problem, the questionnaire construction, sampling, interviewing, and coding and data analysis.

The field of medicine has also benefited from resources at ISR. From March 1954 to March 1955, the SRC assisted the University of Michigan's Polio Vaccine Evaluation Center, under the direction of Dr. Thomas Francis Jr., in the program leading to the evaluation of the effectiveness of the Salk polio vaccine. A staff of some 100 coders performed the statistical and coding operations of the survey, using 1.8 million IBM punch cards containing 144 million pieces of information.

Another study, directed by Ronald Freedman of the University of Michigan's department of sociology and Miami University's Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, was a national survey of sociopsychological factors associated with family size.

More than 2,700 married women of child-bearing age were interviewed throughout the United States in 1955. Staff at SRC helped develop the questionnaire, collected the interviews, and coded the data. The study was significant because it was one of the earliest studies to focus on women and their attitudes regarding family size and family relations. Study directors anticipated funding problems for the study because

it was one of the first major studies to ask what were considered "personal" questions of women. The study results also had implications for practical problems such as housing, educational facilities, and transportation systems, which are affected by fluctuations in population.



*Angus Campbell,
Rensis Likert, and
Dorwin Cartwright
in 1955.*

RCGD IN THE 1950s

The work at RCGD, directed by Dorwin Cartwright from 1948 to 1959, rested on the conviction that principles of group behavior can be identified and studied, and that they operate independently of the purposes or specific activities of the group. RCGD studies focused on group life and group behavior and initially worked to reduce the gap between the body of social science knowledge and the utilization of the knowledge by society. Using both laboratory studies and field studies, RCGD began work on issues related to discrimination before the civil rights movement had begun, and in this way was very much ahead of its time.

Before RCGD staff moved to Michigan they worked on a project in Philadelphia, introducing a curriculum related to intergroup relations into some schools and evaluating its effects. Yet another study included an analysis of the attitudes of parents toward intercultural education in the schools and of the influence that parents exert upon children in these areas. And another study conducted in conjunction with the Inter-racial Committee of the State of Connecticut looked at the development of discriminatory attitudes in children.³⁷

A program of research developed in the early 1950s around the concept of group membership. The quality and degree of membership that a person had in a particular group was thought to determine in large part the group's effect on the person's behavior, attitudes, feelings, and motivation.³⁸ One project studied women in a large public utility and found that factors affecting their identification with groups included the amount of emotional support available and the degree to which their aspirations were being met. Another study investigated the interpersonal relations among professional and nonprofessional staff members in a child welfare agency. The results of these studies and others were examined in laboratory experiments, and the results showed that groups develop pressures toward uniformity of opinion among their members.

The questions surrounding multiple-group membership and the interrelations among groups was investigated in a variety of settings by Ronald Lippitt. Work done among children in school suggested that by viewing the classroom group and the family as overlapping groups, the linking mechanisms between behavior at home and in the classroom could be studied. Another study focused on the decision-making process of youth, and the variety of groups and individuals who influence decision-making.

A study was completed in the early 1950s in a programmatic area on communication and influence. It analyzed how groups were formed in a housing project and how they communicated with

and influenced each other.³⁹ Studies on the analysis of social power investigated the interactions of children at the University of Michigan Fresh Air Camp, and a theory concerning the sources of social power was developed from these and other investigations of children in classroom and other settings.⁴⁰ John French made significant contributions to the theory of social power during this time based on research with children and individuals in other settings, such as industry, as well as in laboratory research.⁴¹ Work in RCGD also focused on the emotional effects of group membership because researchers believed that it was from group life that individuals derive some their deepest satisfactions and some of their keenest conflicts and frustrations.⁴²

An interest in the theory of group behavior and the goal of RCGD to utilize research findings led to work on understanding the process of planned change. A study was initiated in 1950 at Michigan when the Interfraternity Council's Council on Discrimination requested the assistance of the RCGD. Program director Ronald Lippitt developed a questionnaire to study the attitudes of the fraternity members toward various minority groups. Part of the study involved analyzing the factors affecting the willingness of the members to change their attitudes when the group was provided with research data about itself. The study sparked a good deal of controversy and discussion on campus.⁴³



RCGD staff and students at work in 1950, including: Lester Libo, Ezra Stotland, Arthur Cohen, John Gyr (left to right), and Leon Festinger (back to camera). SRC researcher Kermit Schooler is in lower right corner.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF ISR

RENSIS LIKERT BEGAN INVESTIGATING possibilities of setting up survey research centers in other countries in the mid-1950s. In 1956, he toured seven countries in the Middle East and Asia at the request of the U.S. International Cooperation Administration to help ascertain how surveys could be used by the administration and various governments. Staff members from the Economic Behavior Program went to New Delhi to assist the National Council of Applied Economic Research of India in the design and conduct of consumer surveys of certain aspects of India's economy. Research collaboration, consultation, and assistance was provided to research centers in group dynamics in Israel and in India.

By the mid-1960s, ISR was placing a greater emphasis on assisting the development of social research in other nations. In 1964, with funding from the Agency for International Development, Donald Pelz from the Organizational Behavior Program went to the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi to help create a survey research facility. Charles Lininger went to Lima, Peru, in 1963 to assist the Peruvian National Planning Board and other government agencies in the establishment of a survey research center, a project also funded by the Agency for International Development. The Peruvian Sample Survey Center was actively conducting surveys by 1968 and producing basic social data for planning and evaluating Peru's economic development.

Studies involving comparative research were also pursued. John French conducted a study on the interpersonal dimensions of decision-making in the 1950s, testing theories of employee participation in a Norwegian factory in order to discover whether the results of a similar earlier experiment would be the same in a different culture.⁴⁴ The Economic Behavior Program compared the role of the consumer in the United States, Western Europe, and developing countries in the 1960s.⁴⁵ The Organizational Behavior Program compared organizational life in England, Norway, Yugoslavia, and the United States.⁴⁶ The Mental Health in Industry Program developed a study that extended to Scandinavia and western Germany. SRC was the American participant in a study by ten nations of the sociological implications of the use of time.

Within the Political Behavior Program, a major study of British general elections was launched in 1962-1963 under the direction of Donald Stokes. Collaboratively conducted by SRC and Nuffield College, Oxford University, the research design replicated the 1958 election study in the United States. Within the Center for Political Studies, established in 1970 with Warren Miller as its director, the Comparative Politics Program built on the studies done in the 1960s of the mass electorate in the United Kingdom and countries in Western Europe with research in Canada, Australia, Japan, and Brazil. Another set of studies looked at the political socialization and the transformation of national political values in the United States, England, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Finland. A principal element in the design of these studies was a cross-generational study of political socialization.

In the late 1960s, international work moved away from individual and special studies to a programmatic series of studies unified by a common theme, such as that of political socialization in the Center for Political Studies. Another example was the project of Comparative Studies in the Latin Cultural Areas, which was initiated in April 1969 and compared European and Latin American patterns of political behavior in Argentina, Brazil, and Italy. In 1967, the scale of international activities was such that Arnold Tannenbaum was asked to assume the position of Coordinator of International Research for ISR. The exchange of ideas with foreign colleagues was considered essential to the continuing education of social scientists at ISR. Foreign visitors came through ISR daily, and a number of foreign colleagues were invited to take up residence at ISR for periods of up to a year.

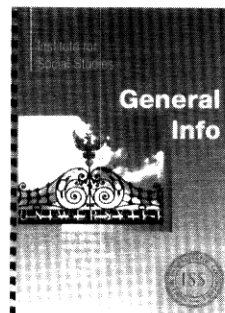
In 1990, the University of Michigan initiated work in Eastern Europe and began improving its working relations with educational and governmental leaders there. Robert Zajonc traveled to Poland to plan for an ISR-like organization there would foster interdisciplinary research and serve as a bridge between Poland's universities and its independent research organizations. It was named the Center for Social Research/Osrodek Studiow Spolecznych, and a director was appointed in October 1990.

The current director of ISR, David L. Featherman, envisions ISR as part of an international community. A joint venture was established between ISR and the Research Center for Contemporary China in 1996. In 1997, ISR and the Population Studies Center together with the Center for Science Development of the Human Sciences

Research Council of South Africa received funding from the Mellon Foundation for a program to train social scientists in quantitative methodology.

Throughout its history ISR has both trained international social scientists to do social research in their own countries and performed research in international settings for a comparative perspective.

Likert's early vision of creating survey research centers in other parts of the world recurs as a goal of current director David L. Featherman. In a 1997 five-year planning document, the ISR Planning Group stated that within the international context of social science ISR has a role to play in coordinating and organizing a network of collaborating ISR-like centers in three or four world regions. Efforts in China and South Africa are first steps towards crystallizing such an international network.



*Cover of the
Institute for
Social Studies
brochure,
University
of Warsaw,
Poland, 1996.*

THE 1960s: THE BLOSSOMING OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

The social-psychological core of ISR that emerged in the 1950s continued as a theme of much of the research.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES GREW BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS IN THE 1960s. Although the National Science Foundation had funded social research before 1960, the announcement in December 1960 that there would be “greater financial support for research in the social sciences” was testimony of the increasing importance and recognition of social research.⁴⁷ There was a rapid expansion of social programs in the 1960s, and the uses and support of social sciences by the federal government grew considerably during this period.⁴⁸ The growth at ISR was visually apparent with the construction and completion of a sorely needed new building in 1965, which the staff outgrew literally months after they moved in. The Field Section conducted over 17,000 personal interviews in 1964–1965 and 149 research projects were active. Institute revenue for the same year was approximately \$3 million, of which all but four percent was spent in fulfillment of research contracts and grants and services to teaching and research agencies. By 1967, over 2,000 scientific publications had been issued and over 200 doctoral candidates had received support and training from ISR. An increasingly complex organization administratively, the Institute created a new position of assistant director 1965. Stanley Seashore was the first to fill this position, followed by James Wessel in 1969.

The social-psychological core of ISR that emerged in the 1950s continued as a theme of much of the research. Rensis Likert described ISR in 1965, stating that “although the Institute’s interests extend over a broad range of the social sciences, the Institute has a unique character which is readily identified. Its basic orientation is social-psychological... its initial approach is through the individual. The basic concept which lies near the center of most of the Institute’s work is that of motivation. Nearly all of the Institute’s studies are concerned in some way with human motives, their origins, development, change, frustration, conflict, and fulfillment.”⁴⁹ The nature of some of the research programs did change during the 1960s as several longitudinal studies were launched. ISR flourished and expanded during this period and demonstrated its ability to

respond to changing societal problems. Research in the 1960s was conducted against a backdrop of assassinations, race riots, and the war in Vietnam. New programmatic areas of research were established, and, by 1970, two new centers were added to ISR, the Center for Political Studies (CPS) and the Center for the Research Utilization of Scientific Knowledge (CRUSK).

A number of research activities were initiated in the 1960s with a focus on urban problems and urban social change. These were intertwined with an accurate perception nationwide that the number of urban poor as well as the social ills accompanying poverty had increased. In 1960, the Intercenter Program on Children, Youth, and Family Life at ISR launched a five-year project in Chicago aimed at reducing the juvenile delinquency rate in some neighborhoods and evaluating the factors most strongly affecting the changes that resulted. Another ISR program was created in 1968: the Intercenter Program on Urban Research was established in response to the need for research in large urban areas. Initially chaired by John Lansing, the program was created to coordinate the many activities at ISR tied to urban studies by the late 1960s. After Lansing's untimely death in 1970, the program was absorbed into SRC as the Urban Environmental Research Program.

A nationwide longitudinal study, Youth in Transition, was launched in 1965 under the direction of Jerald Bachman to study young men as they entered tenth grade and to follow them until five years after most had graduated from high school. First funded by the U.S. Office of Education, the study focused on the causes and consequences of dropping out of high school and the effectiveness of various high schools. Educational attainment was found to be highly predictable from a combination of family background characteristics, test scores, earlier scholastic performance, and attitudes about education. The longitudinal results indicated that many differences linked to educational attainment were evident at the beginning of tenth grade. Of all the background characteristics measured, the study found that the socioeconomic level of a family had the most pervasive influence on a boy's development. Led by Bachman and Lloyd Johnston, this project developed into a major continuing program of SRC, Monitoring the Future.

SRC IN THE 1960s: RIOTS AND POVERTY

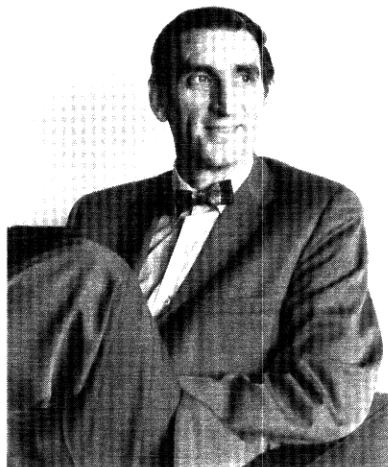
Following the 1967 race riots throughout the country, SRC director Angus Campbell, with the collaboration of Howard Schuman, a relatively new sociologist in SRC, initiated a study in 1968 investigating the attitudes, experiences, beliefs, and expectations with respect to race relations of both white and black people in fifteen major American cities. Incorporated into the study were data gathered during the 1964 and 1968 election studies. Findings emphasized that a large proportion of blacks wanted both social integration and black identity, contradicting an earlier study done by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, known as the Kerner Commission, which stated that there was a movement toward two separate and unequal societies.⁵⁰ Another SRC study, led by Monica Blumenthal, Robert Kahn, and Frank Andrews in 1969, addressed the origins of violence, the use of violence as a means of social change, the perceptions individuals and groups have of violence, and the assessment of a person's attitudes toward violence in light of their feelings about various groups.⁵¹ Funded by the National Science Foundation, the study included a nationwide sample of 1,374 men. The findings showed the majority of American men did not agree that violence is necessary to produce social change.

Angus Campbell continued as director of SRC throughout the 1960s. A strong interdisciplinary tradition continued with the addition of a social medical researcher, Sidney Cobb, in 1961, which encouraged the introduction of medical and physiological interests and their intersection with social research.

A new programmatic area was developed in 1960 focusing on student development. With Theodore Newcomb as principal investigator, a major study in the program measured the significant changes occurring in students during the undergraduate years, focusing on the critical experiences that caused students to alter their interests, goals, or values. The University of Michigan was used as a "living laboratory," and student changes at Michigan were examined in light of comparable data from other colleges.

Daniel Katz and Patricia Gurin studied student subculture and identity changes in several black colleges. The study also examined motivational concepts, including the impact of the changing civil rights situation on the motivation of African-American students. In the late 1960s, investigators focused on the impact of educational settings (ranging from manpower retraining programs to elite universities) on individual motivations and values.

The Mental Health in Industry Program continued through the 1960s. It was the largest of the intercenter programs during that decade. A joint effort of the SRC and RCGD, the program focused on the effects of contemporary environmental factors on the mental and physical health of adults, with special emphasis on the social-psychological factors in large-scale organizations. Many of the studies were broad in scope and relied on a merger of the disciplines of social psychology and medicine. Studies in the early 1960s were concerned with the relationship between the position a person occupies in an organization and his health, the relationship of shift work to family life, and threats to self-esteem as they occur in the process of management appraisal. These studies and others supported the conclusion that the industrial environment has powerful effects on the mental and physical health of its workers.



James Morgan started at ISR in 1949 in the Economic Behavior Program. He directed the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), initiated in 1968, for many years. PSID was the first research effort to follow a nationwide sample of American families over a period of several years and search for causes of changing economic fortunes.

The SRC's Economic Behavior Program added three major activities in the late 1960s: a panel study on changes in the economic status of families with primary attention to the poverty sector, known as the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID); a panel study on consumer's debt behavior; and comparative studies in the international arena of aspirations and economic progress in the United States and Western Europe. Panel studies enable the same individuals and families to be followed for several years,

“...attempts to eliminate poverty by changing people’s behavior or attitudes seem unlikely to succeed in the short run.”
—James Morgan

making it possible to research questions requiring information about several generations and to provide data on changes over time. PSID was supported by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity and directed by James Morgan, James Smith, and John Lansing. Initiated in 1968, it was the largest study undertaken to date by ISR. The study involved interviewing a national sample of 5,000 families (nearly 2,000 of them chosen because they had incomes equal to or below the federal poverty line), to be followed annually over a five-year period. In 1974, Morgan reported of the panel study that “the most significant finding from the study...is that movement in and out of the poverty sector has little to do with the main wage-earner’s attitudes or his behavior patterns. Rather it has more to do with changes in family size, who else in the family is working.... Implications of these initial findings are that attempts to eliminate poverty by changing people’s behavior or attitudes seem unlikely to succeed in the short run.”⁵² By 1976, there were 16,000 individuals involved in the study with eight years of computer-readable data on some 3,000 variables. After the study’s tenth year, Morgan and others in the study struggled to find funding sources and ways to direct findings so as to affect public-policy decisions. By the mid-1980s, the findings of PSID, now supported as a national data resource by the National Science Foundation, were considered “common property of the social science community.”⁵³

Morgan faced the dilemma of wanting to make relevant public-policy recommendations, especially in light of anti-poverty efforts by the federal government, but needing to retain the study’s impersonal and objective image before respondents and sponsor agencies.⁵⁴ The problem of how to present its findings to the public was a problem ISR continually struggled with but which it considered important to its mission.

The value of the Survey of Consumer Finances, which continued through the 1960s, was described by George Katona in 1963: “In more than one respect, the surveys of Consumer Finances represent the history of [the] Economic Behavior Program.”⁵⁵ Katona noted that the historical data represented in its fifteen years of surveys was a valuable resource and that within the survey there was an

opportunity for a variety of new research. Funding ended in 1971 when the Federal Reserve Board made the decision to conduct the survey itself. The Survey of Attitude Change, later called the Survey of Consumer Attitudes, was performed quarterly until 1978, and monthly since then. It provided documentation of turning points in changes in consumer attitudes and had a strong predictive value. The attitude surveys also were able to test underlying assumptions made through panel studies. Differences in purchases of people who were “optimistic” or “pessimistic” at the beginning of the period could be tested, for example. Parts of studies explained the recent past or forthcoming changes. New questions were formulated according to new events; for example, in 1962 questions were asked about the stock market decline as well as the tax reduction proposal. These studies yielded topical information, aided economic policy decisions, and added to knowledge about consumers’ modes of thinking.

Philip Converse directed a study on the stability and change in political values, attitudes, and behaviors of the American electorate within the Political Behavior Program in the early 1960s. The study was innovative in its design; it demonstrated a successful national panel sample of a mobile population and integrated individual and aggregate data. With respect to the analysis of attitudinal change, the panel study provided insight into significant differences in the stability of various phenomena. Basic group affiliations, for example, such as identification with a specific religion or political party, showed a stability exceeding that of many of the other social attributes of individuals such as occupation.

The publication of *The American Voter* in 1960 by Angus Campbell, Warren Miller, Philip Converse, and Donald Stokes revolutionized the political science discipline by introducing social-psychological factors into analyses of voting behavior and by utilizing sampling and personal interviews to gather data. For the first time, party identification and general feelings about “the times” and “candidates” relative to specific issues were introduced into investigations of the voting behavior of the electorate. Reporting on ten years of inquiring into the factors influencing the electorate in connection

with presidential and congressional elections, the publication placed the study of voter behavior in a much richer context than it had previously been studied.

Factors that were found to relate to job performance were diverse work, freedom when combined with coordination, high levels of interaction with colleagues, self-reliance, and high dedication to the job.

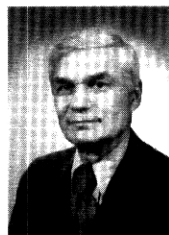
Kent Jennings began work in the mid-1960s on a study of political socialization of high school students, focusing on the contributions of the family and the school system to the shaping of political values. The study was based on a national sample of high school seniors located in a national sample of high schools. The students were interviewed along with a parent or guardian of each student. Social studies teachers for the high school seniors were also interviewed as were the principals of the schools. The findings showed that the political orientations of children differed from those of their parents more often than expected.

The Organizational Behavioral Program continued through the 1960s, emphasizing research on the determinants of organizational effectiveness and on the principles of organizational change. Work focused on conditions facilitating creativity and job involvement in formal organizations, distribution of control in organizations, and the roles and role behavior of executives in government. In a study of scientific laboratories and scientists, over 2,000 scientists in differing types of laboratories were examined. Among the factors that were found to relate to job performance were diverse work, freedom when combined with coordination, high levels of interaction with colleagues, self-reliance, and high dedication to the job.

The Public Affairs and Mass Communication Program changed its name in the mid-1950s to Public Communication and Influence and was renamed again in the early 1960s simply Communication and Influence. Researchers worked toward a better theory of cognition, cognitive structure and cognitive change, and the functional relations between cognitive structure and behavior. As opposed to the Public Affairs Program of the 1950s—which had as a central core of interest the public's relations to its own major social institutions, such as business, various sectors of government, the public library, etc.—research in the 1960s placed more emphasis on

the cognitive aspect of attitude. Stephen Withey played an important role in developing theories of change in cognitive organization as crucial elements in communication, influence, and behavior change processes.

Withey worked for several years on studies relating to how people react to threats. He developed a theory with an emphasis on reactions over time and studied methodological problems on measurement and assessment. Studies documented the reactions of the American public to threatening communications about diseases, the threat of war, and other threatening national and international events. Studies of teenagers and preteens looked at how they saw themselves, their families, their school, their future, their organizations, their peers, and the values and labels and categories prescribing behavior. Withey's studies made significant contributions to the concept of self, sex identity, the social role of varying organizations, the experiential meaning of social class, the personal role of peers, and the functioning of values in structuring behavior. The comparisons between sexes and among age levels made up the major contributions of the research data. In the late 1960s, the Communication and Influence Program studied popular music as a way of understanding teenagers and teenage culture.



*Alvin Zander served as director of RCGD from 1959 to 1978. His book *Motives and Goals in Groups*, published in 1971, described research at RCGD into the origins of group goals.*

RCGD IN THE 1960s: PERCEPTION AND DISCRIMINATION

The new building, built in 1965, provided RCGD with a much needed suite of laboratory rooms for research on group behavior, although the center struggled with finding funds for adequate equipment. In 1969, the laboratory facilities were remodeled to provide smaller individual laboratory rooms with more easily controlled laboratory conditions and an improved physical environment. RCGD focused on themes continuing from the previous decade—group performance, group structure, group goals, and group pressure—incorporating issues relating to discrimination and change. The director of RCGD throughout the 1960s and most of the 1970s was Alvin Zander, who replaced Dorwin Cartwright in 1959.

Research in the early 1960s focused on conditions under which personal motives may facilitate or inhibit perception and discrimination. Robert Zajonc studied social facilitation, sorting out the conditions under which the presence of an audience might improve or hamper people's performance on tasks. He also demonstrated that mere exposure of people to an object or persons arouses more favorable responses to them afterward. He addressed questions relating to group performance in laboratory experiments, such as how accurately people recognize the nature of the social structure of their group and how their understanding of that structure affects their performance.



Robert Zajonc with equipment used to measure reaction times in experiments, 1961. He was director of RCGD from 1983 to 1989 and director of ISR from 1989 to 1994.

Eugene Burnstein, another researcher at RCGD, examined the conditions determining the readiness of group members to change the structure of their organization. His studies on

the kinds of phenomena associated with the learning, perception, and reorganization of group structure made it possible to identify some systematic biases that influence how individuals perceive and behave in a social structure. One series of experiments demonstrated that, almost without exception, groups take remedial action at once when a member occupies a position of power which is incommensurate with his ability. Another Burnstein investigation demonstrated that when a group lowered the status of a member, that person performed less well on behalf of the unit, whereas a person whose position was raised by the group performed his or her work better.

Researching group goals, Alvin Zander studied the determinants of the goals members chose for their group, and he looked at how these goals changed over a period of time. Zander found that groups with greater cohesiveness were more conservative in their goals than groups with less cohesiveness. John French explored physiological consequences of socially induced stress.

He contributed to the development of methods for measuring physiological responses to stress and identifying the characteristics of a person most relevant to his or her mental health.

Martin Gold began a three-year inquiry in 1968 into the relationships between aspirations and anxieties with respect to achievement. He studied pupils' scholastic performance as part of the Program on Children, Youth, and Family Life, continuing work done earlier in the 1960s on delinquency. The aim of Gold's research was to place the study of the achievement-behavior determinants in a broad social-psychological context. By the mid-1970s, his research had moved into developing data and theory on juvenile delinquency and on influencing public policy in that area. Whereas delinquency was previously studied through official school, police, and court records, Gold's investigations in the 1970s used new methods such as personal interviews and national surveys.

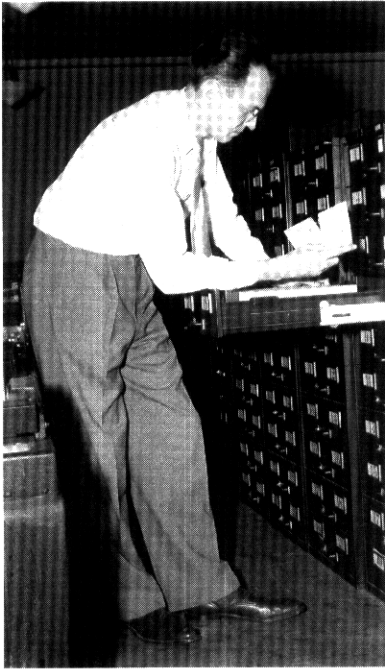
Within RCGD, work continued on the objectives of groups, the origins of changes in social structure, the nature of influence, and the mathematical bases of group formation. Founder Kurt Lewin had argued that the use of the mathematical concepts of topology and set theory needed to be included in any formal theory of social psychology. Work in RCGD in the 1950s focused on the mathematical theory of linear graphs and directed graphs. In the 1950s and 1960s, Frank Harary focused on graph theory and allied mathematical systems to the development of analyses of social groups. His book, *Graph Theory*, was published in 1969, representing over twenty years of research.

ISR EXPANDS: ICPR AND CRUSK

INTER-UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH (ICPR)

The establishment of the Inter-university Consortium for Political Research in 1962, directed by Warren Miller, reflected both the strength of the Political Behavior Program and the creative manner in which ISR responded to perceived needs. At the initial organizational meeting, twenty-one universities participated to

form a partnership to provide access collectively to resources for quantitative political analysis. The National Science Foundation contributed \$95,000 toward the initial data repository. Through the Consortium, the administrative, technical, and professional resources of the Political Behavior Program were organized to develop and maintain a major repository of data. The central goal of the Consortium was to give individual researchers everywhere full access to large, complex data sets, and to relieve them of major costs. A range of data processing services were offered as well, including special computations and data processing for members. By 1968, there were 125 participating universities. A summer training program in quantitative political behavior research was offered beginning in 1963 and by 1966, it was attended by 135 graduate students and faculty members.



Floyd Mann directed CRUSK from its inception in 1964 to 1973. Mann came to SRC in 1947 and some of his early research in the Organizational Behavior Program focused on the effect of technological innovations on organizations and on worker motivation and satisfaction. Other research focused on studying and creating change in social organizations. He is pictured here in the early 1950s with punch cards.

CENTER FOR THE RESEARCH UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE (CRUSK)

In late 1962, University of Michigan vice president Roger Heyns appointed an eleven-person faculty advisory committee, with Ronald Lippitt as chairman, to review uses of research in social sciences. Lippitt had come to ISR with RCGD when it moved from MIT in 1948. In 1963, after several meetings, the committee concluded that a new center should be established within ISR. Named the Center for the Research Utilization of Scientific Knowledge (CRUSK), it would fill the gap between the creation of new knowledge by scientific research and the use of the new knowledge. Effective on July 1, 1964, the objectives of CRUSK were “to inquire how various persons and groups spread and employ new knowledge; to consider what

kinds of training these persons need; and to examine the moral issues involved.”⁵⁶ Floyd C. Mann was the first director. In 1966–1967 CRUSK received a five-year grant from the Kellogg Foundation to assist in underwriting the initial staffing and development of programs.

Throughout the history of CRUSK there were discussions of the central mission of CRUSK and a constant tension between research and social action. In a memo to Kahn from Mann in early 1964, Mann describes a proposed project to study the closing of a Burroughs Corporation plant. The description of the project provides an example of the dual mission that made it difficult for CRUSK members to achieve consensus on the purpose of CRUSK. “One facet might be concerned with the identification of the assumptions being used by the social agency, community service, and union groups about how best, when, and how long to help groups make the transition from employment to unemployment and back again.... Our second interest in the Burrough’s [sic] study might focus more sharply on action. Instead of simply letting the forces in the natural experiment that have been set into motion by the closing of the plant play out to whatever end results might occur without social scientists intervening and experimenting, it might be possible to establish for some sub-population of affected employees and their families different programs for handling this period of major life crises.”⁵⁷

During its early years, CRUSK focused on the application of knowledge about social and behavioral research, and its activities were concentrated in two areas. Lippitt directed the Socialization and Education Program, which focused on the teaching of social science and innovations in curricula for younger students and on the diffusion of research findings among agencies dealing with young people. He conducted a study demonstrating that the use of a method called cross-helping made it possible to reverse an older child’s negative attitudes toward learning by giving him or her an opportunity to help others learn. A set of school materials was developed to assist in training older students to help younger ones.

The Complex Organizations Program within CRUSK was directed by Mann and worked to link basic research to current organizational programs of action and change. The goal was to collaborate with management in business, industry, and government in studies of organizational change and self-improvement. For example, the Office of Administration at NASA worked with CRUSK to explore ways of increasing organizational effectiveness. Another study in the federal government focused on professional scientists' responses to data on effectiveness of scientific work groups. After 1964, more emphasis was placed on studying the process and problems associated with knowledge utilization.

THE 1970S: ISR AS A NATIONAL SOCIAL OBSERVATORY

WITH THE RETIREMENT OF RENSIS LIKERT ON OCTOBER 1, 1970, A decade of transition at ISR began. Many members of the founding cohort would retire in the 1970s, and a new group of researchers, including Thomas Juster and Howard Schuman, would provide leadership. George Katona, head of the Economic Behavior Program, also retired in 1970. Angus Campbell was appointed the second director of ISR in 1970, and Robert Kahn replaced him as director of SRC. The high caliber of research performed at ISR was recognized with the election of Philip Converse and James Morgan to the National Academy of Sciences in 1973 and Angus Campbell in 1980.

The early faith of the social scientists in providing paths to solutions for society's problems was just as strong in 1970 as it was when the research center started. According to the 1969–1970 annual report to the president, "...[E]very prospect is that we at the Institute will continue our extensive involvement to provide the data on the social health of this nation from which alone can come accurate diagnosis and some sort of alleviation if not eradication of our social ills."⁵⁸ Some of the social ills that ISR addressed in this decade were drug use, violence, pollution, and poverty. It continued to address problems related to ethnicity and discrimination as well. Part of the strength of research programs at ISR was the programmatic development of research through time. Many programs in the areas of economic behavior, organizational life, group dynamics, and political behavior had been continuously active for more than twenty-five years by 1980.



*Robert Kahn joined the Survey Research Center in 1948. He directed studies on economic behavior, and was associated with the Institute's first election study in 1948. His research efforts in earlier years were concentrated on large-scale organizations, both in terms of their productivity and their effects on individual well-being. He was director of the Survey Research Center from 1970 to 1976. His most recent book, *Successful Aging*, co-authored with John Rowe and published in 1998, received wide publicity.*

The acknowledgment of ISR as a national institution was reflected in its receipt of a National Science Foundation institutional grant for \$3.1 million in 1971. The three-year grant for Research Applied to National Needs was to underwrite basic operations and to improve the Institute's research capacities, strengthening it as a national social observatory. The Research Applied to National Needs program was initiated by the National Science Foundation in 1971 and would distribute over \$468 million nationwide to various projects during its seven years of existence.⁵⁹ At ISR, the grant funded research on "social indicators" and was intended to increase the number and quality of indicators available on the social-psychological state of the American people. It was also intended to improve the technical capability of the Institute through computer software improvements and the development of a statistical unit and a research methods program. Additional goals of the grant were to develop an archive for the dissemination of data for a larger community and to improve the capacity of the Institute to disseminate its findings, particularly to policymakers and nonacademic audiences.⁶⁰ ISR formed an external advisory committee as well as a six-member committee to manage the grant and allocate funds within the Institute.

The National Science Foundation grant provided ISR with a good occasion for self-evaluation. The process of writing the grant and administering its funds required close attention to the quality of methodology, the efficiency of procedures, the development of new research programs, the strengthening of existing ones, and the integration of the various research projects in the quality of life area. Further development of OSIRIS III, an integrated system of computer programs designed to handle large sets of data from sample surveys and aggregate statistics, was also made possible by the grant. The funding enabled ISR staff to add to the technical capacities of the software systems and to merge two parallel computer software systems into one. Work on OSIRIS began in 1967 and was widely distributed within the social science community.

As part of an effort to make the results of its research widely known, the grant was also used to fund a syndicated column

on ISR research findings appearing on a weekly basis in daily newspapers. John Lear, previously the science editor of *Saturday Review*, wrote the column, which was distributed by the King Features Syndicate. Never entirely successful, this effort was abandoned within a few years. ISR also published a quarterly newsletter, targeted primarily at researchers and scholars, which had a circulation of 18,000 copies per issue in 1973. Another attempt was made at disseminating findings with the publication of *Economic Outlook U.S.A.* Edited by Thomas Juster, it forecast attitudes about finances, provided analysis of traditional economic indicators, and summarized results of ISR research.

In 1970, a program of national studies to monitor the social indicators of quality of life was initiated through a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation. Strengthened by the National Science Foundation grant, the program attempted to measure the impact of the community—whether it be neighborhood, city, or nation—on the quality of people’s lives. The studies also explored a variety of approaches to measuring the quality of life. They sought to create a set of subjective social indicators that could guide policy decisions by providing an accurate picture of the conditions of society beyond the traditional economic and demographic measures, such as the census or the index of unemployment. Some indicators described the various conditions of society that people experienced (income, housing, commercial and governmental services) while others described the impact of these conditions on people. Still other indicators focused on behaviors, such as rearing children, mobility, or voting. The work on social indicators explored several measurement techniques and established the significance of various areas of life on an individual’s evaluation of his or her well-being.⁶¹

SRC IN THE 1970s

A new area, the National Chicano Studies Program, was begun within SRC in 1977. Directed by Carlos Arce and Patricia Gurin, it was the first national study of Chicanos in the United States.

Fulfilling a need to better identify and document the status of the Chicano population, the study drew the first major sample of the Chicano population and conducted a survey with special emphasis on Chicano group identification, group consciousness, and components of ethnic identity. This study resulted in ethnographic and demographic descriptions as well. The National Chicano Research Network provided a response to the pressures and constraints faced by early-career Chicano faculty. It maintained a monthly newsletter, sponsored training workshops, conducted summer training institutes, and established a Chicano visiting research program.



Stephen B. Withey studied at Northwestern University under Angus Campbell and came to the Survey Research Center in 1948. He was director of SRC from 1976 to 1982. He also held an appointment in the Department of Psychology beginning in 1953.

New leadership in SRC provided the opportunity for new directions in research. Stephen Withey became director of SRC in 1976 when Robert Kahn stepped down. Withey had joined ISR in 1948 and worked in several programs, including Economic Behavior, Human Relations, and Public Affairs. He co-founded the intercenter program of studies on Children, Youth, and Family Life and was also a professor in the psychology department.

Thomas Juster became director of the Economic Behavior Program in 1973, the year he joined ISR. Juster, who was also a member of the economics department, began a new area of research on the use of time by individuals. The studies were designed to provide an empirical base for an expanded system of economic and social accounts and to develop models for a variety of consumer decisions about fertility, participation in the labor force, investment in children, use of leisure time, and others. His studies focused on how individuals perceive and use time in numerous aspects of day-to-day living.

Within the Economic Behavior Program, the Survey of Consumer Attitudes, directed by Richard Curtin since 1976, completed its 100th survey in November 1978.⁶² In the 1970s, the surveys, becoming part of a smaller program within Economic Behavior

called Monitoring Economic Change, devoted substantially more attention to understanding how inflation and the expectation of inflation affected consumers. By 1978, the Panel Study of Income Dynamics was monitoring more than 6,000 families. The study provided convincing evidence that fundamental changes in the composition of the family were among the principal causes of changes in economic status, and that the persistently poor are not as numerous as generally thought.

Work in the Organizational Change Program continued to build on research done in SRC in previous decades in the Organization Behavior program on organization

effectiveness and change by Katz, Likert, Kahn, and others. Edward Lawler worked on the measurement of the effectiveness of change in organizations. The quality of employment survey, a study of employment measures, and a set of studies known as the Quality of Work Program reflected continuing interests in the impact different organizational environments have on people, optimizing jobs and work roles, and organizational forms and processes associated with effectiveness.



Jerald Bachman, Patrick O'Malley, and Lloyd Johnston, (left to right) examining data from the adolescent study Monitoring the Future in 1982.

A new study within Youth and Social Issues, Monitoring the Future, which reported on drug use and lifestyles of American youth, was launched in 1975 and would sustain funding through the 1990s. As a psychology graduate student, Lloyd Johnston participated in a study using the Youth in Transition sample in the 1960s and early 1970s to focus on the prevalence and nature of drug use among young people. The study evolved into a separate program, Monitoring the Future, and Jerald Bachman and Johnston were the first directors of what began as a five-year series of national surveys to collect data on senior classes from approximately 100

The survey has had a major impact on national policies on public health and education, especially regarding the use of drugs, alcohol, and tobacco.

high schools throughout the United States. Eighth and tenth graders were added to the survey in 1991 because, according to Johnston, “it is at these ages that many of the problem behaviors being studied tend to begin, and prevention and intervention efforts are increasingly aimed at these age groups.”⁶³ In 1992, the survey received an \$18 million federal grant from the National Institute on Drug Abuse, one of the largest grants in the history of the University of Michigan. The survey has had a major impact on national policies on public health and education, especially regarding the use of drugs, alcohol, and tobacco. It provides outcome measures for the National Drug Control Strategy and helps set the agenda for national drug control policies.

Within the Family and Sex Roles Program, a national study on mental health was conducted in 1976 by Joseph Veroff, Elizabeth Douvan, and Richard Kulka. Their study replicated and expanded upon the 1957 mental health study which was reported in *Americans View their Mental Health*. The 1976 study found that people were more unhappy about their communities and country, their jobs, and their interpersonal lives than in 1957. People’s attitudes toward family roles, marriage, and parenthood were considered less important—a dramatic change from 1957—and the single woman’s positive evaluation of marriage dropped more than that of any other group.

The Urban Environmental Research Program conducted studies intended to assist policy makers and environmental designers at both the national and local levels. Research addressed urban vs. nonurban quality of life, the quality of life in an urban setting, leisure activities, and housing problems of the elderly.

Research in the Survey Methodology Program in SRC focused on improving survey methods, both the quality of data produced and procedures used. The majority of survey research was conducted by personal interviews until the mid-1970s, when telephone interviewing was explored as another method of collecting data. Charles Cannell, Robert Kahn, and Robert Groves received research grants and contracts from the National Science Foundation and the

National Center for Health Sciences to explore telephone and personal interview survey results, compare techniques for increasing response rates, and evaluate on-line versus off-line telephone interviewing procedures. Cannell also worked on developing and testing techniques for achieving more valid and complete reporting by survey respondents in both personal and telephone interviews. By 1980, the development of computer-assisted telephone interviewing, or CATI, systems led survey research methodology into a new technological era.

Robert Groves joined the Sampling Section in 1975 as one of the directors along with Leslie Kish and Irene Hess who would both retire in 1980. Groves had a reputation for selecting national household samples which, though very small, achieved national estimates of high quality. By the early 1980s, two new area probability designs were completed, a sample of the Chicano population in twenty-seven states and a sample of the African-American population.

The Field Office managed the data collection operations of SRC and provided technical assistance to the research staff in preparing data gathering instruments, developing study designs, and analyzing various modes of data collection. A permanent staff of trained interviewers was maintained. In the late 1970s, the coding section worked on a direct data entry system, reducing the paperwork and much of the redundancy in transferring numbers in traditional coding operations.

INTERCENTER PROGRAMS

The staffs of SRC and RCGD worked together to develop a program on the study of the family and the general life situation of African Americans. The Black Identity and Mental Health Study began in 1977 under the direction of James Jackson, Belinda Tucker, and Gerald Gurin. The National Survey of Black Americans was initiated the following year. Directed by James Jackson, it developed new, culturally relevant measures and

methodologies appropriate for studying the mental health of the African-American population in the United States. Topics such as identity and self-esteem, employment and unemployment, and social support were considered. Two additional studies were begun in the early 1980s. One focused on elderly African Americans and health-related and retirement issues. A second study focused on the socialization process of three generations of African-American families. These studies represented the most comprehensive investigation of African Americans ever developed and initiated in the social sciences.

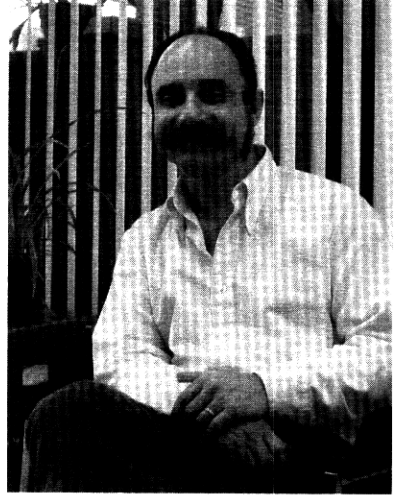
The Mental Health in Industry Program emerged as an intercenter effort between SRC and RCGD in the early 1960s; by 1970, the intercenter Program on the Social Environment and Mental Health was in place. Whereas research in the previous decade focused on stress in work settings and the exploration of the effect of stress on health, research in the 1970s emphasized job-related transitions, the study of social support as a buffer against the effects of stress, and a broadening of substantive factors that enter into the management of stress. John French and colleagues developed a theory of person-environment fit that sought to explain how a person whose needs and abilities are not appropriate to his or her social environment develops symptoms of strain and consequent illness. James House researched the functions of social support, especially its ability to serve as a buffer against job stress, in chemical and rubber industries. The need for different forms of social support under different circumstances and at different life stages was another area of research. French and Steven Doehrmann directed a longitudinal study following Navy enlisted men as they retired from the service, and Robert Kahn and Toni Antonucci launched a study on career beginnings.

RCGD IN THE 1970s: COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGY

After almost twenty years, Alvin Zander stepped down as director of RCGD in 1979 and Philip Brickman was appointed. A new lab was built in 1975, continuing thirty years of studies on how

individuals and groups perform under carefully controlled conditions. Experimental research was crucial to the advancement of social psychological theory in the 1970s, and the computer became a critical tool within the research laboratory, enabling millisecond measurement of a subject's reaction time.

Eugene Burnstein's research focused on how people's opinions are influenced by the opinions of others, and he made use of the computer to measure thought processes. Burnstein stated, "The expression of an opinion is the end result of a complex series of cognitive operations or thought processes which are largely subconscious, and time is often our only clue in finding out how these processes work."⁶⁴ He also researched the "risky-shift" theory in more detail. Research done in the 1960s concluded that "riskier" solutions to problems were favored by groups of persons than those that were chosen by any of the individuals working alone.



Research in the 1970s found that individuals were influenced by others in the formation of their opinions only under certain conditions. In analyzing the length of time a subject had to consider an issue in a laboratory setting, Burnstein found that the longer an individual had to consider the majority position on a specific question, the more he or she would conform, regardless of the majority size.

Philip Brickman earned his doctorate in social psychology at the University of Michigan in 1968 and returned to direct RCGD from 1979 to 1982.

One of the founders of modern cognitive social psychology, Robert Zajonc had an enduring interest in the effects of others on individuals' cognitive performance. His research in the 1970s on the relationships among birth order, family size, and family structure and the effects of these relationships on intellectual achievement in children revealed that younger children and children from larger families do less well intellectually. Together with Gregory Markus and Hazel Markus, Zajonc conducted research that showed that the pattern of environmental differences in intellectual development revealed in national surveys could be partially predicted from a knowledge of the family configuration.

“The emotional content of a message—carried in the speaker’s gestures, facial expressions, and tone of voice—sometimes conveys more meaning to the listener than do the actual words, and perhaps even a very different meaning.”
—Robert Zajonc

Another focus of research for Zajonc was the role of emotion in processing information. According to Zajonc, “The emotional content of a message—carried in the speaker’s gestures, facial expressions, and tone of voice—sometimes conveys more meaning to the listener than do the actual words, and perhaps even a very different meaning.”⁶⁵ Using the laboratory, he also investigated how people encode emotional kinds of information into their minds and memories. Movements in the subject’s facial muscles were recorded with the laboratory’s eletromyographical equipment in conjunction with the computer as the person viewed a series of photographs of emotionally expressive faces. Later, when the subject was shown another series of faces, this time with neutral expressions, recognition of a face from the first series triggered movements of the subject’s facial muscles similar to those when the face was first seen, helping the subject retrieve the memory.

Hazel Markus played a major role in establishing a cognitive schema, the highly detailed and vivid images a person has of himself or herself, as a central concept in social psychology. Her work on the nature of self-concept added a more dynamic and multifaceted view than was previously accepted, and her experiments showed that the schematas play a significant role in how people process certain information about themselves and how they perceive others. By the mid-1980s, Markus’ work had made major contributions to the reemergence of motivation in social psychology.

Richard Nisbett contributed to the establishment of attribution theory as the dominant social psychological theory in the 1970s with the publication of a paper in 1971 with Edward E. Jones. The paper provided evidence that actors are more likely to see situations as the cause of their behavior while observers tend to attribute the actor’s behavior to stable dispositions or personality characteristics. Nisbett’s work led to research on human information processing, and he worked in the early 1980s to bridge research on cognition in philosophy, computer science, and cognitive sciences. Alvin Zander continued research of group aspirations and motives, finding evidence that people often work harder for small work teams than they do for themselves.

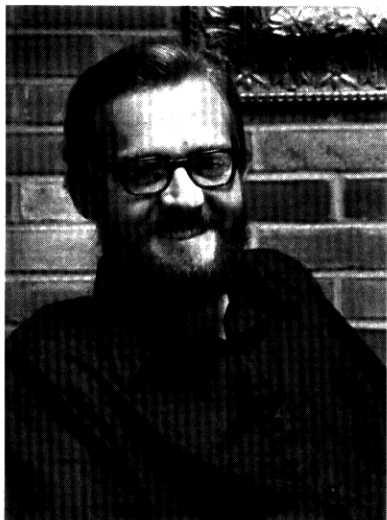
CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES IN THE 1970s:
THE CONTEXT OF ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR

In 1970, the Political Behavior Program was acknowledged as a center in its own right and the Center for Political Studies (CPS) was created, with Warren E. Miller as its first director. Studies in CPS were conducted in a widening geographic scope in the 1970s, focusing on aspects of political life that underlie or follow from the electoral process. Studies in political socialization incorporated studies of the family, school, and work. Research in American electoral behavior, the oldest continuing program of research at ISR, continued a focus on the behavior of individual citizens in elections in the 1970s. Miller and Teresa Levitin related electoral behavior to political events and leadership, and they examined the impact of basic social changes on national politics. The definition of the theoretical problems around which the data were used in studies of American politics was reexamined in the 1970s, and empirical studies on the growth of issue voting and ideological politics were conducted. Philip Converse and others took the notions about the role of group identifications and reference group phenomena and transformed them into competing theories about the sources of change in partisan loyalties and national party alignments. Studies on the level of information used by the average voter were broadened to include examination of the processes of communication, information diffusion, and rates of response to major political events.

There was a growing appreciation during the 1970s of the complexities of the process of political socialization, which initiated studies of individuals from early childhood and adolescence well into adulthood. Kent Jennings reinterviewed the parents and offspring from the political socialization study done in the 1960s, and extended the scope of inquiry to include experiences with first employment, new families, military service, and higher education. The study also documented the public response to the turbulent years of the mid-1960s. Studies of political institutions continued in the 1970s as well, most notably with a study in 1972 of the delegates to the presidential nominating conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Also in the 1970s, an Historical Politics Program was developed by Jerome Clubb to collect, organize, and convert to computer-readable form several major bodies of data in the United States, including county-level election returns from 1789 to the present

for all popular elections to the U.S. presidency, Senate, and House of Representatives and to the offices of state governments. Also included in this program were basic descriptive social and economic data for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries at the county level and complete roll call records for the U.S. Congress.



When Richard Hofferbert was appointed head of ICPSR in 1970, he said of the Consortium that "its greatest impact has been in helping turn political science into an empirical discipline."

When Warren Miller became director of CPS in 1970, he left vacant the position of director of the Inter-university Consortium for Political Research. Richard Hofferbert was appointed to the post. His research interests centered around the comparative study of public policy at state and local levels of government. The decision was made in 1975 to change the name of the Consortium to the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, reflecting its increasingly multidisciplinary nature. Also in 1975, Jerome Clubb was selected as director of ICPSR. During his tenure, membership

grew substantially as did resources available to members. As teacher and a researcher, Clubb's work focused on American political and social history during the twentieth century, American political development, and behavioral methods for historical studies.

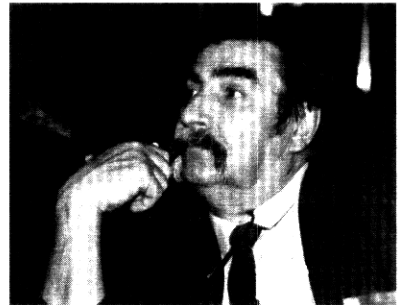
Under the direction of Clubb, ICPSR data holdings were diversified through the development of extensive data collections pertinent to international relations, including materials such as the voting records of plenary sessions and committees of the United Nations throughout its history; records of the social, political, and economic attributes of nations; and records of international events and conflicts. Resources also included, in the 1970s, survey, aggregate, and other forms of data related to quality of life,

cross-national comparative social indicators, work patterns and attitudes, the roles of women, consumer attitudes and historical economic attitudes, and behavior. In the late 1970s, in response to the increased interest in social science, the Consortium broadened its educational activities to include undergraduate instruction. Teaching resources were developed to bring relevant data and analytical resources within easy reach of the undergraduate instructor.

CRUSK IN THE 1970s:
A FOCUS ON CHANGE AND INNOVATION

By 1971, several more staff had joined the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge (CRUSK), and there was an emphasis on getting information used, adopting new styles of leadership, and conducting training through nonresearch staff known as “change agents.” Change agents specialized in the process of change and the use of knowledge resources. The “change agent” concept was phased out when the Education Change Group shifted its affiliation to the University of Michigan’s School of Education. CRUSK director Floyd Mann left in 1972 to go to the University of Colorado and was succeeded by Donald Pelz in 1974; David Bowers and Nathan Caplan served as acting directors in the interim period. CRUSK founder Ronald Lippitt retired in 1974.

The Organizational Development Research Program within CRUSK worked to improve organizational functioning. The program conducted studies within industrial, government, and military organizations to evaluate the effects of its survey-guided development approach to planned change. Caplan and his colleagues examined research bias through empirical analysis



Director of ICPSR from 1975 to 1991, Jerome Clubb directed the Program in Historical Politics in the 1970s. The program focused on the conversion to machine-readable form of several bodies of data key to the study of electoral behavior, including county-level election returns from 1789 onward and a complete set of roll call records for the U.S. Congress.

Under Clubb’s leadership, ICPSR experienced a constant growth in membership, in resources available to members, and in contributions of the consortium to the social science community.

of the social science literature in six social problem areas to determine factors that influenced the use of social science information in formulation of public policy. Caplan also conducted research on the use of social science information by federal executives. Paul Wortman researched the development and application of new analytical techniques to improve the quality and utility of evaluative data, including its use for policy formation. He also worked on the assessment of medical technologies, evaluating a number of computerized medical systems. Other studies in CRUSK included a collaboration between Donald Pelz and the School of Public Health to create a conceptual framework for the process of introducing research-based innovations into nursing, hospital administration, and other fields. Ronald G. Havelock developed a theoretical and empirical foundation for research utilization studies and analyzed conditions that facilitated or inhibited the innovating process.

TECHNOLOGY AT ISR

AS EARLY AS 1947 COMPUTING FACILITIES WERE an issue, as noted in the SRC Executive Committee meeting minutes: "There was some discussion of the vagaries of the Tabulating Room. Dr. Likert mentioned the difficulties which the Center has had with this organization and indicated the feeling of the Center that the present facilities and personnel are not adequate to the demands being put on them."⁶⁶

By 1950, ISR maintained its own data processing facility. After results of interviews came in, they were translated into a numerical code before analysis of the verbal information gathered could begin. Since questionnaires covered many different kinds of content, and extensive use was made of open-ended, free-answer interviews, many techniques for analyzing interview content were developed through the joint efforts of the coding section and the various research programs. A permanent staff of trained coders was maintained, and training sessions were given to ensure consistent, objective, and accurate interpretation by the coders. Coding methodology studies were undertaken to investigate coder evaluation of interviewer performance, enhancement of accuracy by coding more versus less detail, and other topics. Early coding sheets were transferred to Hollerith punch cards for machine tabulation. There were anywhere from 50 to 80 punches per card, and a good operator punched about 300 cards an hour.



Coding room at ISR in 1956.

A new IBM 650 arrived at the Horace Rackham Building in February 1956. It was hoped that the new computer would relieve some of the "intramural competition with other divisions of the University for tabulation services." Present-day complaints among most people who use computers were heard at ISR as early as 1957. In the May minutes of the SRC Executive Committee it was noted that "[b]ecause most social scientists cannot keep up to date on electronic computation, and because more demands are being put on the University tabulating service, the Center staff is encouraged to use Ed Dean for help and consultation in programming." In the 1957–1958 annual report to the president it was announced that "to deal with the increasing demands and potentialities for complex and rapid data processing, a new service unit was established... This unit will provide coordination, technical assistance, and service to the Institute's staff in connection with the utilization of high speed computers."



Early punch card technology at ISR.

The kind of analysis researchers were able to perform with their data was dependent in part on the calculations they were able to execute. The 1959–1960 annual report to the president noted: “The availability of electronic computers at Michigan has made possible significant advances in the scope and complexity of research problems that can be undertaken.”

In 1962 a small-scale digital computer IBM 1401 card system replaced a major part of the electric accounting machine complement. It was able to handle pre-processing of data for the computing center’s IBM 7090. The average amount of time spent on tabulation was reportedly cut in half. A few years later, however, in 1965, Ralph Bisco was appointed head of data processing, and his goals were to “increase the flexibility of computer usage and to reduce discouraging time delays,” according to that year’s annual report. Bisco, Warren Miller and Carl Bixby were responsible for the planning and management of an IBM 360/40 delivered in April 1967 and financed in part by the National Science Foundation. The machine did not satisfy all of ISR’s computing requirements, however, and the university’s central computing facility was also used.

In the 1970s, Duane Thomas operated ISR’s main computer, (still the IBM 360/40) and headed the Computer Services Facility. This facility provided computer time on the 360/40, keypunching, consultation on computing issues, contract programming, and research assistance. It also developed and operated databases supporting ISR functions such as project and contract accounting, payroll, personnel, publications dissemination, and inventory control. In the 1970s, CPS and SRC computer support groups were headed by Gregory Marks and Neal Van Eck, respectively. Marks and Van Eck developed and maintained general and special-purpose software called OSIRIS for data management, statistical analysis, and display. By 1979, OSIRIS IV was available and was distributed on a not-for-profit basis to researchers and others internationally. A direct data entry system was introduced in 1977, allowing users to communicate data directly into the IBM 360/40, by-passing keypunching and facilitating changes on previously-entered data.

The introduction of microcomputers and minicomputers in the early 1980s, as well as the development of more sophisticated and robust software, increased the ability of the staff to handle increasingly large and complex databases. Eventually the staff became less and less dependent on mainframe systems. ICPSR allowed social science users to gain remote access to the Michigan Computing Center and ICPSR data resources. In 1980, the business operations programs were moved from the IBM 360/40 to the Data Systems Center on campus. The Direct Data Entry and Computer-Aided Telephone Interviewing operations were moved from the 360/40 to a separate minicomputer in early 1981. As part



ISR had its own IBM 360/40 in its computing facility.

of cost-cutting measures, the Computer Services Facility was dismantled during the 1982–1983 fiscal year, and the IBM 360/40 was given to the university computing center.

Developments in technology were also tied to changes in interviewing methodology. In 1976, Robert Kahn and Robert Groves, sponsored by the National Science Foundation, examined the differences between results obtained from telephone interviews and personal interviews. Another study in 1979 by Charles Cannell and Groves included a study of computer-aided telephone interviewing (CATI) in addition to continuing comparisons between telephone and personal interview results. It was found that the on-line system reduced errors at several stages and increased effectiveness. It also simplified record-keeping and produced survey results overnight, something never possible with human coders. ISR began using computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) in the early 1990s. And in 1995, a decentralized

telephone system of random digit dial surveys was launched. Field interviewers conducted telephone interviews from their homes using laptop computers. Collectively, CATI and CAPI are known as CAI and allow faster turnaround from data entry to production of data sets. They also enable the interviewer to track complicated lines of questioning much easier than with paper and pencil. The SRC Field Section currently maintains a staff of more than 500 interviewers coordinated nationally by regional supervisors who provide field services for all of the centers within ISR.



Telephone interviewers using current computer technology.

THE 1980s AND 1990s: INSTITUTIONAL SURVIVAL
AND A DEEPENING UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN
AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR



F. Thomas Juster, appointed director of ISR in 1976, was the first director who was not an original founder. Juster came to the University of Michigan in 1973 as a program director in SRC and a professor in the Department of Economics. In 1986, Juster returned to research in the Economic Behavior Program in SRC.

THOMAS JUSTER, APPOINTED DIRECTOR OF ISR in 1976, was the first director who was not an original founder. He proved to be invaluable to the survival of ISR during the early 1980s when the Reagan administration sought to cut the social sciences budget drastically at the federal level. The Great Society programs of the 1960s failed to make dramatic changes in the lives of the disadvantaged, and by the second half of the 1970s there was growing disillusionment with the social and behavioral sciences.⁶⁷ At ISR there was little assurance that key studies such as PSID, which by 1981 was in its fourteenth year, would receive continued funding. During the first year of the Reagan administration, total funds at ISR dropped from \$15 million to less than \$13.5 million, with federal support cut 15 percent. Plans for building expansion were deferred. The federal government set the university's overhead rate at 50 percent, down from 58, contributing to a deficit for ISR in the 1981–1982 fiscal year.

Juster led the effort at ISR to organize protests against further cuts by the federal government and considered it his most important responsibility at the time. He prepared testimony for congressional hearings and met with members of Congress and key federal agencies. Painstakingly explaining the importance of National Science Foundation grants to the social sciences, Juster pointed out that grant money was used both for basic conceptual and theoretical development and for the design, production, and distribution of databases that emerge from that work. Juster testified to the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology in March 1981 that

“the recommendation to cut the NSF basic social science budget from \$34 million to \$10 million is a bit like a recommendation to start slimming down an overweight giant by first removing his eyes and ears.”⁶⁸

Patricia Gurin, who participated in a variety of studies over the years in both SRC and RCGD, was selected to seek support from nonfederal sources that had not been approached previously. New sources of support were also pursued through requests for proposals from various agencies. The entire staff was organized into “bucket brigades” and worked harder than ever before at seeking research support. Although PSID, the studies on African Americans, Monitoring the Future studies on drug usage among youth, and studies of the aged all continued to be funded, there was much uncertainty regarding their funding at many points during the early 1980s.

Juster’s efforts paid off, and the real threat to the value of the ongoing work at ISR galvanized others into action. PSID was considered such a valuable resource to the academic community that when “federal budget economies threatened its survival, a consortium of private foundations kept it alive, at the behest of scholars throughout the professions.”⁶⁹ In a 1985 memo to Provost Billy Frye, Juster listed as an accomplishment for ISR “institutional survival and stability.” He stated that “ISR played a lead role on the national scene in mitigating the most damaging of the proposed cutbacks, and we have exerted a major influence on the national scientific agenda over this period. As a result, we have survived virtually intact, although at considerable cost.... But nothing of major scientific importance has been lost, and that in itself is a significant accomplishment.”⁷⁰

Although there was less confidence in the ability of behavioral and social scientists to provide lasting solutions to disadvantaged Americans, policy analysts and evaluation experts became permanent and accepted additions to the federal bureaucracy by the 1980s, and many of the research projects at ISR reflected this. The Monitoring the Future project was a major source of data for

“The recommendation to cut the NSF basic social science budget from \$34 million to \$10 million is a bit like a recommendation to start slimming down an overweight giant by first removing his eyes and ears.”

—F. Thomas Juster

the National Institute on Drug Abuse, which was one of its major sponsors. Federal agencies responsible for monetary and fiscal policies and programs used data extensively from the Surveys of Consumer Finances, which were concerned with household saving and investment behavior. The goal of research at ISR was always to advance basic knowledge in the social sciences and deepen understanding about human and social behavior. In 1987, then director Philip Converse wrote that this role “has always been and is the primary *raison d’être* of the Institute. Its founders...did have in mind that ISR findings would be useful to non-scientists, in particular to makers of policy. But all social science is in a sense ultimately policy-oriented.”⁷¹

Throughout its history, ISR was an integral part of the University of Michigan. Its reporting structure to the Vice President for Research encouraged a broad interdisciplinary program of research activities. ISR evolved as the dominant research unit in the behavioral and social sciences on campus and was the largest single social science research unit within a university in the United States. Most of the senior members of ISR held a major appointment at ISR and a second appointment in a department or college where they contributed to the teaching program. By 1980, Institute staff members held appointments in economics, history, journalism, political science, psychiatry, psychology, and sociology, as well as business administration, education, social work, public health, law, and natural resources, as well as architecture, and urban planning.

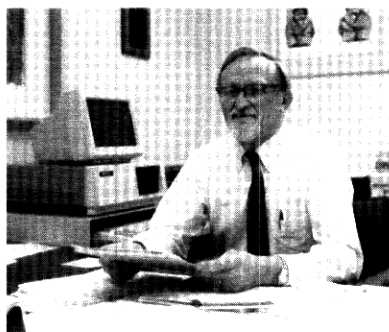
Although CRUSK continued to focus in the early 1980s on how knowledge was used to meet problems in society, it moved away from the utilization or innovation process and focused more on the conduct and application of policy-relevant research. Research was concentrated in three areas: health, organizations, and technology assessment of a broad and varied nature. A 1985 review committee appointed by the administrative committee and the ISR director concluded that CRUSK was no longer “viable as a center” in its current form. By the beginning of 1985, Lee Sechrest and David Bowers had left CRUSK, leaving few senior researchers. The loss of researchers, combined with a large growing debt approaching

\$500,000, made it impossible to keep CRUSK operating. The decision was made to dissolve CRUSK; its staff for the most part were absorbed into the three remaining centers at ISR.

In 1986, the year Philip Converse assumed directorship of ISR, an external review committee was asked to assess the Institute. Eight academic social scientists in the major disciplines related to the work of ISR (none employed by the University of Michigan) were appointed by the Provost and the Vice President for Research. Chaired by James Tobin, of Yale University, the review committee was asked to identify promising directions of research activity, and to consider the internal structure of the Institute and its relations with the rest of the university, the social science professions, and the society at large. In their report, the committee expressed concern that ISR had lost some of its intellectual momentum at the cutting edge of inquiry. The committee made many recommendations, including that more joint appointments be made between ISR and social science departments, that more diverse methodologies of research be used, that more graduate fellowships be established, and that ISR seek greater support from nonprofit foundations and the private sector to create a larger endowment.

In response to the Tobin report, ISR made changes and requested additional support from the university in new undertakings. Hard-money joint faculty appointments between academic departments or schools and ISR were suggested. In the years following, there was a significant investment in additional joint faculty appointments, specifically in economics.

The university as a whole was suffering budget cuts during this period, and ISR was no less immune than the rest of the campus to the effects of these cuts. Although dependent on outside funding



Philip Converse received an MA. in sociology and his Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of Michigan. He joined the UM faculty in 1960 and was program director with SRC and CPS for many years. Director of CPS from 1982 to 1986, Converse served as director of ISR from 1986 to 1989.

*The SRC
Annual
Summer
Institute,
begun in 1947,
continued
through the
1990s, training
more than 8,000
people from 100
countries in
various aspects
of survey
research.*

for its research, ISR also depended on retention of its overhead, as stipulated when SRC and RCGD first became part of the university, as well as a General Fund allocation each year from the university, over 60 percent of which, by the early 1980s, was used for directors' salaries. Suggestions over the years that the amount of overhead retained by ISR be reduced were vigorously resisted. The suggestion in 1983 that it be reduced significantly to help the university meet administrative expenses prompted Robert Kahn and Thomas Juster to stress the importance of the overhead to ISR for President Harold Shapiro. Juster stated: "It is impossible for a strong, basic-research-oriented organization to operate on soft money without significant subsidy of some kind.... For ISR, the subsidy comes by way of free services from the University plus the opportunity to use indirect cost resources for research development and other core organization purposes.... The subsidy provided to ISR by the University, and its incentive-oriented formula for retaining and administering indirect costs, distinguishes ISR from research centers and institutes at other U.S. universities. We are convinced that these financial arrangements account in significant part for the strength and quality of ISR relative to its counterparts on other campuses."⁷² During fiscal year 1985, total research volume was approximately \$16 million and gross indirect cost recovery was approximately \$4.3 million. Of the total indirect cost recovery, a little over \$1.5 million was used for the support of ISR central services; the remainder was used within the centers, either for administration, provision of research services, maintenance of staff, investments in equipment, or new staff.

Despite the painful realities of fiscal constraint, ISR continued to develop new programs and innovative areas of research in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1981, a master's program in applied social research in cooperation with the department of sociology was created to train researchers in survey research methods, applied survey sampling, and demographic analysis methods. Coordinated initially by Robert Groves of the sociology department and SRC, it exemplified the unique supplemental role ISR played in the educational environment of the university. The SRC Annual Summer Institute, begun in 1947, continued through the 1990s, training more than 8,000

people from 100 countries in various aspects of survey research. Using distance-learning technology, a creative training program called the Joint Program in Survey Methodology was initiated in 1992 through a partnership between the University of Michigan, Westat, Inc., a research firm in Rockville, Maryland, and the University of Maryland at College Park. Instructors at ISR and the University of Maryland teach students at all three locations through distance learning technology. The program was initially focused on improving the training of staff of the federal statistical agencies in Washington, D.C., but increasingly trained persons from a broad range of backgrounds in a broad range of work in the academic, non-profit, and private sectors, as well as the federal government.

Another external review of ISR was conducted in 1995. In the committee report, some of the concerns about the constant pressure for fundraising for such a large organization repeated those of the review committee a decade earlier, as well as the concern that originality and creativity in research were endangered as a result of what the committee saw as repetitive research for projects such as NES and PSID. The need for additional funding for graduate students was also restated. Other concerns were assuaged, such as the relationship between economists in EBP and economics, which were much more integrated by 1995. The committee, chaired by Neil Smelser of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, recommended “continuing the momentum to widen, deepen, and diversify the links between the Institute and other units and programs on the University of Michigan campus,” urging involvement of historians, philosophers, biological scientists, and medical and public-health scholars in ISR projects.⁷³

SRC IN THE 1980s AND THE 1990s

At SRC, Harold Schuman became director in 1982 after Stephen Withey stepped down. Schuman conducted research in the Methodology Program concerning the effects on survey conclusions of variations in the form, wording, and context of survey questions.⁷⁴ He also published a volume in 1985 entitled *Racial*



Howard Schuman served as director of SRC from 1982 to 1990. He taught in the Department of Sociology beginning in 1964, and served as department chairman from 1970 to 1973. He first joined ISR in 1967. Schuman's research interests included survey research methods, the relationship between attitudes and behavior, and race and ethnic relations.

Attitudes in America in which he assessed changes in racial attitudes, using survey data dating back to the 1940s.

The Chicano research program moved to Texas in 1983, during a period when many researchers were being approached by other institutions. James D. Smith became program director in the Economic Behavior Program in 1980. Much of his work used simulation research and more specifically a technique called “microanalytic simulation modeling.” This technique captures the complexities of the social and economic structure over time and uses the data to estimate the long-term effects of different types of policies, programs, laws, and regulations. Smith’s research was used to facilitate calculations by the Congressional Budget Office and to examine implications of changes in Social Security laws by the policymakers in the Department of Health and Human Services, among others. Charles Brown joined the staff of the Economic Behavior Program in 1985; his research focused initially on labor markets and later on how employees entice workers over fifty-five into retirement. A primary focus of the Economic Behavior Program continued to be behavioral or psychological economics. The Survey of Consumer Attitudes persisted in its focus on the cyclical behavior of consumer spending and saving decisions, and the Survey of Consumer Finances, concerned with household saving and investment behavior, continued under the direction of Richard Curtin.

The PSID findings attracted wide media attention in 1984 when a ten-year distillation was published in *Years of Poverty, Years of Plenty* with Greg Duncan as lead author. Duncan assumed overall leadership of PSID in the mid-1980s as Morgan moved into retirement. Since that year, PSID, guided by a national board of overseers, has expanded its agenda by introducing special supplemental studies. A 1997 addition, the Child Development Supplement, presented a more comprehensive picture of child development than previously available. Obtaining information from parents, teachers, administrators, and the children, the study measures the resources that parents, neighborhoods, friends,

relatives, and the government invest in children and how these resources affect children's success in school and as adults.

In 1985, Tom Fricke joined the Family and Demography Program within SRC, bringing a background in anthropology. Building on earlier work by Arland Thornton, Fricke and Thornton directed research focused on both family behavior and attitudes and the reciprocal causal interrelationships between these domains. Another dimension of the research program was change, at both the individual and societal levels. Panel studies of individuals were used to document the ways families and individuals change over the life course; and multiple observations of populations over time were used to investigate societal-level trends. Cross-cultural comparisons were also part of the research agenda.

The Social Environment and Health Program in the 1980s included a study funded by the U.S. Public Health Service to study reemployment of Vietnam veterans. Another study within the program determined the extent to which a reduction in anxiety, brought about by taking diazepam, or Valium, affects coping ability, adjustment to life stresses, and an individual's satisfaction with certain aspects of life, especially work, family, self, and health. In another study, Kahn and others examined the effect of social support on well-being at different life stages. Research on the social psychology of aging throughout the life course was an ongoing theme in the program, as was the link between illness and emotional well-being. James House initiated an interdisciplinary training program on psychosocial



When he was appointed director of SRC in 1991, James S. House was a research scientist with both ISR and with the Department of Epidemiology in the University of Michigan's School of Public Health. Also a professor of sociology, he chaired the University of Michigan Department of Sociology from 1986 through 1990. "Part of the great achievement, I think, at ISR and SRC, has been that people put their efforts not only into doing their own research, but also to building an institution that survives, grows, and continues to grow and expand and to do new things today," stated House in a 1998 interview.

factors in health and illness in 1982, and a national longitudinal study of the role of psychosocial factors in the maintenance of health as people age through middle and later life. The publication of *Successful Aging* by Kahn and John Rowe in 1998 distilled ten years of research among thousands of older people. Exemplifying efforts to put basic knowledge to use within the Social Environment and Health Program, the Michigan Prevention Research Program, headed by Richard Price, intervened to mitigate the effects of unemployment.

Schuman stepped down as director of SRC in 1990 and James House was appointed in January 1991. In the 1990s, SRC continued to develop new areas and approaches to research. In 1991, Ronald Kessler directed the National Comorbidity Study, adding to knowledge about American's mental health and contributing to the wealth of information produced by ISR about mental health since the 1950s. The study was the first to administer a psychiatric interview to a representative national sample, measuring in the total U.S. population the prevalence of psychiatric disorders in the same terms used by psychiatrists. The study found a higher prevalence of mental disorders than previously thought. A second new area of research in the 1990s is aging. The Health and Retirement Survey, a longitudinal survey following the population of people ages fifty to sixty as they enter retirement, was initiated in 1992. The survey studies the social and economic conditions of people's lives, and their health, and the intersection between the two. The survey involves interviewing, every two years, a representative sample of 12,600 preretirement-age men and women born in the years from 1931 to 1941, as well as their spouses. The interviews provide researchers and policymakers with information on when and why people retire and what resources are available to them.

RCGD AND CPS IN THE 1980s AND 1990s

Through the years, SRC staff had their primary appointments with ISR, whereas CPS and RCGD staff were more closely discipline-related and tied to specific university departments. RCGD was

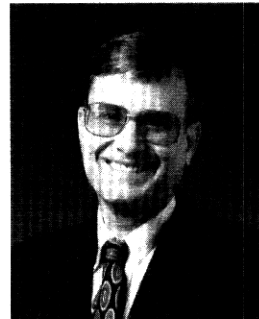
characterized as the “social psychology wing” of the psychology department by the authors of the Tobin report. This was the result of a gradual shift from group dynamics toward cognitive social psychology over the years. The reputation of the university’s social psychology program as one of the best in the world in the 1980s was due in no small measure to the contributions of RCGD. By the 1990s, RCGD programs had expanded and diversified to include programs such as one on Culture and Cognition and Aggression Research, and other programs started earlier, such as the Program for Research on Black Americans had grown. CPS contributed directly to the department of political science in the areas of American politics, comparative politics, and international relations. By 1987, a third of the faculty in the political science department was associated with ISR. Richard Rockwell succeeded Jerome Clubb as director of ICPSR in 1995. Rockwell worked previously at the Social Science Research Council in New York and was also director of the Social Science Data Library at the University of North Carolina’s Institute for Research in Social Science in the 1970s.



Richard Rockwell succeeded Jerome Clubb as director of ICPSR in 1991. His more than 35 books and articles cover a variety of subjects, including global change, the social impact of the AIDS epidemic, and social science methodology.

RCGD

Richard Nisbett was appointed director of RCGD in 1990, replacing Robert Zajonc who was director from 1983 to 1989. James Jackson followed Nisbett as director in 1996. The Program for Research on Black Americans, directed by Jackson, continues its pathbreaking work begun with the National Survey of Black Americans in the late 1970s. Work focuses on three areas: mental health, aging and human development, and race and political participation. The African American Mental Health Research Center was established in 1990 with



Richard E. Nisbett was director of RCGD from 1989 to 1996. He came to the University of Michigan in the Department of Psychology in 1971.

assistance from the National Institute of Mental Health. New research focuses on the misdiagnosis of African Americans' mental disorders and the importance of informal networks in facilitating their entry into professional mental-health care.



James S. Jackson was appointed Director of RCGD in 1996. He came to the Department of Psychology and ISR in 1971 from the Social Psychology Ph.D. Program at Wayne State University.

Research by Jacquelynne Eccles begun in the mid-1980s sought to determine why more males than females go into careers in science and engineering. She found that the perception among females that careers in science and engineering are nonsocial and isolated decreases their interest in them. Eccles serves as director of the RCGD Achievement Research Program, and her research on children in the transition years from childhood into adolescence has provided middle schools with information on developing school environments that foster achievement.

In 1994, the Program in Culture and Cognition was founded, directed by Nisbett. Within the program, researchers across the social sciences question the degree to which cultures and other social contexts affect how human minds work. Discrimination and prejudice—the focus of studies in the 1950s and 1960s in RCGD—are the focus of much of the research in the current program, as well as in the PRBA and other research programs within RCGD. The Evolution and Human Adaptation Program was also initiated in the 1990s within RCGD. Headed by psychiatrist Randolph Nesse, who had an interest in an evolutionary approach to humans' physical and mental functioning, this program is currently exploring the function of depression and an evolutionary approach to the study of violence.

CPS

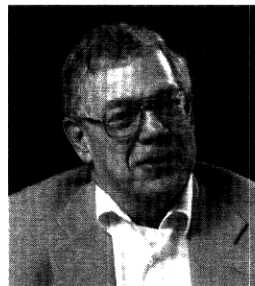
Philip Converse was director of CPS from 1982, taking over from Warren Miller who stepped down in 1981. In 1986, Harold Jacobson took the lead as director for ten years, followed by

William Zimmerman, the current director. Associated with ISR and CPS since 1970, Jacobson's research was in the area of world politics and international relations. Work in the 1980s and 1990s sought to integrate the work of behavioral and institutional scholars, encouraged both by new methodologies and world events.

The National Election Studies (NES) continue to demonstrate the ability to study change over time, documenting the relative importance of various themes in different elections. Designated a national resource by the National Science Foundation in 1977, NES invites contributions from across the country, welcoming teams of researchers. Donald Kinder developed a new series of questions about race for the 1986 NES survey and based on that survey and subsequent data published *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideas*, together with Lynn Sanders of the University of Chicago. In 1996, planning began for the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems in which more than fifty countries have joined NES to plan a questionnaire that will be used in each country's election study. Hanes Walton began working with ICPSR in 1992 to create a resource for research and teaching about African Americans, collecting information on African-American voters and candidates in presidential, congressional, and gubernatorial elections.



Harold K. Jacobson directed CPS from 1986 to 1996. He joined ISR in 1957 and was chair of the Department of Political Science from 1972 to 1977. He was also Associate Provost for International Studies.



William Zimmerman was appointed head of CPS in 1996. He came to ISR in the mid-1960s and started out as a Soviet specialist. Recently he conducted several surveys in Russia and one in the Ukraine.

ISR MOVES INTO THE NEXT CENTURY

POSITIONING ISR AS PART OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS IT enters the 21st century is part of the vision of current director

David L. Featherman. His vision underlines themes established by Rensis Likert in the 1950s and builds on global partnerships initiated earlier in the history of ISR. In 1996, a joint venture was established between ISR and the Research Center for Contemporary China. ISR researchers taught at Beijing University and began training Chinese researchers to carry on the task. Groundwork was laid for a partnership between China and the U.S. when earlier, in 1979, the first group of social scientists from the People's Republic of China to visit the United States in more than 25 years met with ISR staff members during their tour of social science facilities throughout the United States. The goal of their conversations was to learn about each other and to facilitate working together in the future.



David L. Featherman was the first director of ISR to be appointed from outside ISR, coming to ISR from the Social Science Research Council in New York City, where he was president. He was also appointed as Professor of Sociology and Psychology. Featherman did his graduate work at the University of Michigan in sociology and social psychology.

In 1997, ISR and the Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan, along with the Center for Science Development of the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa, received funding from the

Mellon Foundation for a one-year pilot program to train a cadre of social scientists in quantitative methodology. With Featherman as principal investigator, the program was envisaged as a three-year activity in which a group of ten to fifteen young, black South African scholars from historically black universities would be trained to conduct state-of-the-art social and behavioral science research and to teach methodology research in their home institutions. After a successful first year, the program was renewed for two more years.

The first director of ISR to be appointed from outside ISR, David L. Featherman assumed the position in 1995. Although he did receive his M.A. in sociology and his Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of Michigan, he taught at Wisconsin-Madison from 1970–1993 and was president of the Social Science Research Council in New York City from 1989 to 1995. He came to ISR with the conviction that it was important to continue the mission-oriented basic research that characterized ISR from its inception. Valuing the team approach and the variety of disciplines represented at ISR, Featherman accentuates the importance of a global environment, stating that “the geographic and temporal displacement between actions and effects, the idea that the global is not necessarily the sum of the local, are among the concepts this and the next generation of social scientists must illuminate and explicate, not only for their intrinsic scientific interest but for the perhaps even more pressing needs of publics around the globe.”

Embracing an interdisciplinary community of demographically-minded scholars in the field of population studies, the Population Studies Center (PSC) was added as ISR’s fourth center in 1998. Established in 1961 at the University of Michigan, PSC was known as a national laboratory for population studies with an international scope. Most of the researchers at PSC have faculty appointments in sociology, economics, and anthropology. Others have appointments in other schools and colleges, including the School of Public Health and the School of Social Work. Although the possibility of PSC’s joining ISR was considered earlier, the 1995 review committee welcomed the idea and pointed out the continuities between PSC and several programs in SRC as well as methodological continuities between demographic methods and survey methods in general. Research at PSC has traditionally focused on five general demographic issues including: fertility, family planning, health, and sexual behavior; marriage, family, children, and links between generations; inequality, social mobility, and race; ethnicity, migration, and residential segregations; and aging and disability. The Michigan Exploratory Center on the Demography of Aging is a major joint initiative with ISR which was in place before PSC became part of ISR. As with ISR, grant support is the major source of funding for PSC.



Ronald Freedman was the first director of the Population Studies Center, established in 1961. He joined the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan in 1946 and also had an appointment in SRC. He served as director of the Detroit Area Study from 1951 to 1953.

As ISR moves into its next fifty years, its success in its first five decades shines through in the creative approach its researchers used, whether it was introducing psychology to economics, as George Katona did, refining the methods of survey research to a science, or crafting an innovative and ambitious cohort longitudinal study, as James Morgan did with PSID, resulting in an entirely new perspective on the poor population within the United States and recognition of the importance of panel studies. The wide scope of research themes at ISR reflects its ability to continually adapt its focus and methodologies to a constantly changing society. Its success as a purely research institution in the social sciences is due in part to its flexibility, both administratively, in that researchers are allowed a high degree of independence, and financially, in that soft-money funding forces researchers to constantly reassess the most important social and behavioral problems within society.



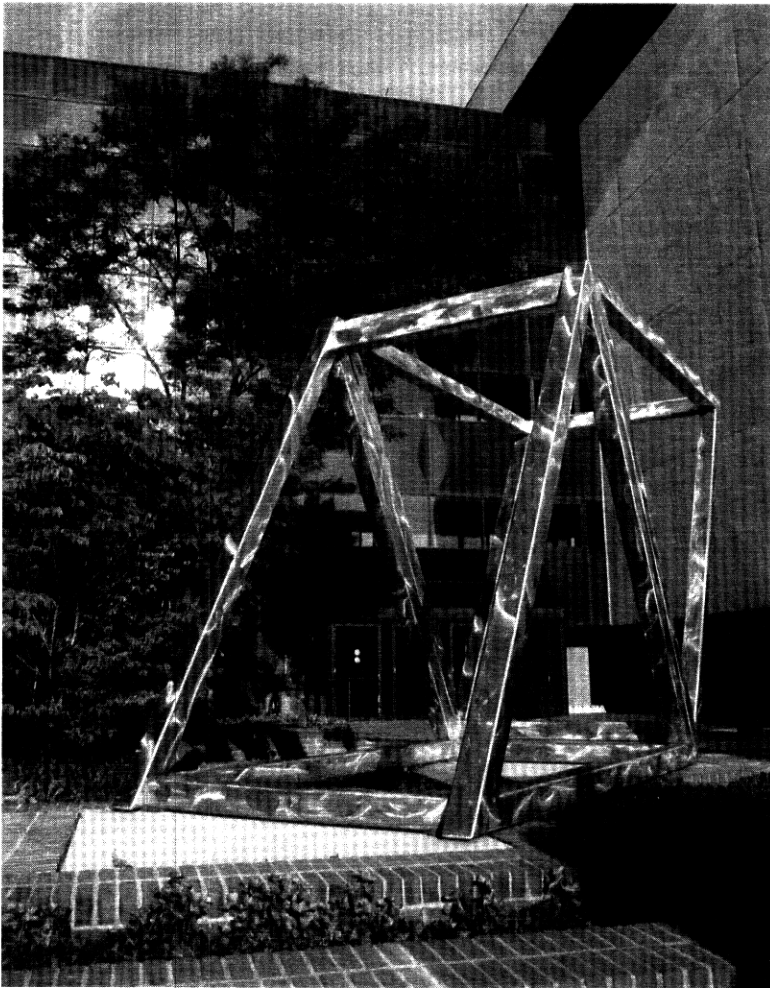
Director of the Population Studies Center and Professor of Economics, David Lam specializes in the application of micro-economics theory to demographic behavior and the interaction of population dynamics and economic variables.

What appeared to be a very tenuous line of support in 1946—the fact that the University of Michigan provided services without charge and allowed ISR to retain its indirect cost resources for research development and other core organizational purposes—proved to be significant to ISR in the long run. No one would have dreamed that indirect cost recovery would total \$8.5 million in 1994–1995. But neither would anyone have thought in 1946 that ISR would grow to an institution with a budget approaching \$40 million by the late-1990s.

Staff at ISR thrived in an atmosphere that forced them to create their own funding. Although difficult at times, this process brought the staff together in ways that would not have happened had there been a central source of funding. Working with the constant pressure to seek out new programs of research required a lot of time and energy of the staff. But the staff over the years realized that ISR was different from other places. Libby Douvan said of those at ISR, “These were people who really did feel about the institution that they wanted to help it survive, and were willing to...modify some of their personal goals in order to meet those...important institutional goals.”⁷⁵ Patricia Gurin commented that a “vibrancy” exists at ISR that she doesn’t find other places. The number of people officially

retired who continue to work at ISR is proof, too, of the extent to which they believe in their work and feel the results of their research will help us all better understand the world in which we live. As a national and international laboratory, ISR will continue in the next century to give collective voice to the values, opinions, and experiences of individuals in all parts of the world and to provide insightful answers to many of the most critical questions on human and social behavior.

“...the geographic and temporal displacement between actions and effects, the idea that the global is not necessarily the sum of the local are among the concepts this and the next generation of social scientists must illuminate and explicate...”
—David L. Featherman



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