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"Confronting the State One on One" Photograph by Patricia G. Steinhoff



Cooley-Mead Address

Deception Debate

The Journal of Microsociologies

A Journal of the American Sociological Association

Social Psychology Quarterly

Formerly **SOCIOMETRY**

The Journal of Microsociologies

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The Journal of Microsociologies

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(Revised December 2006)

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Manuscript pages should be easy for reviewers and editors to read and allow space for marginal notes. All pages must be typed or printed (12-point type is preferred), double-spaced (including notes and references) on either 8-1/2 by 11 inch or A4 white paper. Margins must be at least 1-1/4 inches on all four sides (i.e., line length must not exceed 6 inches). If you cannot print italic or bold type, indicate italic characters by underlining them.

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 - **Periodicals:** Goodman, Leo A. 1947a. "The Analysis of Systems of Qualitative Variables When Some of the Variables Are Observable. Part I-A Modified Latent Structure Approach." *American Journal of Sociology* 79:1179-1259.
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Szelényi, Szonja and Jacqueline Olvera. Forthcoming. "The Declining Significance of Class: Does Gender Complicate the Story?" *Theory and Society*.
 - **Collections:** Clausen, John A. 1972. "The Life Course of Individuals." Pp. 457-514 in *Aging and Society*, vol. 3, *A Sociology of Age Stratification*, edited by M. W. Riley, M. Johnson, and A. Foner. New York: Russell Sage.
Sampson, Robert J. 1992. "Family Management and Child Development: Insights from Social Disorganization Theory." Pp. 63-93 in *Advances in Criminology Theory*, vol. 3, *Facts, Frameworks, and Forecasts*, edited by J. McCord. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
 - **Dissertations:** Charles, Maria. 1990. "Occupational Sex Segregation: A Log-Linear Analysis of Patterns in 25 Industrial Countries." PhD dissertation, Department of Sociology, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.
 - **Machine-readable files:** American Institute of Public Opinion. 1976. *Gallup Public Opinion Poll #965* [MRDF]. Princeton, NJ: American Institute of Public Opinion [producer]. New Haven, CT: Roper Public Opinion Research Center, Yale University [distributor].
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Call for Papers Special Issue Of Social Psychology Quarterly

Social Psychological Perspectives on Morality

The terms “moral” and “social” were interchangeable for 18th and 19th century social theorists. In the past few decades sociologists have become, as Craig Calhoun describes it, “unmusical” in addressing the moral dimension of human life. Morality involves more than the established social psychological fields of altruism and aggression; it encompasses individual and cultural duties, ideals, and prohibitions that shape interaction. A social science of morality looks at the influences on, embodied enactment, and consequences of implicit and explicit moral orientations toward the good, just, and worthy (and alternately the profane, disgusting, and shameful).

Psychologists and neurologists are currently directing the scientific study of moral behavior, thought, and feeling. With some notable exceptions, such scholars are looking deeper *into* the evolutionarily adapted brain. A sociological counterpart is called for to address morality within the self, social situations, and the life course. Such work encompasses the study of affect, exchange, justice, or values, but may lead to new syntheses or research programs.

Our goal is to publish a special issue of *Social Psychology Quarterly* on the topic of “Social Psychological Perspectives on Morality.” We welcome submissions from a broad range of empirical and theoretical perspectives, demonstrating the utility (or potential hazards) of a sociological understanding of morality. The deadline for submitting papers is January 1, 2009. The usual ASA requirements for submissions apply (see “Notice for Contributors”). Please send a copy of your paper as a Word attachment to spq@northwestern.edu, the \$25 submission fee (payable by credit card or check, and waived for graduate student authors), and an indication that the paper is intended for the special issue. Prospective authors are encouraged to communicate with the editor (g-fine@northwestern.edu) or the special issue deputy editor (steven-hitlin@uiowa.edu) about the appropriateness of their papers.

Introduction of James S. House: Recipient of the 2007 Cooley-Mead Award

JANE D. MCLEOD
Indiana University

The Cooley-Mead Award is given annually to an individual who has made lifetime contributions to distinguished scholarship in sociological social psychology. It is my great honor to introduce this year's recipient, James S. House, Angus Campbell Collegiate Professor of Sociology and Survey Research, and Research Professor in the Survey Research Center at the Institute for Social Research and the Department of Epidemiology, University of Michigan. Through his path-breaking theoretical reviews, carefully crafted empirical research, and close mentoring of younger generations of scholars, Jim has defined and shaped sociological social psychology as we know it. With this award, we celebrate his enduring contributions to our field.

Jim burst onto the social psychology scene in 1977, the year he published "The Three Faces of Social Psychology," a defining piece of work which helped social psychologists of different stripes understand who they were, their unique approaches to the study of human social life, and the potential benefits of reaching across intradisciplinary boundaries (House 1977). In the pages of that article can be found the first renderings of a powerful argument Jim has built over the course of his career about the commonalities of purpose that unite social psychologists and the importance of intellectual interchange to the future of sociological social psychology as a field. The influence of this one piece of work cannot be overstated; it has been cited in every subsequent treatise on social psychology that I have been able to locate and is a mainstay of graduate social psychology courses. I dare say that virtually all *Social Psychology Quarterly* subscribers have read and been inspired by it.

Jim's chapter on social structure and personality in Rosenberg and Turner's *Social*

Psychology: Sociological Perspectives (1981) solidified his reputation as a preeminent social psychologist. He traced the history of the paradigm back to the early writings of Comte, Marx, Weber, and Durkheim and, thereby, asserted its centrality to the intellectual mission of sociology. He introduced the three analytical principles that remain its defining features: the specification of the components of the social system that matter for individual feelings, attitudes, and behaviors; the identification of proximate structures and processes through which macrosocial conditions come to have daily reality; and the analysis of the psychological processes through which intermediary structures affect individuals. In essence, Jim defined a new subfield of sociological social psychology and identified its unique contributions to the study of social life. What is perhaps most impressive about this chapter is that several sections came from a paper Jim wrote in graduate school on culture and personality to which he added notes from graduate courses on sociological theory. Jim suggested to me that one lesson from his experience is that students should never throw away their graduate school papers and notes; I imagine, however, that there are few among us who would discover such intellectually rich and coherent arguments therein.

While Jim has published many other influential reviews, he may be best known for his applications of the social structure and personality paradigm to the study of the processes through which social inequalities affect health. In project after project, he has documented the effects of the social environment on physical and psychological functioning and, by so doing, confirmed the dramatic implications of stratification for human lives. His research stands as testament to the ability of social psychology to illuminate important

social problems—in his own words, as a most “dramatic illustration of the import of the social” (House 2001:127).

In retrospect, the path that Jim’s work took is not surprising, although he did not anticipate how his career would unfold. Jim came of age in the 1950s and 1960s, times of great social ferment. He witnessed segregation in the South, the McCarthy era, the civil-rights movement, and the Vietnam War, all of which can only have convinced him of the relevance of historical events and conditions for the lives of individuals. He entered Haverford College with no background in the social sciences and declared a major in history to accommodate his interests in social movements and trends. But it was in a social psychology course that he began to understand the potential of a systematic, scientific approach to the study of social life and history. As a result of his studies, and at the prompting of a favorite professor, Jim abandoned his plans to attend law school and decided to apply to the interdisciplinary graduate program in social psychology at the University of Michigan.

Jim’s early years at Michigan were formative in many ways—he found himself drawn to the more sociological aspects of social psychology, more deeply immersed in sociology as a field, and more committed to quantitative, nonexperimental, survey research methods. Although he entered graduate school assuming he would eventually teach at a small liberal arts college, he soon realized that the program at Michigan was designed to train researchers rather than teachers, and he took full advantage of its offerings. He became interested in a range of phenomena—social movements, interethnic prejudice, status inconsistency—that had spawned particularistic theories implicating stress and strain, and became curious about the general principles that united them. He worked with a group of faculty—Jack French, Bob Kahn, and Sidney Cobb—who applied theories of stress to the study of physical health and undertook a dissertation on occupational stress and coronary heart disease. There, he also met his future wife, Wendy Fisher House, with whom he

would raise two children and, just recently, celebrate his fortieth anniversary.

Jim’s first academic position was in the sociology department of Duke University, one of the few departments, he believes, that would have viewed his work as sociological at the time. Duke offered an ideal environment for his early professional development with a good balance of teaching and research along with supportive professional colleagues in both sociological and psychological social psychology who had similar intellectual interests. It was this stimulating interdisciplinary environment that prompted “The Three Faces of Social Psychology,” an outgrowth of Jim’s thinking about how his work was similar to and different from that of his colleagues in psychology. Jim first wrote the piece as the introductory chapter for a textbook he intended to produce but, with his eye on the tenure clock, sent it off to what was then *Sociometry* instead. The book was never written but his review of the field reached a wide audience nonetheless.

Jim returned to Michigan as an associate professor in the late 1970s. There he became part of an interdisciplinary research group in Social Environment and Health, and founded a highly successful training program in psychosocial factors in mental health and illness. He led projects on work, social support, and socioeconomic inequalities, and directed major data collection efforts, including the Americans’ Changing Lives Study and the Chicago Community Adult Health Study. During his time at Michigan, he has been amazingly prolific. By my count, he has published over 120 articles and chapters as well as five books with many more forthcoming. He has been principal or co-principal investigator on fifteen external grants, co-investigator on twelve others.

More important than these numbers is the broad influence of Jim’s research on the interdisciplinary field of social epidemiology. Each and every project has broken new ground. He was among the first to document the effects of occupational stress on coronary heart disease (House 1974), the health risks of social isolation (House, Robbins, and Metzner 1982), and the relatively early declines in

health among persons with low levels of education (House et al. 1990). His seminal contributions continue unabated in his most recent project on neighborhood contexts and health in which he and his colleagues analyze, in exquisite detail, how the social worlds we inhabit, in interaction with our own predispositions and capacities, affect our bodily functioning (Morenoff et al. 2007). Although directed to an interdisciplinary audience, Jim's research asserts a strong social psychological perspective. His early belief that sociological social psychology offers the most keen lens for understanding and improving society has been borne out by his work, a rare combination of sophisticated theory, rigorous state-of-the-art analysis, and social relevance.

For all of his professional success, Jim finds greatest satisfaction in the work he does with and for other people. This is nowhere more evident than in the deep and meaningful relationships he has formed with students under his tutelage. I can attest personally to the benefits that derive from his generosity of spirit, intellectual curiosity, and perceptive feedback. I recently reviewed his comments on several of my graduate papers and am even more appreciative now than I was then of the gentle and straightforward manner in which he pointed out the flaws in my otherwise "thorough and thoughtful" arguments. Other former students offer the following reflections. "He is a fabulous mentor—patient, willing to work on the most mundane issues if need be and continually helping one to put together a research project that constitutes an original contribution to the field." And, "When I was a grad student, I remember how remarkable it was that I would always leave Jim's office reinvigorated about whatever I was working on. Despite being very busy himself, he was able to truly focus on my needs when we met. Now as a mentor myself, I try to do the same thing for my students—to put my own frustrations of the day aside to provide them the sort of support they need. What a gift Jim gave me by showing me how a great mentor should act!" He has brought to the field of sociological social psychology many other accomplished scholars, too numerous to mention here, who carry his dedication to sociological

social psychology and his rich and rigorous approach to research into new settings. And, he has done so without sacrificing the relationships he holds most dear, with his wife and children. I still remember the class session in which he said that he did not finish grading our papers the night before because his children required his attention. At that moment, he became my most powerful professional mentor.

Jim has also served the field of social psychology through the administrative positions he has held. He was Chair of the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan from 1986 to 1990; then, as now, he worked to maintain and build the strong social psychology group in that department. He was Director of the Survey Research Center at the Institute for Social Research, a nationally and internationally recognized home for social psychological research, from 1991 to 2001. He has been Council member, Cooley-Mead Award committee member, Chair of the ASA Social Psychology section, and also chair of the Medical Sociology section.

This past fall, Jim began an affiliation with the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan. He sees this as an opportunity to think and write more about the policy implications of his research on aging, inequality, and health, to learn more about and from public policy scholars, and especially to bring social psychological insight to a field too often unaware of the meso- and micro-level processes that influence whether, how, and why social policies have their intended effects. Health policy research will be richer for his presence, and the influence of sociological social psychology will broaden as a result.

In closing, Jim House is an elected member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Institute of Medicine, and the National Academy of Science. He has previously been honored by the University of Michigan as Distinguished Faculty and by the Medical Sociology section of the ASA with the Leo G. Reeder Award for Distinguished Contributions to the field. It is only fitting that we acknowledge the social

psychological underpinnings of his most influential research, and his lasting theoretical and empirical contributions to our field, with this most prestigious award.

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Jane D. McLeod is professor of sociology at Indiana University. Her research applies the principles of the social structure and personality paradigm to the study of stratification and health over the life course. Her current projects include a study of the life course outcomes of children with emotional and behavioral problems and theoretical writings on the integration of symbolic interactionist principles into stress research. She is Deputy Editor of *Social Psychology Quarterly*.

Social Psychology, Social Science, and Economics: Twentieth Century Progress and Problems, Twenty-first Century Prospects*

JAMES S. HOUSE

University of Michigan

Stimulated by social scientists' and especially social psychologists' contributions during World War II, as well as by America's post-war economic and population growth, the period from 1945 to 1970 was widely viewed as a "Golden Age" for American social science. Interdisciplinary social psychology arguably was in the vanguard of these developments. Progress since then have been variable and in some ways negative for social psychology, not only as an interdisciplinary field, but also within its parent disciplines of psychology and especially sociology, where social psychology could plausibly become extinct within twenty-five years. The decline of social psychology as a field and a broad influence on the social sciences, society, and public policy has coincided with a rise of economics to an analogous vanguard position. Understanding the reasons for and implications of these trends has been limited, with a focus on analyses of developments within particular disciplines. However, developments across the social sciences, and society more broadly, are equally or more important to understanding these trends. Future prospects also depend heavily on these broader societal forces, but the inertial tendencies of trajectories since 1970 within and between social science disciplines and fields will necessarily play a major role. The twenty-first century offers the prospect of renewed importance of social psychology in a more interdisciplinary and integrated set of social and policy sciences, if social psychologists and the parent disciplines of sociology and psychology are prepared to capitalize on and take leadership of emerging opportunities.

Prefatory Note

This paper identifies and analyzes two major trends in the social sciences over the last half of the twentieth century. These are by no means the only major lines of development, but seem particularly important to me as an interdisciplinary, sociological social psychologist interested in the relationship between social science and public policy. One trend is the rise of broadly interdisciplinary social psychology in the middle of the twentieth century, and its relative decline over the past several decades, first as an interdisciplinary venture and more recently as a sociological one. The other is the rising profile and influence of economics over the same period.

This address does not celebrate social psychology, or some aspects of it, as most Cooley-Mead award addresses have done. I am an optimist at heart and will end on an optimistic note. However, I believe that sociological social psychology, as well as social psychology and social science more broadly must constructively recognize and confront elephants and gorillas in our collective living rooms that we too often fail to notice or choose to ignore, while pursuing our work mainly within disciplines or subfields thereof. I hope my comments, however tentative, will stimulate collective discussion that will be salutary for social psychology, sociology, and the social and policy sciences, and hence for society, which is ultimately what we seek to understand and improve.

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The social sciences became established numerically, institutionally, intellectually, and scientifically during the first three quarters of the twentieth century, especially in the United States. Disciplinary university departments and national professional associations emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but many have seen the decades from the 1930s through the 1960s as a kind of “Golden Age” in the scientific and institutional development of the social sciences, with an interdisciplinary field of social psychology very much at the center of it all (e.g., Sewell 1989; Featherman and Vinovskis 2001 esp. Chs. 1 and 3).

THE GOLDEN AGE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

The Influence of World War II

World War II mobilized a broad array of social scientists, especially social psychologists from psychology and sociology, to lend their expertise to the war effort through research on a wide range of military and domestic issues (Clausen 1984; House 1977; Sewell 1989; Cartwright 1979). The members, and in some cases even the structure, of these interdisciplinary teams returned to academic social science after the war, with interdisciplinary social psychology in the vanguard. For example, authors of the four-volume classic, *The American Soldier: Studies in Social Psychology in World War II* (Stouffer, Suchman et al. 1949; Stouffer, Lumsdaine et al. 1949), led interdisciplinary social psychology programs and research centers at the University of Chicago (Samuel Stouffer and Shirley Starr), Columbia (Paul Lazarsfeld), Cornell University (Robin Williams), the University of California, Berkeley (Herbert Blumer and John Clausen), and Harvard (again Samuel Stouffer) to name just a few. Key members of the Division of Program Surveys at the Department of Agriculture (Rensis Likert, Angus Campbell, Leslie Kish, Charles Cannell, and George Katona), who had done research on domestic populations in the United States and abroad analogous to the Stouffer group’s work on the military, founded the Survey Research Center (SRC) at the

University of Michigan in 1946. In 1948 they were joined in establishing the Institute for Social Research (ISR) by members of Kurt Lewin’s Research Center for Group Dynamics, who had also done major social psychological research related to the war effort, though in academic settings (House et al. 2004).

In a previous Cooley-Mead Award article, Sewell (1989) described his participation during World War II in interdisciplinary research groups of anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, statisticians, political scientists, and psychiatrists, all of which had social psychological theory, concepts, and methods at their core. He noted the postwar creation of interdisciplinary programs for graduate training in social psychology at “Michigan, Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Berkeley, Columbia, Minnesota, Wisconsin and other leading universities,” in some cases formal interdisciplinary or interdepartmental programs (e.g., at Cornell, Harvard, Michigan, Nevada), in others looser cooperative groups (e.g., Yale, Columbia, Minnesota, and Wisconsin) or informal enterprises within interdisciplinary research centers (e.g., the National Opinion Research Center or NORC at Chicago) and/or traditional disciplinary departments (e.g., sociology at Columbia, with its affiliated Bureau of Applied Social Research led by Robert Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld, the former trained as a sociologist, the latter as a psychologist.) Significant centers of interdisciplinary social psychological research also developed in the military and in the Laboratory of Socioenvironmental Studies at the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), under the direction of John Clausen (1984), and later Melvin Kohn and Carmi Schooler.

Universities, foundations, and new federal research funding agencies, especially the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) and the National Science Foundation (NSF), but also mission agencies such as the Departments of Education, Labor, and even the military (e.g. the Office of Naval Research), increased funding and other tangible support for social psychological research and training, especially in interdisciplinary contexts. These resources were sizeable

absolutely and relative to pre-war levels, if still modest in comparison to the natural or biomedical sciences (Sewell 1989; Featherman and Vinovskis 2001).

Transformative Effects of Social Psychology within Disciplines

Social psychological theory and methods infused and even dramatically altered social science fields beyond sociology and psychology. Most dramatically, political science became a "behavioral" discipline via the influence of survey studies of voting behavior begun by Lazarsfeld and colleagues (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1948) and brought to transformative levels in the Michigan National Election Studies (Converse and Kinder 2004). Anthropology and economics were also significantly, though ultimately less transformatively, infused by interdisciplinary social psychological theory and methods, with reciprocal influences on social psychology (cf. Hsu 1961; Wallace 1970 on anthropology; Curtin [2004] and Duncan, Hofferth and Stafford [2004] on economics) that continue in the present (Kitayama and Cohen 2007).

Within sociology, social psychology was influential in a wide range of ways and areas. These include: the social psychological work of Talcott Parsons (1951, 1964) and Robert Merton (1957), the leading figures, respectively, of grand and mid-range sociological theory of the period; the social psychological foundations of the major methods of research—sample surveys, experiments, and qualitative/observational methods; and the prominence of social psychological theories and concepts in major substantive areas of research such as the other five substantive sections (besides methodology, social psychology, and theory) of the American Sociological Association (ASA) as of 1970: criminology and law (H. S. Becker 1963; Cloward and Ohlin 1960); family (Goode 1964); medical sociology (Becker et al. 1961; Mechanic 1968); organizations (Katz and Kahn 1966; Scott 1981); and education (Coleman, Johnstone, and Jonassohn 1961; Coleman 1966). Social psychology was also central to

research and theory on stratification, especially the status attainment theory and research of Sewell, Hauser, Featherman, Haller, and even Duncan, (Featherman and Haller 2007), as well as on collective behavior and social movements (Smelser 1963) and race and ethnicity (Blalock 1967; Williams 1964).

Effects on Public Policy and Society

The influence of interdisciplinary social psychology extended to the broader realms of social life and public policy from the 1950s into the early 1970s. Social psychological theories and methods came to infuse and transform major areas of social life, for example in the increasing and almost revolutionary impact (for better or worse) of public opinion/political surveys or polls for the practice as well as the study of: (1) politics, mass media, and communication (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955), and (2) organizational behavior and management (Katz and Kahn 1966). Social psychological analyses of social life by both academics and journalists, some best sellers, were widely discussed in lay circles (e.g., David Riesman's [1950] *The Lonely Crowd*, Richard Hofstadter's [1965] *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, Vance Packard's [1959] *The Status Seekers*, William Whyte's [1956] *The Organization Man*, and Betty Friedan's [1963] *The Feminine Mystique*).

Social science increasingly informed public policy, whether produced by judicial, legislative, or executive action, again with social psychology a major influence. An *amicus curiae* brief authored by social psychologist Kenneth Clark and other social scientists influenced the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." The so-called Camelot era ushered into the Federal executive branch by the election of John F. Kennedy as President in 1960 and continued under President Lyndon Johnson brought social scientists into positions of influence in the White House in the person of the social historian Arthur Schlesinger, and domestic policy advisors such as Theodore Sorenson and Daniel

Patrick Moynihan (1965), a sociologist whose policy concerns and thinking were quite social psychological. The Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) assumed a more prominent role in policy, with a major applied success for Keynesian macroeconomics in the Kennedy tax cut that turned the economy from recession to prosperity in the early and mid 1960s. Social/developmental psychologists such as Urie Bronfenbrennen and Edward Zigler played major roles in the development of the Head Start Program in the late 1960s and beyond, and social psychologically oriented sociologists such as Cloward and Ohlin were influential in the development of the related though shorter lived Community Action Program (cf. Featherman and Vinovskis 2001).

A movement developed, again heavily infused with social psychologists and social psychological ideas and methods, to create and monitor a set of “social indicators,” analogous to the economic indicators used in formulating and monitoring economic policy, and a “Council of Social Advisors,” analogous to the CEA, that would help to interpret and use these social indicators for policy analysis and formulation (Executive Office of the President: Office of Management and Budget 1973; Sheldon and Moore 1968). None of these or similar initiatives to institutionalize noneconomic social science in the executive branch of the federal government came to

fruition, however (Featherman and Vinovskis 2001).

Social Psychology Preeminent At The End of the Golden Age

The left side of Table 1 epitomizes the preeminent position that social psychology occupied as of 1970 even in sociology, a discipline long worried about being reduced to psychology or biology and hence ambivalent about social psychology (cf. Durkheim 1938, 1951). In 1970 the American Sociological Association had just about reached the apogee of a stunning growth in membership from about 1500 in 1945 to almost 15,000 in 1972, levels which then declined through the mid-1980s and only returned to the 1970 level in 2006—another indicator of the 1945–1970 years as a “Golden Age” of social science as well as social psychology (MacAdam 2007). There were only eight sections of the ASA in 1970, and only a minority of the 14,000 members belonged to one or more of them; but social psychology was clearly the largest section, both absolutely and relatively, with 756 members, constituting over 5% of all ASA members and 18.5% of all section memberships.

SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY IN DECLINE: 1970S TO THE PRESENT

As the right panel of Table 1 shows, although total ASA membership was about the

TABLE 1. Growth or Decline in Sections of the American Sociological Association (ASA) between 1970 and 2006: Overall and for the 8 Sections Present in 1970.

| | | 1970 | | | 2006 |
|---|-----|-----------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Total ASA Membership | | 14,156 | | | 14,222 |
| Number of Sections | | 8 | | | 44 |
| Section Memberships | | 4087 | | | 24,234 |
| ASA Section Memberships (ordered by 1970 size) | N | % of Total Section Memberships | N | % of Total Section Memberships | |
| 1. Social Psychology | 756 | 18.50% | 664 | 2.70% | |
| 2. Medical Sociology | 693 | 17.00% | 1010 | 4.20% | |
| 3. Organizations | 555 | 13.60% | 1046 | 4.30% | |
| 4. Sociology of Education | 489 | 12.00% | 796 | 3.30% | |
| 5. Methodology | 471 | 11.50% | 407 | 1.70% | |
| 6. Criminology & Law | 407 | 10.00% | 701 | 2.90% | |
| 7. Family | 370 | 9.10% | 819 | 3.40% | |
| 8. Theory | 346 | 8.50% | 829 | 3.40% | |

Source: American Sociological Association Section Records (contact sections@asanet.org)

same in 2006 as in 1970, the number of sections and section memberships had grown to 44 and 24,234 respectively. However, the membership of the social psychology section had declined both absolutely from 756 to 664 (one of only two of the 8 sections present in 1970 that had an absolute decline in members over this period, the other being methodology) and even more relatively, now representing about 4% of the total ASA membership and only 2.7% of all section memberships.

Given the proliferation of sections in the ASA over the last several decades, section membership is arguably not a very good index of either the absolute or relative position of social psychology. However, data both on the number of graduate departments offering specializations in social psychology and the number of faculty in these departments identifying social psychology as a specialty are fully consistent with the decline, tending toward disappearance, of social psychology as an area of specialization in sociology. Table 2 shows the percentage of the top 30 graduate departments in sociology that offered a specialization in social psychology from 1970 through 2007, and the average percentages of the faculty per department that listed social psychology as a specialty.

Again, the apparent decline in social psychology as a subfield of sociology is striking. The proportion of the top 30 departments offering social psychology as a specialty declined from a level of two-thirds to three-quarters for the period 1970 to 1990 to only about one-third for the period 1995 to 2007. The proportion of faculty per department who

list social psychology as a specialty declined more linearly from 14.4% in 1980 to 6.5% in 2007. Comparable data on this latter indicator are unfortunately not available for 1970, but given the trends in the table and the data in Table 1, one might plausibly impute a value of around 18% for 1970, in which case the proportion of faculty in the top 30 graduate programs with a social psychology specialty in 2007 was only one-third of what it was in 1970. Declines in the proportion of social psychology faculty lead declines in departments listing social psychology as a specialization, with departments presumably dropping the specialty as the number of faculty drops to or below a critical threshold such as one or two, which is what percentages of faculty under 10% begin to imply in the typical sociology graduate department of 15 to 30 faculty.

The numbers in Table 2 are quite robust to finer breakdowns by prestige of department (top 10 vs. second 10 vs. third 10) or type of faculty (full-time vs. other), and project the virtual disappearance of social psychology from sociology in a period of time less than that represented in Tables 1 and 2. If one prefers more qualitative, ethnographic data, I have directly observed these processes and trends over the last 30 years in my own department at the University of Michigan, once the leading institution in interdisciplinary social psychology as well as social psychology within the disciplines of both sociology and psychology, and currently struggling to maintain a social psychology specialty area in sociology, as are some other sociology departments

TABLE 2. The Decline of Social Psychology as an Area of Specialization for Departments and Graduate Faculty among the Top 30 Graduate Programs in Sociology, 1970–2007

| Year | % of Top 30 Departments Having Social Psychology as a Specialty | % of All Faculty with a Social Psychology Specialty (avg. across Top 30 Departments) |
|------|---|--|
| 1970 | 68.60% | 18.0% (est) |
| 1980 | 77.50% | 14.40% |
| 1985 | 79.00% | 12.40% |
| 1990 | 67.60% | 10.60% |
| 1995 | 33.30% | 8.20% |
| 2000 | 40.50% | 8.50% |
| 2007 | 34.20% | 6.50% |

Source: Compiled from American Sociological Association Guides to Graduate Departments for 1970, 1980, 1985, 1990, 2000, 2007

(e.g. Wisconsin) with formerly sizable and prominent social psychology areas.

Trends in Interdisciplinary and Psychological Social Psychology

Psychology is a much more paradigmatic field than sociology, and social psychology has been an established subfield of psychology since before World War II. Nevertheless, even in psychology both the number of social psychologists and the centrality of social psychology to the discipline have declined. Data of the type presented in Table 2 are not as easily obtainable for psychology, but one can generate data for psychology comparable to those for sociology in Table 1. These show psychology as a discipline (at least as represented by American Psychological Association membership) grew by 170 % from 1970 (30,839 members) to 2000 (83,096 members). Sections (called divisions in APA) have also grown from 29 in 1970 to 53 in 2005 (or 37,000 to over 75,000 memberships), not proportionately as much as in sociology. However, the number of members of Division 8 (Personality and Social Psychology) peaked at just over 4800 in 1972, dropped to under 3000 by 1989 and has not risen stably above that level since. The proportion that Division 8 (Personality and Social Psychology) represents of all division membership has declined, though not quite as dramatically as in sociology, from 12.4% in 1970 to 4.0% in 2005. (Similar trends are present for Division 9, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, though with its apogee in 1984.)¹

¹ The absolute numerical decline noted for psychology requires more complex analysis than is possible here due to the development of two organizations outside of APA—the Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP) and the American Psychological Society (APS). The latter was formed in 1989 after the declines noted, so its formation cannot be a direct factor, though social psychologists may have left APA pre-1989 and then joined APS when it formed. SPSP has not responded to repeated requests for data on membership by years, leaving its impact on the APA numbers indeterminate. The relatively declining centrality of social psychology within psychology remains, though clearly in much attenuated and historically gradual form compared to sociological social psychology. (cf. Rodrigues and Levine 1999; Brannigan 2004; Greenwood 2004)

Beyond the disciplines of sociology and psychology, the collapse of interdisciplinary social psychology has been well-described by Sewell (1989), with formal interdisciplinary programs extinct by the later 1970s; and one can perceive a declining relevance and penetration of social psychology into other social sciences or broader social life and public policy. Full exploration of these latter trends is beyond my expertise, and certainly the constraints of this paper, although some further documentation will be provided as we turn to understanding, explaining, and interpreting the absolute and relative decline of social psychology both as an interdisciplinary field and within the disciplines of psychology and especially sociology.

FROM THE GOLDEN AGE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO THE GOLDEN AGE OF ECONOMICS

This rise and decline of social psychology left a void to be filled at the leading edge of social science. The 1970s constituted a transitional decade between the 1960s and the post-1980 “Reagan era” for all aspects of American society, including the social sciences and the universities in which they were and are heavily based. I would argue that economics, especially micro and monetary economics, has filled the void, such that the last quarter century could be viewed as a “Golden Age of Economics” (or at least micro and monetary economics). One indicator of the current pre-eminence of economics is the higher salaries and lower teaching loads that economists command compared to other social scientists in both academic and nonacademic settings.

Economics was arguably the earliest social science to crystallize in the modern (i.e., post-seventeenth century) era, and is almost entirely a product of that era. Unlike most other social sciences, which have lineages back to ancient times, economics is essentially a science of free markets, which did not emerge on a large scale until the eighteenth century. It has also developed more steadily and linearly, while sharing in the expansionary growth of the Golden Age from 1945 to 1970. Current theory and methods

were more evident in economics prior to World War II than in other social sciences; its relevance to and role in at least economic aspects of public policy were also recognized by then, particularly as a function of the Great Depression (Camic 2007); and it was numerically the largest of the social sciences in 1940, at least as indexed by professional association memberships. The role of economics in public policy was greatly enhanced by the success of the Kennedy tax cuts of the 1960s. But the influence of economics in public policy was then largely confined to economic realms or clearly economic aspects of other concerns, such as health-care financing and insurance.

In the 1960s, however, economists, most notably Gary Becker (1976; 1986) at the University of Chicago, began to apply economic theory to a wide range of areas in other social sciences. "Rational choice" theory and modeling increasingly permeated other social sciences, particularly political science, but also sociology, leading James Coleman (1989) to try to reformulate social theory on a foundation of microeconomics. The central economic idea that major social phenomena are constituted by and emerge from individual actors' making constrained choices among alternatives permeated more widely, even to those not particularly enamored of more formal rational choice theory, for example in the growth of interest in sociology in things like "human agency" (Sewell 1992), "micro to macro" (and not just macro to micro) relations (Alexander et al. 1987), and social "capital" (Coleman 1988; Portes 1998; Putnam 2000).

Several major developments and influences from outside the social sciences—(1) new understandings of the biological/genetic basis of organisms and their behavior, (2) cognitive neuroscience, and (3) the new approaches from computer science to conceptualizing and analyzing information and its flows within networks—were very compatible with and readily related to or absorbed into economic models and methods. Similarly, some older behaviorist notions and the newer cognitive orientations of psychology and social psychology could also be comfortably related to and integrated with economic theory. Large-scale longitudinal studies of national populations

such as the National Longitudinal Studies (Parnes 1981) and the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (Morgan and Duncan 1974), initiated and shaped by economists in the 1960s and 1970s, ironically became foundational data sets for non-economist social scientists as secondary analyses came to dominate primary data collection for budgetary as well as scientific reasons in most quantitative non-experimental social science by the 1980s.

And some non-economists recognized the degree to which explicitly making their work more related and accessible to economics could enhance its broader recognition, utilization, and influence. Thus Kahneman and Tversky (1979) adapted and translated their social psychological theory and research on the cognitive heuristics and biases of human actors to economists and economic theory via an article in *Econometrica*, whence it was highly lauded and utilized, leading Kahneman to receive only the second Nobel Prize in Economics awarded to a non-economist.

Economics, Public Policy, and Society

The prestige and indeed power of economics has increased as much or more in public policy and society more generally as it has within and among the social sciences. This has been greatly aided by the increasing utilization of economics and economists in a wide range of professional schools, most notably business, but also public health, social work/welfare, medicine, law, and education, and most importantly by the development of a new form of professional school in "public policy." Although many universities long had schools or programs in public administration and/or international affairs/diplomacy, which were oriented to training people to enter government bureaucracies and/or foreign service, schools of public policy as we now know them did not exist before the 1970s (Featherman and Vinovskis 2001). To my knowledge and that of those in public policy whom I have asked, there is currently not a body of literature on the history and nature of this development, but one thing seems increasingly clear—economics, and especially microeconomics, has come to play the central role in

the curricula of these schools, and to a related degree their faculty composition, increasingly eclipsing the formerly foundational discipline of political science. For example, microeconomics and cost-benefit analysis based on microeconomics are part of the required core curriculum in any current leading public policy school or program, while sociology, psychology, social psychology have until quite recently played a minor, if any, role, in the curriculum or core faculty of such schools.

Given its increasing preeminence in the social sciences and the professional field of public policy, it is not surprising that economics has become increasingly predominant in government policy and broader public discourse. People trained in economics and/or public policy play major roles in the formulation and analysis of policy, both within government and in the growing extra-governmental sector of public policy institutes or “think tanks” on both the political right and left (Blank 2002). Economists chairing the Federal Reserve System have arguably become the most visible and influential social scientists in the Federal government, and economic theory and analyses have played increasingly large roles in almost all aspects of both domestic and foreign policy. And whereas the most widely read books authored by economists in the 1960s were essentially attempts to sociologically modify classical economic theory to deal with the changing nature of society (e.g., Galbraith 1958), the most widely read book today is *Freakonomics*, one premised on the idea that economic theory and methods can supplant other forms of analysis in understanding and solving social problems, as epitomized in the lead-in to one of its chapters in the first edition and on the book jacket of the second edition: “philosophy tells us how the world ought to be; economics tells us how it is” (Levitt and Dubner 2005).

UNDERSTANDING THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND THE RISE OF ECONOMICS IN THE LATER TWENTIETH CENTURY

The most usual frame for understanding developments in scientific fields is largely

intradisciplinary: different theories, methods, and substantive ideas and concerns wax and wane either as they become more or less relevant or adequate to understand or explain the empirical concerns of the discipline and larger society or as they become more or less a part of its core assumptions, paradigms, and things taken for granted (cf. Kuhn 1962). In my view, these are not sufficient or even predominant explanations for the rise and decline of social psychology. An intradisciplinary analysis is somewhat more compelling, but also not sufficient, for understanding the rise of economics. Equally or more important in the case of social psychology as well as economics is the interplay between a given discipline and phenomena external to it: other related disciplines, organizational and institutional contexts on which it depends for support, and the broader social, cultural, and political contexts which shape all social life, including scientific and academic life. I will begin from the intradisciplinary perspective and expand toward a broader societal one.

Intradisciplinary/Intrafield Analysis

The Sad Demise, Mysterious Disappearance, and Glorious Triumph of Social Psychology? The heading of this section borrows from the title of Gary Fine’s (1993) scholarly, thoughtful, and stimulating analysis of the development of symbolic interactionism (SI) over the past several decades. Fine argues that SI as a distinctive intellectual agenda and community has withered, not because of deficiencies in its ideas, but rather because SI has both “incorporated” ideas from other perspectives and areas and seen its ideas “adopted” by them. In that sense SI has both “disappeared” and “triumphed gloriously”: . . . “the concepts of interactionism have become the concepts of much sociology” (Fine 1993:81). His thesis is supported by the degree to which sociology has become increasingly concerned with symbolic interactionist and social psychological issues, such as (1) relations between microsocial and macrosocial phenomena, (2) problems of human agency, and (3) the use of sub-

jective/interpretive approaches to sociological analysis.

However, others argue counter to Fine, that SI is not as central to sociology as it once was (McCall 2006), and frequently absent from core courses in sociological theory (Howard 2007). And whatever the "triumphs" for SI or social psychology and the gains for sociology, these are substantially offset by losses on other fronts. Most importantly, sociological discussions of micro-macro relations, human agency, and social constructionism (e.g., Giddens 1984; Sewell 1992) tend more to assert or suggest rather than deeply analyze or explain, because, as Sheldon Stryker (1987) argued in the first Cooley-Mead award address, these discussions are not grounded in more rigorous symbolic interactionist or other social psychological theory and research from either sociology or psychology. Further, the triumph or assimilation of SI into the mainstream of sociology under the increasingly utilized rubric of microsociology would be a Pyhhric victory for both sociology and SI, increasing their isolation from psychology, which is, along with sociology, one of the two core fields of social science as well as the other parent discipline of social psychology. Just as microbiology is not biochemistry or biophysics, microsociology is not social psychology.

Dissipation (a.k.a disappearance and triumph) of social psychology? Three decades ago, Allen Liska (1977) made an argument similar to Fine's, though less optimistic and more applicable to the experimental and survey-based forms of sociological psychology. In "The Dissipation of Social Psychology," Liska argued that social psychologists had become more engaged and identified with substantive subfields of sociology or related professional fields such as criminology and law, health and medicine, work and organizations, education, race and ethnicity, gender, etc. Social psychologists' contributions enriched those fields, but dissipated social psychology. Liska's argument rings true for me more now than it did then (cf. House 1977), my career since the 1970s perhaps having exemplified his argument. This argument

also begs the question of why social psychology did not have a sufficient rate of reproduction and immigration into it to compensate for emigration of social psychologists into other areas.

A variant of this claim is that sociological social psychology, or aspects of it (e.g., social structure and personality), simply morphed into newly emergent subfields, themselves linked to psychology and other disciplines, most notably life-course theory and research (Elder 1994; Elder and Shanahan 2006; Featherman 1983; Featherman and Lerner 1985; Featherman and Petersen 1986). The life-course area, like others that attracted social psychologists, both provided new areas for applying social psychology and brought to the fore ideas underemphasized in social psychology as of the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., the historical and developmental context of human behavior). However, the extent to which such emergent areas became separate and increasingly distinct from social psychology (as in the case of social epidemiology discussed below), reflects changes in the external environment (e.g., the launching of a new National Institute of Aging at NIH in 1974 with life-course sociologist Matilda White Riley as one of its early leaders) more than an intellectual supplanting of social psychology.

Theoretical/methodological failures. In different ways and with respect to different faces of social psychology, both William Sewell (1989) and Harold Kelley (2000) respectively, pointed in their Cooley-Mead Award addresses to theoretical deficiencies of interdisciplinary social psychology and psychological social psychology as helping to account for their respective declines.

Sewell said of social psychology and social science more generally in the Golden Age (1989):

... no powerful theoretical breakthroughs occurred during this period (or for that matter since then). ... Although important improvements were made in the research methods. ... None ... was sufficient to fuel theoretical breakthroughs. Unfortunately, the rather modest developments that took place in social psychological theory and methods during the Golden Age were

not sufficient to serve as the basis of a new interdisciplinary field.

Kelley (2000:4) lamented the lack of consensus on a core subject matter in psychological social psychology (cf. Hunt 1993; Zajonc 1999) and even more “that we have no general theory of social psychology”, and suggested a focus on “the study of interaction and its immediate determinants and consequences” drawing together the kind of analysis of situations provided by Thibaut and Kelley (1959; Kelley and Thibaut 1978) with understandings from personality psychology (cf. Turner 1988).

My own analysis of the “crises” and problems of social psychology in the 1970s (House 1977), building on prior analyses of Inkeles (1959, 1963; Inkeles and Levinson 1969), pointed toward yet another theoretical gap—the failure to develop theories specifying and explaining relationships between macrosocial structures and processes and individual personality and behavior. This left social psychology, and a discipline of sociology heavily influenced by it, vulnerable to a critique that they were masking and muting the role in social life of social structural inequalities in power and privilege and resultant latent and manifest social conflicts (Burawoy 2005; Calhoun and VanAntwerpen 2007; Gouldner 1970; Wallerstein 2007).

The inability of a scientific field or paradigm to adequately describe and explain the social phenomena it purports to deal with is clearly a major force in its being transformed or supplanted, but critiques such as those of Sewell and Kelley tend to be overdrawn and underspecified. Developments in social psychology of the Golden Age hardly looked “rather modest” in 1965 or even 1970, as suggested at the beginning of this paper, and I doubt that they did then to Sewell or Kelley. Moreover, prior Cooley-Mead awardees have documented substantial theoretical and empirical development over the last 20 to 30 years. Lack of integration of social psychological theory and research and its failure to engage major social issues concerned me and others in the 1970s, and these problems have persisted and even grown in the succeeding decades

(cf. Howard 2007). However, these problems are arguably as much a function of changes in the broader social environment that have adversely affected social psychology, especially some of its more macrosocial forms, and fostered the development and intellectual and social influence of economics.

Intradisciplinary developments in economics.

In contrast to the increasing theoretical and methodological diversity and dispersion of social psychology and other social science fields discussed further below, economics has become increasingly paradigmatic theoretically (in terms of microeconomic theory) and methodologically (in terms of econometrics), especially to address issues of causality in social science and policy (Blank 2002; Levitt and Dubner, 2005). This has, however, also placed economics at an increased distance from the other social sciences. In many substantive areas, there are parallel but largely disconnected literatures in economics vs. the other social sciences (as evidenced for example by cross-disciplinary citation and utilization of ideas, or the lack thereof, especially from other fields into economics). The cumulative development and evolution of the economics paradigm, as well as its increasing narrowness and isolation from the other social sciences, is partly attributable to its almost unique relation, for better or worse, among the social sciences to extradisciplinary forces.

Broader Developments in the Social Sciences and Academia

The Failure of Success: Dramatic 1945–70 Growth of the Social Sciences Creating Forces Away From Interdisciplinarity and Toward Intradisciplinarity. Figure 1 (a and b) shows the growth in membership since 1945 of the professional associations of psychology, economics, and sociology. All show explosive growth from 1945 to 1970—ranging from almost fivefold in economics to almost tenfold in sociology. Growth since then has been at best slow and gradual, except for psychology, which has grown mainly among PhD-level applied practitioners.

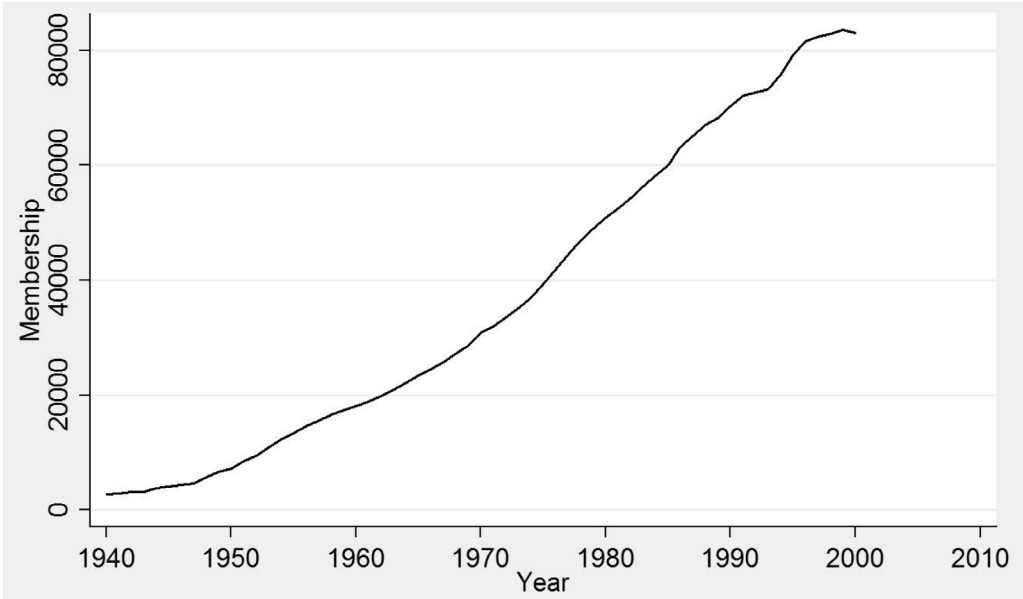


Figure 1a: Membership in American Psychological Association (APA), 1940–2000
 Source: <http://www.apa.org/archives/yearlymembership.html>

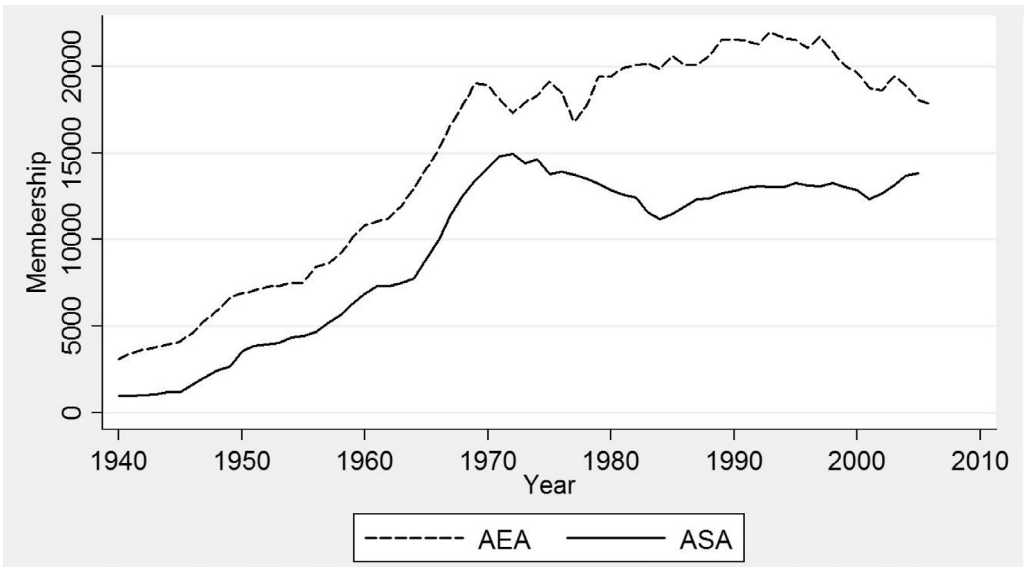


Figure 1b: Membership in American Economic Association (AEA) and American Sociological Association (ASA), 1940–2005/6
 Source: Diego de los Rios – delosrios@asanet.org, ASA Governance and Sections Assistant; http://www.vanderbilt.edu/AEA/demo_info.htm

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, as in World War II, individual social scientists and disciplines needed linkage across disciplines to do much of the research and teaching they wanted to do—the total members across all of the associations in Figure 1 as of 1945 being less than the total within any one of these dis-

ciplines as of 1970—and disciplines were often combined into departments (e.g. sociology and anthropology, which were still combined at Duke University when I began my career there in 1970). By the early 1970s each of the disciplines was large enough to feel relatively self-sufficient. Disciplinary growth

and success were increasingly inimical to or marginalizing of (cf. Kelley 2000) interdisciplinary areas like social psychology. Most of successful interdisciplinary training or research programs of the Golden Age were established in the postwar period before massive disciplinary growth, and most of these did not survive much beyond the apogee of numerical growth in 1970. Efforts to move in similar interdisciplinary directions in the later 1950s and 1960s, when the size and strength of the disciplines was growing by leaps and bounds, generally never got off the ground (Sewell 1989).

As Durkheim (1947) would have predicted, this explosive growth also promoted increasing specialization (aka fragmentation) within disciplines, and even subfields thereof. Forces toward specialization and fragmentation were reinforced by the increasing demographic diversification of the membership of most disciplines, as will be discussed further below, even as they remained numerically stable after 1970. Areas of specialization multiplied, as indicated in Figure 2 by the growth of sections or divisions within the American Psychological and American Sociological associations. Thus an interdisciplinary field like social psychology also faced increasing

competition and marginalization even when it tried to assume intradisciplinary forms.

Growth in professional fields and an increasing basic vs. applied divide. In the quarter century after World War II, the general population and higher education in America grew dramatically. This drove growth not only in the social sciences and arts and sciences more generally, but also in professional schools related to social sciences—business, criminal justice, education, law, nursing, public health, and social work—many of which had previously been intellectually and even institutionally linked to the basic social sciences as in departments of sociology and social work (Lengermann and Niebrugge 2007).

Social-science teaching and research on more applied problems, and the social scientists doing it, increasingly migrated to professional schools, e.g. criminology and law studies to schools of criminal justice or law; organizational studies to business schools; health and medical studies to medical, nursing, and public-health schools. This in turn fostered a growing division between basic and applied theory and research, with basic disciplines increasingly disinterested in or hostile to applied work, and, conversely, professional

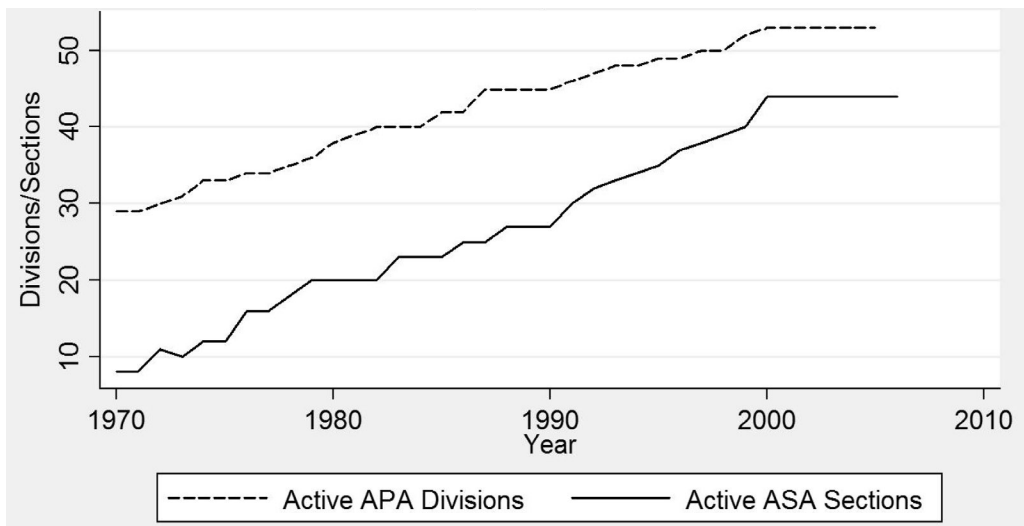


Figure 2: Number of Divisions of the American Psychological Association (APA) and Sections of the American Sociological Association (ASA), 1970–2005/06

Source: Rennie Georgieva—Georgieva@apa.org, APA Head Librarian and Assoc. Archivist; Diego de los Rios—delosrios@asanet.org, ASA Governance and Sections Assistant

fields increasingly detached from their foundational academic disciplines. In the midst of these developments a new professional discipline emerged—public policy—which further drained from the broad range of social-science disciplines (and even other professional schools) both intradisciplinary and interdisciplinary interest in and synergies between basic and applied research. All of this was inimical to more basic interdisciplinary areas like social psychology, which are often stimulated and nurtured, as they had been in World War II and the immediate postwar period, by the need to understand and even solve more applied problems.

The distinctive position of economics. Of the social sciences, economics was least impacted by the growth of social-science disciplines, and it even benefited from the growing migration of applied social science into professional schools, where economics often assumed a dominant role (e.g., in business and areas of the health sciences focused on the financing of health care and insurance). Already the largest social science prior to World War II, economics had a less explosive growth between 1945 and 1970, growing at an annual compounded growth of about 6.5% per year over the 1945–1970 period, compared to almost 8% per year for psychology and 9% per year in sociology. Not only was the rate of growth for economics more moderate, it did not diversify demographically (e.g., by race and sex) as did other social sciences, especially sociology and psychology (Ferree, Khan, and Morimoto 2007). Finally, economics was the only social science besides psychology (where growth came mostly from practitioners) to grow steadily, if modestly, throughout the 1980s and most of the 1990s, reflecting its relevance to increasing economic problems of our society and world and its greater compatibility with broader sociopolitical trends discussed below. All of these factors militated against fractionating tendencies and facilitated further consolidation and development of the mainstream paradigm of the 1970s. And economics maintained a close linkage with and intellectual influence on applied work, particularly via the new schools of public pol-

icy and related extra-governmental think tanks.

Trends in Funding for Social Science Training and Research in the 20th Century: Funding in the Golden Age

Dramatic economic growth during the quarter century after World War II enabled major innovations and increases in support for training and research in science and other academic fields, including the social sciences. Starting from a very low base, the increases in the social sciences were proportionately very dramatic, if modest in absolute size or relative to the longer-established physical and biomedical sciences. And funding from outside of the university was often highly problem-focused and interdisciplinary, as were also many new or special funding initiatives within universities.

Thus, as Sewell (1989) emphasized, interdisciplinary research and training in social science and especially social psychology was greatly stimulated and supported by funding from universities and more so from foundations and, most significantly, federal funding agencies, especially the National Institute of Mental Health, National Science Foundation, and even military and domestic mission agencies. This external funding supported and legitimized both interdisciplinary social psychology in the Golden Age and intradisciplinary social psychology for many years beyond. However, Sewell bemoaned that support was not great enough in the social sciences, compared to biomedical sciences, to effect in the social sciences the kind of interdisciplinary breakthroughs in theory and research and hence institutionalization of interdisciplinary fields that occurred in the biomedical area (e.g., biochemistry, biophysics, molecular, cellular and developmental biology, and “life science”).

Increasing economic problems and pressures of the 1970s. More important, however, than the differences in absolute levels of funding for social versus physical or biomedical science, were the severe and increasingly targeted declines in funding for the social sciences

after 1970. As the economic expansion of the 1960s gave way to the “stagflation” of the 1970s, pressure began to build on the more discretionary portions of the federal budget, including spending on research and development. As can be seen in Figure 3a, federal

funding (in real or constant year 2000 dollars) for social-science research and development (R&D) stood at \$616 million in 1973, but by 1981 it had dropped to \$479 million, a decline of \$137 million or 22% over 8 years. As shown for psychology in Figure 3a and the rest

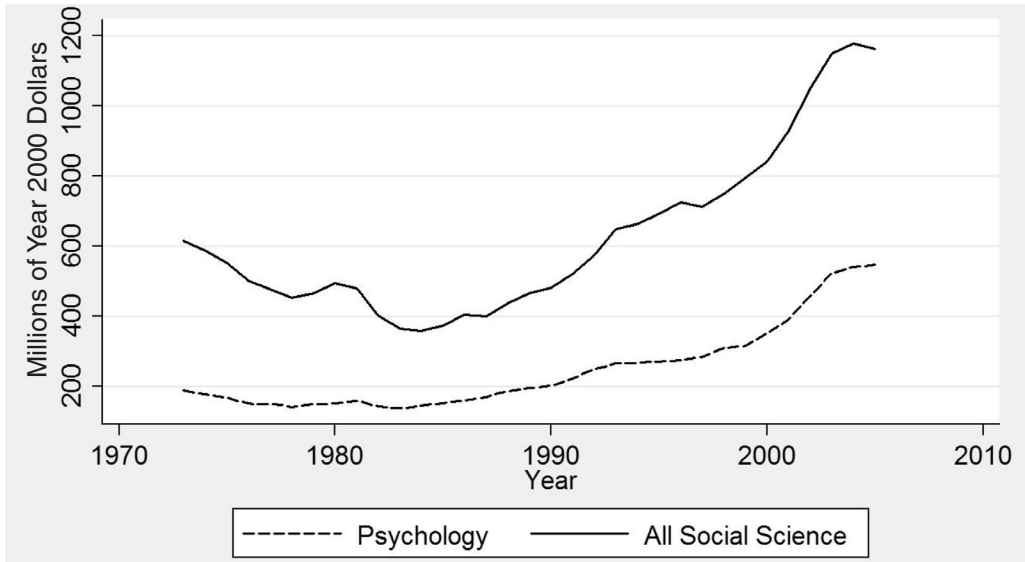


Figure 3a: Total Federal Research and Development Funding for All Social Science and Psychology in Millions of Year 2000 Dollars, 1973–2005

Source: rbritt@nsf.gov—Ronda Britt, NSF Project Officer for R&D Expenditure Statistics

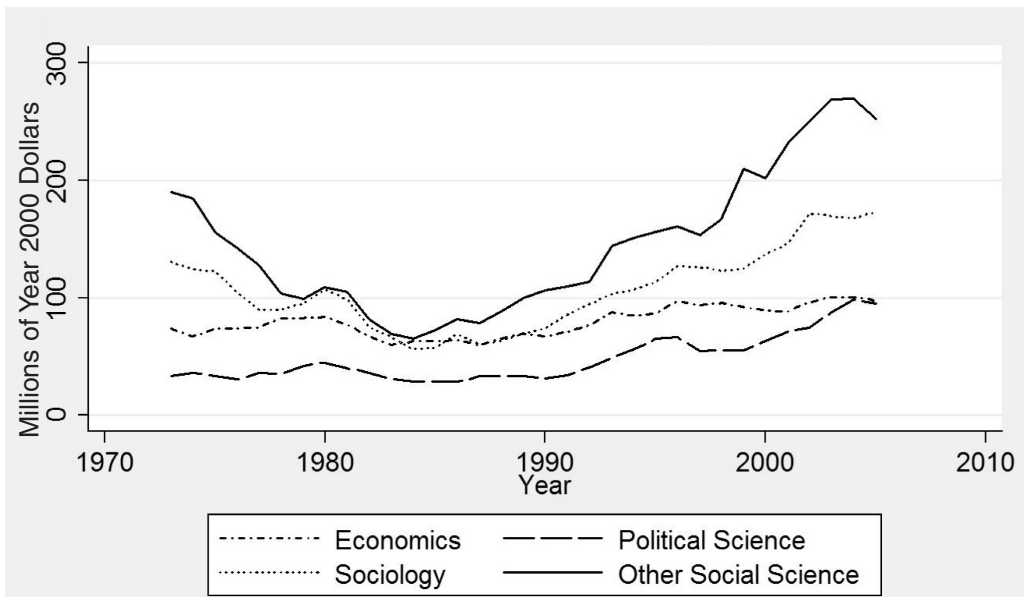


Figure 3b: Total Federal Research and Development Funding for Economics, Political Science, Sociology, and ‘Other’ Social Sciences in Millions of Year 2000 Dollars, 1973–2005

Source: rbritt@nsf.gov—Ronda Britt, NSF Project Officer for R&D Expenditure Statistics

of the social sciences in Figure 3b, these changes were not uniform, ranging from a decline of 45% in "other social sciences" and 25% and 16% in sociology and psychology (hence social psychology) to *increases* of 5.5% and 21% for economics and political science, respectively. The same economic forces also put pressure on the budgets of foundations and universities, forcing them to focus on their core missions. This meant disciplinary-based teaching and research in universities, at the expense of interdisciplinary ventures, and more funding for social programs and services in foundations at the expense of research and graduate education. All of this weakened interdisciplinary fields such as social psychology, both within disciplines as well as in their interdisciplinary incarnations.

The massive funding shock of the first Reagan administration. These funding pressures paled, however, in relation to the massive reductions in funding that occurred in the early years of the Reagan administration. The U.S. economy fell into recession in 1979–1980, and after a very brief recovery, declined between 1981 and 1983 into the deepest recessions of the postwar era. This put very substantial further pressures on the budgets of higher-education institutions, foundations, and federal research and training funding agencies—with repercussions felt across the range of higher-education institutions, but most especially public ones, and across almost all the arts and sciences and professions. However, this very substantial economic shock was massively compounded by a highly targeted reduction in funds for social-science research and training by the Reagan administration, led by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, David Stockman.

These cuts had wide-ranging, substantial, and immediate impacts, and have continued to reverberate ever since, in ways that were not only intended or anticipated but also probably unintended or unanticipated by both the Reagan policymakers and the affected social sciences at that time. One major victim was social psychology, then trying to revitalize itself as a field, both within and between the

disciplines of psychology and sociology, by increasingly addressing more macrosocial phenomena, processes, and problems.

In a three-year period, between 1981 and 1984, total federal R&D spending for social science fell by another \$122 million or 26%, making for a total reduction of \$259 million or 42% from 1973 to its low point in 1984. No area of social science was spared, but the percentage reductions ranged from 8.2% in psychology (which is in part a natural/biomedical science) to 18% in economics, 30% in political science, 38% in "other" social science and 43% in sociology. Budgets for social science R&D began gradually to increase after 1984, but the total federal social science R&D budget took until 1993 to recover to its 1973 levels, leaving a two-decade period of reduced funding compared to the end of the Golden Age. Sociology funding did not return to 1973 levels until 1999, a quarter century of reduced support compared to the Golden Age, while economics returned to its 1973 level in 1992, psychology in 1989, and political science in 1988.

This seemingly across-the-board strategy had very differential effects on types and areas of research. Particularly severely impacted were large scale major data collection efforts, especially large sample surveys of national populations. Opportunities for initiating major new data collections of this type with NSF support became virtually nonexistent, and even major public use data collections that NSF had declared "national data resources" such as the General Social survey (GSS), National Election Studies (NES), and Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) were severely curtailed. To the extent that it became harder to fund major surveys or other large scale data collection, it became relatively more attractive for researchers to engage in forms of research that required minimal or at most some small-scale external funding—secondary analysis of existing large-scale survey data or primary data collection via more qualitative, comparative-historical, and smaller-scale experimental work rather than large-scale observational, experimental, or survey work. This especially weakened more macrosocial forms of social psychology with-

in sociology (e.g., of the social structure and personality variety), and also social psychology more generally compared to other, often less empirical, subfields of sociology. In contrast, demography, which got most of its external funding from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development in NIH suffered much smaller reductions in funding.

At the National Institute of Mental Health, which had become the major funder of social psychological research and training in the post-World War II era, and NIH, which had just begun funding more basic social-science research in the prior 10 to 15 years, the response was to try to protect their budgets by requiring that grants for research and training be more explicitly tied to mental and physical health. There was also an independent push in that same period to redirect training funds throughout NIMH and NIH from graduate students to postdocs in response to the tightening scientific and academic job markets. One result was to massively reduce what had been a major resource for general support of graduate students in sociology and psychology, and especially social psychology, hence making these disciplines less attractive to graduate students, and social psychology less attractive within departments relative to other subfields. Another was to shift social science research and training funding in NIMH and NIH increasingly toward health—strengthening research and training in those areas at the expense of other subareas including social psychology within both sociology and psychology. A significant number of social psychologists, myself included, increasingly shifted their research and training focus to health (others included Ron Kessler, Bruce Link, Jane McLeod, and David Williams in sociology and Sheldon Cohen, Karen Matthews, and Camille Wortman in psychology, to name just a few), building a strong interdisciplinary field of social epidemiology (House 2002), but weakening social psychology.

Among the social sciences, economics, and secondarily political science, were the least buffeted by the funding cuts of the 1970s and 1980s. And research in economics (and also demography) traditionally has not needed

large amounts of external funding because most of the data are generated and often made publicly available by government economic and statistical agencies.

The targeted cuts of the 1980s may have been the final blow vitiating budding efforts to revitalize social psychology as a broad and even interdisciplinary field in the early 1980s. And the targeted funding reductions of the early 1980s were part of a larger sociopolitical turn against much of social science, including social psychology.

Broader Sociopolitical and Sociocultural Influences from the Left and Right: The Legacy of the 1960s

The decade of the 1960s was a watershed for American society and for American social science. After 1968 American society experienced a major sociopolitical shift to the right, arguably induced by intense social conflicts in the area of race relations and the interrelated failures of the Vietnam War, social programs of the Great Society, and an economy increasingly gripped by stagflation. This shift was similar in strength to the leftward shift initiated by the Great Depression. Republicans controlled the Presidency for 28 of the 40 years between 1968 and 2008, after Democrats had controlled the Presidency for 28 of the 36 years between 1932 and 1968. Thus, the 1960s represent the liberal-progressive apogee of the twentieth century, as well as the apogee of growth in the social sciences. Many of the developments of that period in both society and social science have remained, including an enlarged welfare state and more empowered status for African Americans in American society, and the beginnings of major trends in the same direction for women. It also established a sizable presence of social science in academic, scientific, intellectual, and public life. In other ways, however, its legacy was more mixed, contributing to rightward reaction and greater polarization in both society and social science, with social psychology at least a minor casualty.

The perceived failure of social psychologically driven social science to successfully address the problems of American society at

home and abroad in the 1960s led to a search for alternative approaches, or simply a retreat from the idea that social psychology and much of social science can or should play an effective role in public policy (Featherman and Vinovskis 2001). The social changes and conflicts were in varying degrees internalized into the functioning of social science disciplines for better and worse. As MacAdam (2007) and others (Burawoy 2005; Wallerstein 2007) have suggested, sociology and at least parts of anthropology, psychology, and political science, including much of social psychology, attracted increased members from those groups newly empowered by the 1960s and/or imbued with its values of social justice. Initially these groups clashed with those who had led the rise of social psychology and social science in the previous quarter century, but eventually rose to positions of power and authority in their disciplines and academic venues. Their presence increased social and intellectual diversity in these fields, reshaping and enriching them, but also tended to fragment them, weakening the sense of a central core or paradigm. Similar trends occurred in history and the humanities, and parts of sociology and cultural anthropology took a sharp humanistic/historical/cultural turn (McDonald 1996), while other parts remained more congruent with the more scientific mainstream of the Golden Age.

MacAdam (2007:419) has argued that this new cohort of sociologists also, paradoxically, contributed to a decline of policy-oriented research on applied problems, one of the foundations of the vibrant interdisciplinary social psychology and social sciences of the 1940s, 50s, and 60s:

The practical effect of this . . . [new cohort] . . . is to politicize the discipline while largely "privatizing" expression of those politics. That is, *in their formal academic roles*, the value commitments of the new generation of sociologists come to be expressed primarily in their teaching and campus politics rather than through an active scholarly engagement with policymakers or other public actors . . . [and hence] . . . to undermine and impoverish a certain version of "public" sociology that was clearly ascendant in the post-World War II period.

My own sense is that MacAdam correctly perceived the growing fragmentation within sociology and other disciplines, and their drawing back from policy-oriented research on applied social problems. But he confuses correlation with causation in attributing these trends to the growing demographic diversity of the disciplines. The leading instigators of these trends were equally or more established white male scholars who capitalized on changes in the internal composition and sociopolitical contexts of their fields to advance an intellectual agenda counter to the dominant models of social-science theory, research, and engagement with social policy of the 1950s and 1960s (e.g. Burawoy 2005; Gouldner 1970; Habermas 1975; Foucault 1980; Wallerstein 1974).

In many ways economics was again insulated, for better and worse, from the legacy of the 1960s. A brief upsurge of "radical" economics was largely gone by the end of the 1970s. The stagflation of the 1970s may have adversely affected the image and development of macroeconomics, (just as the seeming failure of the Great Society affected other areas of social science), but it fostered the development and application of microeconomic and monetary theory and methods not only to these economic problems, but to broader political and social issues and policy. And the dramatic diversification in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, and other social characteristics did not really impact economics until the late twentieth century. Thus, economics moved more smoothly and stably forward into an era in which its basic concerns with individual actors making choices in free markets were essential elements of a new *Zeitgeist*.

A new conservative/neoliberal zeitgeist. The leitmotif of both social science and the broader society in the Golden Age had been the recognition of the potential for bad, even evil, in social and economic life, which had to be controlled by enlightened social forces and institutions. Much of social science, and especially social psychology, dealt with the power of malevolent or anomic or amoral social contexts and situations to influence human behavior and social life, and the need for more

enlightened persons and institution to resist these tendencies. This was evident in social psychology, which in its psychological and experimental face studied the power of situational and other external influences (e.g., Asch 1958; Milgram 1974; Ross and Nisbett 1991), in its social structure and personality face focused on how macrosocial structures (e.g., economic, racial/ethnic, or gender stratification) and processes (e.g., industrialization and urbanization) shaped individual personality and behavior (House 1977, 1981), and even in much of its more qualitative and interactionist faces examined how individuals adapted themselves to situations, roles, and institutions and had difficulty breaking free from harmful ones (Goffman 1961).

The sociopolitical turn toward the right in society reflected a move away from these perspectives toward seeing social or governmental regulation as the source of problems, rather than solutions, and embracing a so-called “neoliberal” market orientation in which maximizing the freedom of individuals and markets and minimizing the role of government is the route to a better life and society for all. This philosophy enabled Ronald Reagan to do for Republican political fortunes what Franklin Delano Roosevelt had done for Democrats a half century earlier. And it created a climate uniquely suited to the ascendance of economics, especially microeconomics and monetary theory, to preeminence in the social and policy sciences and the practice of public policy.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, AND SOCIAL SCIENCE: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

Twentieth Century Progress and Problems

I began by arguing that interdisciplinary social psychology, as it manifested itself in formally interdisciplinary academic programs and research as well as within its parent disciplines of sociology and psychology, played a leading role in the growth and development of the social sciences in what many have seen as their Golden Age in the quarter century following World War II. The last several decades of the twentieth century present a much more mixed picture for the social sciences, both

over time and across fields. For social psychology it has been a period of decline in many ways, with interdisciplinary social psychology largely ceasing to exist in any formal way, and the subfield of social psychology within sociology currently threatened with a similar fate. During the same period that social psychology has been in decline, economics has ascended to a position of relative dominance both intellectually within the social sciences and in social policy and broader social discourse.

Like all developments in scientific and scholarly disciplines and fields, these trends have been a function both of intradisciplinary events and of processes and of changes in the broader institutional and social contexts in which these disciplines are situated. Much of the analysis and discussion of developments in social sciences in the twentieth century has been focused on internal factors, especially within particular disciplines, though always with some attention to their external contexts (cf. Calhoun 2007). My sense is that in understanding the developments of social sciences over the last two to three decades of the twentieth century, more attention needs to be paid to the changing institutional and social contexts in which the social sciences have been situated.

In particular, I have argued that the broader sociopolitical context and the focal problems or issues facing society were more favorable for social psychology (and also perhaps the macroeconomics end of economics) in the mid-twentieth century (the 1930s through the late 1960s and early 1970s), while the last several decades have been more conducive to the development of economics (or at least its microeconomic and monetary components). These broader sociopolitical and sociocultural contexts have contributed to more specific changes at the level of institutions that directly impact social psychology and the other social sciences, such as the development and operation of institutions and funding in support of social sciences both in universities and in governmental and nongovernmental organizations. These in turn affect the life and work of the individuals and disciplinary organizations like university departments and profes-

sional associations who constitute what we perceive and label as professional fields.

At all of these levels I have tried to identify specific factors that have contributed to the absolute and relative declining trajectories of social psychology and the rising one of economics. The factors have included, in order of my approximate estimation of their causal importance:

1. First, a shift in the dominant social and political problems confronting American society at home and abroad and the resultant sociopolitical forces: from a politically liberal attempt to mobilize governmental power to deal with domestic problems of economic and social injustice and deprivation and international threats from fascist authoritarian political regimes, to a politically conservative attempt to deal with growing economic problems and continuing threats from communist or otherwise hostile political regimes via rolling back government regulation and control of economies and social life and building up and utilizing military power.
2. Second, economically and politically induced declines in support for social science and especially interdisciplinary social science both within universities and in governmental and nongovernmental funding agencies, most adversely affecting those aspects of interdisciplinary social sciences and social psychology requiring large-scale infrastructure and support especially for data collection.
3. Third, a set of social science disciplines, all swelled in numbers by their growth during the Golden Age of 1945–1970, and some also diversified in their membership by the inclusion of previously excluded groups such as women and racial-ethnic minorities. Growth in size of individual disciplines created another set of forces promoting *intradisciplinary* and militating against *interdisciplinarity*. Increased diversity created some forces toward fragmentation within disciplines, and more importantly augmented pre-existing fractionating forces.

4. Fourth, a growing separation of basic and applied work into a set of basic disciplines and a set of professional fields, with the two only loosely related to each other.

5. Finally, these all contributed to shifts in the substantive, theoretical, and methodological foci of work within and between social-science fields—away from broader integrative frameworks and approaches and toward a focus on specific subfields, which proliferated in some disciplines, most notably sociology; away from more “scientific” toward more “cultural/historical/humanities/post-modern” theories; and away from large scale survey, observational and other data collection toward historical, ethnographic, and smaller-scale experimental work.

All of these trends have tended to be adverse for social psychology, especially in its more macrosocial and sociological forms, and its role and influence within and across disciplines and society. Most of the same trends have tended to facilitate, at least relatively speaking, the development of economics as a field both internally and in terms of its influence on the broader social sciences and society.

Twenty-first Century Prospects

But this is all history. What are the prospects for social psychology and social science in the twenty-first century? We are already seeing shifts in the sociopolitical and sociocultural forces that have shaped the last three decades, with the prospect of a return to a long period of more liberal/progressive Democratic political dominance at federal and other levels of government. As even more conservative commentators such as David Brooks have noted, the conservative programs and policies of the last several decades seem increasingly incapable of dealing with the major domestic and international problems facing the United States and other developed nations in a rapidly developing and global world, all of which involve greater need for collective/governmental action. Such shifts are at this point not certain, but seem increasingly likely. If they occur, they could easily

ramify in the direction of creating increasing support within universities and governmental and nongovernmental funding agencies for social science, especially of an interdisciplinary nature and applied to major societal problems.

What might be the implications of all of this for the development of social psychology and the social sciences in the twenty-first century. Here we must remember two things from recent developments in social psychology and social science. First, is that *human agency and micro to macro effects* do operate in conjunction with broader social contextual constraints to shape broader more macrosocial developments, including developments within and across social science disciplines and their relationships with and impact on broader social policy and society. Second, is that *history*, or *path-dependence*, matters. The last several decades have created not only a society, but social-science disciplines and fields which are very different than they were in 1970. The internal development and external influence of social psychology has been diminished during this period, and that of economics enhanced. Thus social psychologists, and especially sociological social psychologists, have their work cut out for them if they are to re-invigorate their field and the relevance and impact of it for social policy and society.

This is, however, very much worth doing, as the current economic (or related biological and cognitive informational) approaches will increasingly not be able to understand, explain, or help to solve the kinds of problems confronting society—ranging from global climate change, to domestic and international social deprivation, injustice, and inequality, to international terrorism and political conflict and instability in and among multiple regions and countries, to facilitating the health and development of children, parents, and families. Such issues will require the concepts, theories, and methods of sociology and sociological and interdisciplinary social psychology to complement, augment, and balance the currently more dominant concepts, theories, and methods of economics, genetics, or cognitive neuroscience.

Let me follow Nobel economist Amartya Sen (1999) and suggest two broad areas in which this is important. First is a need to balance the current emphasis on human choice or agency in social life with appropriate recognition of the still enormous power that social structures and constraints exert on human action. As the economist James Duesenberry (1960:233) once noted in commenting on early work of Gary Becker, “Economics is all about how people make choices. Sociology is all about why they don’t have any choices to make”. Second, there is a need for an increased recognition of human beings as purposive, motivated, value-driven actors, whose choices and behaviors are a function of a wider range of motivations and values than just seeking pleasure or information. These kinds of considerations are essentially exogenous to theories of economics or rational choice, and even to theories of social interaction that focus only on how people gather and process information to make choices to achieve favorable short-term outcomes. A sociologically informed interdisciplinary social psychology has a greater potential for addressing such issues than currently dominant perspectives within and across social science disciplines.

The kind of interdisciplinary social psychology we need is not, however, just a return to former days of glory. The broader aspirations of interdisciplinary social psychology at that time were to constitute an integrative social psychology grounded in what are arguably the two basic sciences of human social life—sociology and psychology. But in the twenty-first century we must recognize, articulate, and incorporate major advances that have occurred over the last half-century in other disciplines relevant to human social life, which clearly must include economics, genetics, and cognitive neuroscience.

What Is to Be Done for and by Sociological Social Psychologists?

Finally, what can and should sociological social psychologists do to improve the state of our subfield, in ways that will not only strengthen it, but also strengthen sociology

and interdisciplinary social psychology and social science, and ultimately society? I have no pretensions of having the answer to these questions, but hope to have begun a collective process of trying to generate such answers, beginning with recognizing some elephants and gorillas in our living rooms, which we all sense and discuss in private, but not enough in public.

Let me simply offer some orienting thoughts that I hope will be amended, modified, and even discarded in the course of future collaborative discourse.

1. First, we need to formulate and articulate why sociology needs to have as one of its core elements a sociological wing of an interdisciplinary social psychology.
2. Second, we need to reconnect with our social psychological colleagues in psychology (who have themselves declined, if much less precipitously, in absolute and relative strength) to jointly recognize and articulate for ourselves and others how a sociologically and psychologically informed and balanced social psychology is foundational to the more integrated social science needed to understand, and explain, and deal with major social phenomena and problems of the twenty-first century. This will include a broader understanding of human beings than just as practitioners of "rational choice" and a broader understanding of the pervasiveness and power of social constraints on human action.
3. Finally, we need to significantly articulate with and be able to effectively incorporate and utilize developments in other disciplines within and outside of social psychology, most notably economics, but also the biomedical and even physical sciences.

These are general strategic goals, which require tactical specification and elaboration. Let me close with two more specific suggestions, one regarding education or training and one regarding research. We need to reverse an orientation trend in education and training that reflects two residues of the 1960s—the growth and specialization of the social-science disciplines, and subfields thereof, and an educa-

tional philosophy that students and faculty should only study and care about that which interests them and seems directly pertinent to their interests. The conjunction of these residues of the 1960s—the former more structural and the latter more cultural—has led to the development of a set of students and scientists/scholars within and across most disciplines or areas of social science who know a great deal about their particular areas of expertise, and little or nothing about other areas that may in fact, be of central importance to their area of interest. This tendency is *intradisciplinarily* most characteristic of sociology and social psychology, where there is little or no consensual agreement of what are the core substantive, theoretical and methodological components of the field (cf. Zajonc 1999), and least true of economics which has, to its credit, developed a consensual core of concepts, theory, and methods. Interdisciplinarily, however, economists are no better off than sociologists or other social scientists, who know little about each other's disciplines. Contrast this with the natural sciences, where physicists, chemists, and biologists have all studied and appreciate at least rudiments of each others' disciplines. We need to identify and teach a core content of intradisciplinary and interdisciplinary social psychology and social science. This must include social psychology as a core element of sociology, the other core elements being social organization/stratification and demography, all of these applied to a broad range of substantive areas.

In research, we need to not only conduct research, but also to articulate and demonstrate how it can help us understand, explain, and solve important "applied" problems of individuals and society. We must convey absolutely and relative to the other disciplines and subfields, what a sociologically grounded interdisciplinary social psychology has to contribute to understanding, explaining, or ameliorating problems such as: global climate change; economic and racial-ethnic inequalities; the positive development of children, parents, and families; the nature and functioning of work and organizations; social conflict, ter-

rorism, and war; and human health and well-being more generally.

Social psychology, in both its interdisciplinary and intradisciplinary forms, has had better times in the past. It can and should also have them in the future, because it is integral to the future of sociology, psychology, economics, and the broader social sciences, and to all of these realizing their potential for understanding and improving social policy and social life. But we can only get to that goal by recognizing and confronting where we are now and where we have been, for better and worse.

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James S. House is Angus Campbell Distinguished University Professor of Survey Research, Public Policy, and Sociology, as well as Research Professor and former Director of the Survey Research Center in the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. His research focuses currently on the role of psychosocial factors in understanding and explaining social inequalities in health and the way health changes with age. He is an elected member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Institute of Medicine of the National Academies of Science.

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