The Constitution of Behavioralism: the Influence of the Ford Foundation's Behavioral

Sciences Program on Political Science

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"[U]ntil now, no foundation with means comparable to those of the Ford Foundation has ventured so far as to lay all of its golden eggs into the shapeless basket of social science" (Heinz Eulau 1951, 117)

Looking back even a few decades into one's discipline's past can be a bit disorienting. Some of the familiar signposts one uses to navigate disciplinary discourse are simply not there, while others point disconcertingly in what seem to be the wrong directions. Academic disciplines change so rapidly that many of us can discern significant changes over the course of just a few decades (Hauptmann 2005, 2006b).

To say that academic disciplines change seems unremarkable, even obvious. It would be far more surprising if they were able to resist change over several generations, given how large and loosely organized most are. But if disciplinary change is a given in academic life, then what are the best ways to explain it? And to what degree are these available to us?

I wish to raise these questions about political science in the U.S. during the immediate postwar period.   That the discipline changed substantially during the first two decades of the postwar period is not disputed. The historical questions to be answered, then, are these: what are the most significant changes that took place during this period? And what are the best explanations for them?

I focus on one significant postwar development that changed U.S. political science dramatically: the rise of behavioralism. Though both the significance of behavioralism for political science and the timing of its rise to prominence are legitimate historical issues, I touch

on each only briefly here. Rather, my main concern is how best to explain the rise of behavioralism in postwar U.S. political science.

Behavioralists saw parties, interest groups and public opinion as the core of politics; they therefore moved away from studying the historical development of formal governmental and legal structures. But as Robert Adcock has argued, what made behavioralism "truly transformative" was less what its adherents studied than how they studied it (2007, 189). Many behavioralists believed that conducting well-designed surveys of public attitudes was crucial to discovering "general laws" of human behavior. For behavioralists, then, methodological and theoretical challenges were often intertwined - general theories of human behavior informed how data was gathered and analyzed and *vice versa* (Adcock 2007, 190-191; 197-198). Though one of its adherents pronounced the behavioral era over in the late 1960s, prominent behavioralists still dominated professional political science for several decades.[1] And even some fifty years after its the rise, behavioralism is still central to several fields within political science - and to the research methods taught to graduate students (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2002, 476).

Behavioralism in political science has been assessed in one of two principal ways. One presents it as an intellectual "revolution," a consciously crafted rejection of the deficiencies of early 20th century political science. Those closely identified with the approach have offered this

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[1]Easton (1969) declared that a "post-behavioral" era had begun. A number of prominent behavioralists (including Almond, Dahl, Easton and Eulau) were presidents of the APSA in the 1960s and 70s; one (Ranney) was editor of the *American Political Science Review* from 1964 to 1971. See Adcock (2007) and Baer et al. (1991).

assessment in a variety of retrospective analyses, including memoirs and oral histories; many more recent accounts of the history of political science echo it (Dahl 1993 [1961]; Eulau 1963; Easton 1991; Somit and Tanenhaus 1982; Almond 1990). More recently, some have argued that behavioralism was not thoroughly revolutionary but continuous with some currents in early 20th century political science (Adcock 2007; Farr 1995; Dryzek 2006). As much as these two approaches differ, both are more concerned with assessing the novelty of the behavioral approach to the study of politics than they are with explaining its rise. And for each, the discipline is the principal object and frame of analysis; any changes explained unfold within that frame.

Particularly from the postwar period on, I believe there are a number of good historical reasons to look for the principal agents of academic change outside of disciplinary frames - even outside of the academy. Though universities in the U.S. have long been linked to political and economic entities, by the mid-20th century, those ties multiplied and became stronger (Owens 1990; Klausner and Lidz 1986; Solovey 2001). By the 1960s, major research universities in the U.S. were actively contributing to the national political economy, their faculty competing for and working on grants from industry, government and private foundations (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). When externally funded research becomes crucial to universities and to individual academics, asking how the entities that supply it influence academic disciplines is the logical next step.

But what does it mean to say that one entity has influenced another? Though influence falls short of control, it is still an action of one entity on another - even when it is unintentional. Similarities are not conclusive proof of influence; some explanation must be given for how the

connection between the parties in question brought about their similarities. Therefore, as Seybold (1980, 274) has suggested, identifying the channels or "mechanisms" through which foundations influence academic disciplines is crucial to understanding how influence works.[2]

Behavioralism was supported financially by a number of external funders: the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Ford Foundation and numerous agencies in the federal government. A full picture of how external funding contributed to the rise of behavioralism would have to be based on a composite analysis of the commitments of all these entities to the behavioral approach. In what follows, however, I focus exclusively on the Ford Foundation's program in the Behavioral Sciences, both because of its great size (around $24 million disbursed from 1951-1957) and because of the early and explicit commitment of its staff to steering the social sciences in a behavioral direction. My emphasis on Ford's program is intended to counter the tendency within political science to assess behavioralism primarily within a disciplinary frame (in which political scientists are considered as the principal agents of change).

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[2]I am indebted to a number of analyses of the influence of foundation funding on academic life. Among them are Seybold (1980) - discussed below; Roelofs (2003), Fisher (1993) and Geiger (1988). Both Simpson (1994) and Osborne and Rose (1999) show how several fields within the social sciences (communications and the study of public opinion) were imported into the academy after having been developed by government or industry. For a skeptical assessment of the capacity of foundations to influence academic disciplines, see Turner (1999).

What makes the influence of Ford's program on political science an interesting problem is that the mechanisms by which it worked are not immediately visible. For one, those who designed and ran the program did not pay much attention to political science, both because other foundation programs (such as Area II programs devoted to Strengthening Democracy and the Fund for the Republic) were more centrally concerned with it but also because they thought political science less scientifically advanced than psychology or sociology (Behavioral Sciences Program, Final Report, 1951-1957, p. 3; appended to Berelson 1972). The grant record is consistent with these points: the majority of the Behavioral Sciences program's funds supported research by psychologists and sociologists, not political scientists.[3] Also, some political scientists were already working on political behavior for at least several decades before Ford's program began. Although most historians of the discipline agree that behavioralism reached its peak in the early 1960s, many note that the substantive topics that typify behavioralism were already central to the work of some political scientists in the 1920s and 30s (Adcock 2007; Farr 1995; Gunnell 2007). Put both of these points together and one has the makings of a story of the rise of behavioralism in which Ford's behavioral science program is, at best, a bit player.

These points notwithstanding, I nevertheless believe that the influence of Ford's program on political science was profound - even if this was not the intention of its officers and even if

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[3]See the Total List of Grants appended to the Behavioral Sciences Program, Final Report, 1951-1957, pp. A-1 - A-12, appended to Berelson (1972). Though I have not calculated how much grant money members of each of these disciplines received, large grants to political scientists are rare.

some portion of political scientists were interested in political behavior before the program

began. In the immediate postwar period, Ford's multi-million dollar programs were by far the

biggest private source of extramural funds for the social sciences.[4] Additionally, Ford's

behavioral sciences program spent a significant portion of its money on new initiatives rather

than on projects already being undertaken. Therefore, any political scientist who sought external

funds for research was likely to look to Ford and, in part, to its behavioral science initiatives.

The influence of the Ford program on political science can best be represented as a kind of

"ripple effect": because political science was far from the center of where Ford wanted to make

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[4]Immediately after WW II, federal government funding for the social sciences decreased

significantly; what is more, the social sciences were also marginal to the National Science

Foundation for the first decade or so of its existence. Some of the Ford Foundation's officers

expressed concern about this dearth of funds for social scientific research and argued that the

foundation's programs should try to remedy this deficiency - ideally, in a way that would

encourage government and industry to spend more on the social sciences in the future (Mazuzan

1994; Klausner and Lidz 1986; Solovey 2001; Needell 1998). There is, however, widespread

disagreement on how much the federal government spent on social science research during the

immediate postwar period - or on what ought to count as federal government spending. Contrast

Lowen (1997, 277, note 7) with Ball (1993, 215), Riley (1986) and National Science Foundation

(1952-1961). Perhaps the only point on which these sources agree is that federal spending on

the social sciences dropped significantly during the postwar period - and much more

precipitously than spending on the natural and physical sciences.

the biggest splash, its influence was most discernible only years later, after the program itself had come to an end.

Though the Ford program's officers expressed little interest in and even a disdain for political science, their commitment to breaking down disciplinary boundaries and creating interdisciplinary behavioral sciences influenced the discipline nonetheless. As I show below, some of the most important grants made by the Behavioral Sciences program were explicitly devoted to this interdisciplinary mission. Despite the skepticism program officers expressed about political scientists' willingness or ability to move towards behavioral science, they do not seem to have actively barred political scientists from taking part in interdisciplinary efforts. Universities receiving Behavioral Sciences money also seemed to understand that setting up interdisciplinary centers and institutes would be much easier to justify to the foundation than allowing established departments to control these funds. Though some university officials puzzled over what foundation officers might mean by "behavioral science," at least Ford's desire that it be pursued by means of interdisciplinary research was clear. For people across the social sciences, then, obtaining research funds and release time through Ford programs meant presenting one's work as interdisciplinary.

Ford's program in the Behavioral Sciences influenced political science in several principal ways. First, because of the size of the grants it made, administrators and faculty began to think that research in political science (and all the social sciences) could potentially win external financial support. That then affected how administrators and departments evaluated the importance of different fields within the discipline. Second, by making its first round of large grants to universities to develop new programs in the behavioral sciences, Ford's program gave

academics from across the social sciences (including political science) strong incentives to join

the effort of figuring out what behavioralism was and how they might help build it. Ford did not

commission universities to build the behavioral sciences from a detailed blueprint; instead, when

program officers sketched the direction in which they thought the social sciences should go, they

made clear that they expected to be closely consulted over how each university fleshed out its

aims. Though only some political scientists participated in this effort to redesign the social

sciences, all soon became aware that they and their colleagues were now likely to be judged by

how well they fit into this newly constituted academic enterprise.

Renaming the Social Sciences: Making the Case for the Behavioral Sciences

Musing about the Board of the Ford Foundation's decision to terminate the program in

Behavioral Sciences, its director, Bernard Berelson, concluded that "perhaps [the program] made

some ill will for itself...by being somewhat initiatory in its activity, by resisting such popular

demands as those for free departmental funds, and by appearing in some quarters to have a

'line'" (Behavioral Sciences Program, Final Report, 1951-1957, p. 7; appended to Berelson

1972). Whether these factors did indeed contribute to the Board's decision to end the program is

not the issue here. What is more significant is Berelson's assessment that the program he

directed was indeed "somewhat initiatory in its activity" and that it was perceived "in some

quarters to have a 'line'. There are, I believe, several important reasons why Berelson saw the

program he led as "initiatory."

Before any grants were made, before any new centers were funded, the Ford Foundation

began with a name change, opting to call the focus of its new program the "behavioral sciences" instead of the social sciences. The decision for the change was consciously made and justified by Donald Marquis, a psychologist who was part of the small group charged with planning the foundation's programs on the eve of its national debut. In his report for the division Ford was still calling "Social Science," Marquis raised some concerns about the associations prompted by the old label, noting that people tended to link social science with "'social reform'" and "'socialism'"(Marquis 1950, 20-21). Marquis wanted Ford's new program to raise a different set of expectations: instead of working towards achieving a good society akin to an "'ideal body'," Marquis argued that social scientists should be more like physicians, "diagnos[ing] particular modes of malfunctioning....This is the general spirit of modern social science. It is specifically technical. It does not have a program for reconstructing the social world" (21-22). Because "social science" was still associated with reformist agendas, Marquis argued that a new name could be a first step towards moving these fields in a more technical, applied direction.

Marquis explained in greater detail why he had argued that Ford drop the name "social science" for "behavioral sciences" in an oral history interview over twenty years later.   In addition to shaking off any reformist associations, he pointed out that "a different label enabled us to define an area rather than accept already defined areas." (Marquis 1972, 7). To those who conceived it, the new name was not just pouring old wine into new bottles; rather, it announced the foundation's intention to move a set of academic disciplines in a new direction.[5]   The great

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[5]Marquis (1972, 8) takes some credit for having come up with the term "behavioral sciences," although he says James [Grier] Miller might be given credit for doing so as well -

resources available to Ford during the early 1950s allowed its officers to approach grant-making differently; they could start entirely new academic programs rather than merely "making marginal increments on top of what universities were already doing" (Price 1972, 102).

Berelson (1968) agrees with Marquis that Ford's program went beyond pasting a new, less controversial label on established ways of doing things. In his entry for "behavioral sciences" in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Berelson says the behavioral sciences program "influenced at least the nomenclature, and probably even the conception, of an intellectual field of inquiry" (1968, 43). Berelson also notes that what Ford started took firm root in academic practice. The behavioral sciences "survived the termination of the foundation's program...in 1957...[T]here seems to have been," Berelson concludes, "a genuine need for a collective term in addition to the traditional 'social sciences'," since many scholars in psychology, sociology and anthropology "are more or less after the same end, namely, the establishment of scientifically validated generalizations about the subject matter of human behavior–how people behave and why" (1968, 43). Berelson credits the program he directed for

indeed, Somit and Tanenhaus (1982, 183, note 9) cite Miller on this point. Marquis also says that he considered calling Ford's program "human resources," as the military's Committee on Human Resources of the Research and Development Board did. See also Simpson (1994) on Marquis's role as the head of this board, which was "established in 1947 to coordinate all U.S. military spending on social psychology, sociology and the social sciences, including communication studies" (57).

making an interdisciplinary synthesis possible that traditional disciplinary boundaries had blocked.

Three Major Grants in Ford's Program in Behavioral Sciences

Once the aims of the behavioral sciences program had been outlined by Marquis, the Ford Foundation launched it by making substantial, unsolicited grants to universities nationwide - a dramatic gesture meant to begin and then accelerate the development of the behavioral sciences. These grants, "for research in individual behavior and human relations" (Report # 003025: Report on "A Program in Behavioral Science Research," Instituted by the Ford Foundation in the Summer of 1950, n.d., no author, 1), were made with the intention of giving universities and other academic institutions (the SSRC, for example) strong incentives to build new programs rather than supplement existing ones. As correspondence between the foundation and one of the selected universities makes clear, the impetus for these grants came from the foundation, not from the universities themselves (B.J. Craig, Secretary and Treasurer, Ford, to President Sproul, University of California, 7.28.50 and 9.29.50, in Grant # 50-005, "Research in Individual Behavior and Human Relations," (U. C. Berkeley)).[6] Though there may have been a

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[6]Lowen (1997, 204) describes a similar set of circumstances in recounting how Stanford came to be awarded a grant through this program. Initial discussions of the grant took place between Ford officials and Stanford's President Sterling, with Ford officials urging Sterling to apply for the funds. As was the case at U.C. Berkeley, it seems Stanford was awarded a sizable grant under this program without ever having submitted a formal application to Ford.

number of scholars interested in doing behavioral research in the late 40s and early 50s, Ford's program in this area was not a response to organized pressure or formal applications from university faculty or administrators. Rather, the staff of the foundation contacted university administrators to announce awards designed to finance new programs in the behavioral sciences. This is perhaps the most important sense in which the program was initiatory.

Once the grants had been made, universities did not create behavioral science programs overnight; indeed, Ford officials often had to prod their recipients to do so. Foundation officials expressed particular impatience with those institutions that were not observing "the spirit of the grant," but were using the monies for ordinary expenses or on "research projects without primary attention to the development of resources and personnel" (Report #003025, 3). One recipient of a $300,000 grant - U.C. Berkeley - did nothing with the money for years. This prompted some social scientists at Berkeley to worry that Ford might withdraw its money at a time when they were already feeling grant poor, relative to their colleagues at other research universities (Box 54, folder 26, "$300,000 Ford Grant to University, Uses of," Kerr to Sproul, 10.8.54; Various social science department chairs to Kerr, 11.15.54).[7] Still, these worries did not spark immediate action. Berkeley finally began to spend the 1950 grant eight years later, largely on the creation of

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[7]Chancellor Clark Kerr wrote to President Sproul, "Mr. Berelson had said that the Foundation intended to make a report sometime this fall on how such grants had been spent, and he had further remarked that it would be most embarrassing for the University to have to report that its grant had not been spent." All material cited from U.C. Archives comes from the Office of the Chancellor Records cited in the References section.

a Survey Research Center and a Center for the Integration of Social Science Theory (Box 54, folder 6, "Institute for Social Science," Hart to Sproul, 1.3.58).[8] Though Berkeley's delay in making use of the Behavioral Sciences grant was unusually long, it highlights the challenge these grants presented all universities: organizing faculty and administrators to develop a program in an area few thoroughly understood and to which fewer still had a long-standing commitment.

Another Behavioral Sciences Division grant program that influenced a number of disciplines focused on training social scientists in statistics and higher mathematics. This program aimed to train people from different disciplines and at different points in their careers - everyone from undergraduates to tenured professors was encouraged to apply. Notably, many established political scientists did, including Robert Dahl, Charles Lindblom and John Wahlke, all of whom were invited to attend the first summer workshop funded by this grant and organized by the SSRC (List of those admitted to SSRC's 1953 Summer Institute, "Mathematics for Social Scientists," in PA 53-01: "Support for a program on the mathematical training of behavioral scientists" (SSRC)).[9] After some experience with these workshops, a committee recommended

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[8]As I discuss below, both of these centers were placed under the umbrella of the interdisciplinary Institute for Social Science.

[9]Records marked with PA numbers are part of the Grants and Reports for Area V in the Ford Foundation's Archives cited in the references section. Though all three applied and were admitted, only Wahlke attended. The SSRC's Committee on Political Behavior also sponsored a number of summer workshops on survey research, presidential elections and state politics during the 1950s. These workshops were funded by the Carnegie Corporation and seem to have been

that future sessions focus more explicitly on interdisciplinary study of social scientific problems (like group behavior) or tools broadly useful to a range of social scientists (like models of stable equilibria or stochastic models). The report's authors argued mathematics might be the key to making social science truly interdisciplinary: "mathematics should show its advantages as a useful language, an Esperanto for the Babel's Tower of social scientists" ("Report of the Committtee on the Mathematical Training of Social Scientists to the SSRC," 12.14.54, no author, 2-3; in PA 53-01). The planning for the institute, however, makes clear that this goal was an ambitious one. Judging by the minimal entry requirement they set (one semester of college-level mathematics), those who organized the institute expected few students fluent in this "Esperanto" (Flier for SSRC 1953 Summer Institute, "Mathematics for Social Scientists," in PA 53-01). But these low expectations only highlight the ambitions of a program that sought to train generations of math-deficient social scientists to rely on mathematical tools to do their work. It provides yet another example of the self-consciously transformative mission of Ford's Behavioral Sciences program.[10]

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geared more specifically to political scientists (SSRC Annual Reports 1953-1954, 1954-1955).

[10]Although SSRC Annual Reports do not provide much detailed information about the funding and expenditures of individual committees, it is possible to distinguish the committees that consistently expended the most money on research planning activities. From the late 1940s through 1961, the most active committees relevant to behavioralism were Comparative Politics, followed by Mathematical Training for Social Scientists (renamed "Mathematics in Social Science Research" in 1958) and Political Behavior.

These two grant programs not only ensured the behavioral sciences a presence in the academy but also sped up the rate at which they developed. But perhaps the single most significant action taken by the Behavioral Sciences division was the $10.35 million spent to create and endow the Center for the Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS) in Menlo Park, California (Ford Foundation Annual Report 1957, p. 33). Conceived as a research center to which scholars from all over the U.S. would be invited for at least a semester's residency, the hope was that CASBS fellows from different disciplinary backgrounds would come to the Center to work together on topics of mutual interest.[11] Judging by several reports from 1950s fellows, collaborative work and interaction among fellows from different disciplines was one of the Center's main attractions (Box 54, folder 9, "Center for the Integration of Social Science Theory, "Boulding to Kerr, 1.27.55; Box 54, folder 11, "Junior Fellows - CASBS," Burdick to Tyler, 11.30.55). When it was established, the release time the Center offered its fellows was a scarce resource in academic circles. Though Berelson said in retrospect that he was disappointed that the Center had not contributed more to the development of the behavioral sciences, this was largely because his hopes for it had been so high; he had wanted, he said, the

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[11]Berelson recalled that when the idea of the Center was nearly dead because of lack of support both within the foundation and the academy, the sociologist Samuel Stouffer enthusiastically endorsed the plan at a crucial meeting. Stouffer, who had led the large, interdisciplinary team of social scientists who produced the multi-volume *American Soldier* study during World War II, made a strong enough case for the need for such a research center to convince several high-ranking Ford officials that it ought to be funded (Berelson 1972, 51-52).

Center "to be a seminal spearhead of new developments in the behavioral sciences" (1972, 57).

Even if the Center did not fulfill this lofty purpose, the prestige of being invited to a residency

there at least made many established scholars pay attention to the behavioral sciences and think

about whether their work could fit within this new category.[12]

Ford's influence on political science[13]

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[12]Berelson's full comment on CASBS: "while I'm sure the Center was good for the

fellows who went through it, in that it gave them a year off to reflect and write and all of that,

I'm not sure that it was as good for the behavioral sciences as I meant it–originally meant it to

be. I meant it to be a seminal spearhead of new developments in the behavioral sciences.

Instead, it became a kind of retreat for individual members and anything of the former that

happened, was sort of accidental. And Ralph [Tyler, first director of CASBS] made it into

that....[A]nd that's why I think it's been disappointing though very successful" (1972, 57). I

discuss how the Berkeley political theorist, Eugene Burdick, worried about fitting in at the

Center and how he came to understand how his work fit into its central commitments

(Hauptmann 2006a).

[13]My analysis in this section is indebted to Seybold's (1980) careful case study of Ford's

efforts in promoting the behavioral sciences and, specifically, to his suggestion that the

"mechanisms" Ford used to influence political science be the focus of analysis (274). While

Seybold's focus is principally on Ford, I have tried to reconstruct how people within the

academic community responded to Ford's initiatives. One needs to have a sense of both the

It is one thing to initiate something in the academic world (as I have shown Ford did); but it is a challenge of another order to make sure that what has been initiated takes root and continues to grow. Two aspects of Ford's approach seem to have been crucial to the successful institutionalization of behavioralism. First, Ford officials were able to convince university administrators at prominent research universities to take an active part in promoting behavioral science by offering significant start-up grants and the prospect of continued support in the future. The alliance between Ford and university administrations helped the behavioral approach establish a strong presence in departments quickly. These departments were among the most highly regarded Ph.D. programs in the country; once behavioralism was well-represented among their faculty, the stage was set for many cohorts of graduate students to be trained in this approach (Roelofs 2003, 36-37). Second, Ford often awarded funds for setting up new institutes, centers or committees outside of existing academic structures. Though these new entities were relatively independent from university control, they were much more heavily dependent on external monies than were departments. They not only provided a new conduit through which funders could exert influence over the shape of academic research; many also outlived the specific foundation programs that created them. For these reasons, the work of institutionalizing behavioralism went on even after Ford's behavioral sciences program ended.

In his analysis of Ford's funding of academic institutes and centers, Seybold (1980) focuses on how the new institutions Ford helped create continued the work of rooting the behavioral sciences in the academic world. "[I]t is this ability to build institutions and dominate

influencer and the influenced to understand how and why influence works.

the network of organizations which are involved in the production of knowledge," Seybold

writes, "which allowed Ford to set the agenda for social science research in the United States"

(274). Among the institutions Seybold has in mind are various committees under the auspices of

the SSRC, independent research centers like the Center for the Advanced Study of the

Behavioral Sciences (CASBS) and centers and institutes tied to (but only minimally funded by)

universities (like M.I.T.'s Center for International Studies (CENIS) or Columbia's Bureau for

Applied Social Research (BASR)) (285-296).

The advent of such well-funded institutes changed the internal structure of universities in

ways that ended up influencing disciplines. For a few crucial decades from the 1950s on, these

organizations used their foundation-derived funds to offer academics valuable scarce resources:

release time, research funds and support, graduate fellowships, etc. Many departments simply

could not offer comparable levels of support. Faculty allied with such institutes, therefore, could

easily translate their resources into disciplinary power - all the more so because departments had

only partial control over them.

The case of the Institute for Social Science (ISS) at U.C. Berkeley illustrates some of

these points. Once it was decided that the 1950 Ford grant money should be allocated to ISS, the

Institute was able to rival departments' power to shape the social sciences. To the extent that it

did so (which I cannot show definitively here), there are good reasons to believe that it did so in

a way that advanced the cause of behavioralism. For one, the centers that were created under the

ISS umbrella - the Survey Research Center and the Center for Social Science Theory - were

charged with explicitly behavioral missions. Not only did these rely on faculty appointments

from across the social sciences; they were also meant to further the development of

interdisciplinary research methods and social theory applicable to all the behavioral sciences (Box 54, folder 9, Chancellor Kerr to President Sproul, 4.11.51). ISS also became an internal grant-making agency responsible for disbursing portions of Ford funds as smaller grants-in-aid to faculty from a number of departments.[14] Shortly after ISS took on this new function, an administrative assistant to the Chancellor charged Herbert Blumer, its director, to proceed with one important consideration in mind: "The Foundation will undoubtedly request progress reports on the use of the granted funds, and we should be prepared to answer them and to defend our judgments in classing projects as 'behavioral'" (Box 54, folder 6, Eugene C. Lee, Admin. Asst. to Chancellor, to Blumer, ISS, 6.3.58). Blumer appears to have followed this advice, especially in summarizing the work done by faculty affiliated with the Survey Research Center and the Center for Social Science Theory (Box 54, folder 6, Blumer to Robert W. Chandler, Ford, 3.21.61, pp. 3-5).[15] In a cover letter to one of his reports to Ford, Blumer assured the foundation

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[14]In addition to the initial grant of $300,000, Berkeley also received another $75,000 terminal grant from the Behavioral Sciences division when it made its final round of grants in 1957. That terminal grant came with the condition that Berkeley match Ford's funds by devoting an additional $50,000 to behavioral science research (Box 54, folder 15, Berelson to Kerr, 7.12.57).

[15]Survey Research Center projects for the 1960-61 academic year are largely devoted to the analysis of public opinion on particular issues or to the development of techniques for the statistical analysis of public opinion. Center for Social Science Theory projects are often interdisciplinary in conception and ambition and the departmental affiliation of the Center's

that the university's commitment to the behavioral sciences would continue and even increase after the terminal grant from the Behavioral Sciences Division ran out (Box 54, folder 6, Blumer to Robert W. Chandler, 1.9.61, p. 2).

There are some indications that departments saw the newly well-funded institute as a threat to their own power within the university - and that the institute's director at least considered using his power to weigh in on departmental decisions. For example, once the ISS's control over small grant funds had been established, the chair of the Political Science department tried to claim a chunk of those funds to disburse among his faculty alone; ISS's advisory committee resisted that attempt (Box 54, folder 6, Minutes, Advisory Committee, ISS, 4.3.61). Considering whether he ought to extend his power, Blumer asked directors of other research centers at Berkeley to think about whether they ought to try to influence the hiring decisions made by departments (Box 54, folder 6, Blumer to directors of 8 different U.C. Berkeley research centers, 10.3.60, p. 2). These instances illustrate how Ford's funding of independent institutes and centers shifted the balance of power within universities away from departments and accelerated the pace at which the behavioral approach developed.

Behavioral Science program funds did not always travel through interdisciplinary centers; sometimes they were awarded to individual academics directly. Such awards were also sometimes used to intervene in departmental decisions. For example, Donald Marquis, the psychologist who was a consultant to the Behavioral Sciences program, recalled how he used a grant he had received from the program to rescue the career of a young University of Michigan

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members is not mentioned (Box 54, folder 6, Blumer to Robert W. Chandler, 3.21.61, pp. 3-4).

political scientist, Samuel Eldersveld. Eldersveld, according to Marquis, "was a behavioral researcher in political science and was just about to be fired because the department believed that the historical approach and the theoretical analysis of power was the only thing. But he was doing and wanted to do empirical research. Well, he subsequently became mayor of Ann Arbor and is now chairman of the department. [laughter] The money kept him from being fired" (Marquis 1972, 16). Whether this anecdote accurately reflects what happened to Eldersveld is not the issue; what seems more significant is that Marquis thought changing the balance of power in his young colleague's favor was an appropriate and even felicitous use of some of his grant money.

In her detailed account of how behavioralism rose to prominence in Stanford's political science department, Lowen (1997) shows how an administration deeply committed to advancing Ford's program overrode the wishes of political science faculty. As was the case with Berkeley, Ford officials offered Stanford administrators several grants to develop the behavioral sciences; the administration then used some of these funds to hire people already working in the behavioral sciences to come to Stanford (204, 211). Though Stanford's administrators worked far more quickly and enthusiastically to push the social sciences in a behavioral direction than was the case at Berkeley, Lowen believes they did so not because of any prior commitment to behavioralism but in response to the funding offered by Ford.

When Arnaud Leavelle, the Stanford political science department's theorist, died in 1957, the department recommended that offers be made to the traditional theorist Mulford Q. Sibley and the behavioralist Heinz Eulau, indicating (its members thought) their openness to a variety of approaches. Provost Frederick Terman, however, initiated his own search with the

intention of filling "the department's slot for a theorist...[with] a prominent behavioralist, such as Ithiel de Sola Pool or David Truman," ultimately "fix[ing] upon political scientist David Easton as the ideal candidate" (213). In the short term, the department's choices prevailed. Both Sibley and Eulau were hired in 1958; but while Eulau spent the rest of his career at Stanford, Sibley's appointment was tumultuous and short-lived. There was strong departmental support for Sibley, though few of his colleagues shared his outspoken pacifist views. But to Stanford's administration, Sibley was a liability on two counts: not only was his on-campus activism (in support of a nuclear test ban) annoying; he was also, from Terman's perspective, a net financial loss to the institution since he was unlikely to win external grants (216-217).

As Lowen reads this period in the Stanford political science department's history, the ultimate fulfillment of Terman's plan to enhance the department's reputation along with its ability to win external grants came in 1963 and 1964 with the hiring of the behavioralists Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (221-222). Lowen stresses that the actions of university administrators were crucial to how and when behavioralism took root at Stanford; had hiring decisions been left largely to the discretion of the faculty, the political science department would have remained more eclectic (210). Administrators, keen on bringing in more funds from Ford and other sources, remained focused on hiring well-established behavioralists; by the mid-1960s, once they had made a few such hires and denied tenure to several traditional theorists (Sibley and John Bunzel (219)), the department's center of gravity shifted towards the behavioral approach.

Conclusion

When the Board of the Ford Foundation decided to terminate the Behavioral Sciences Division in 1957, its deeply disappointed director chided it for abandoning what he called a

"major [American] intellectual invention of the 20th century" (Behavioral Sciences Program, Final Report, 1951-1957, p. 20; appended to Berelson 1972). But for as much as Berelson believed Ford might still have done in this area, he could nevertheless conclude, "The behavioral sciences are here to stay" (18). The planning of the mission of the Behavioral Sciences Division and the design of its major grants brought the behavioral sciences to life in American universities. The program's broad initiatives had consequences for many specific disciplines, even for those like political science that were not the main concern of its staff. Ford's program made administrators and faculty see that research in sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science and economics could win substantial external support - if research initiatives came from funders rather than from universities. In the very early 1950s, Donald Marquis and Bernard Berelson had aspirations for the behavioral sciences they wanted to bring into being: they should be interdisciplinary in both theory and method, technically sophisticated and well-suited to practical applications, and focused on understanding and managing current socio-political problems. That strikingly similar visions moved many in academic social scientists in the 1950s and 60s was neither a coincidence nor one manifestation of a culture-wide "mood".[16] It was instead a result of the influence the Ford Foundation's program - an influence exerted through what were for the time unusually large and directive grants designed to remake the social sciences.

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[16]Dahl (1993 [1961], 255) famously characterized behavioralism as a "mood" to capture how wide an array of people felt comfortable allying themselves with it.

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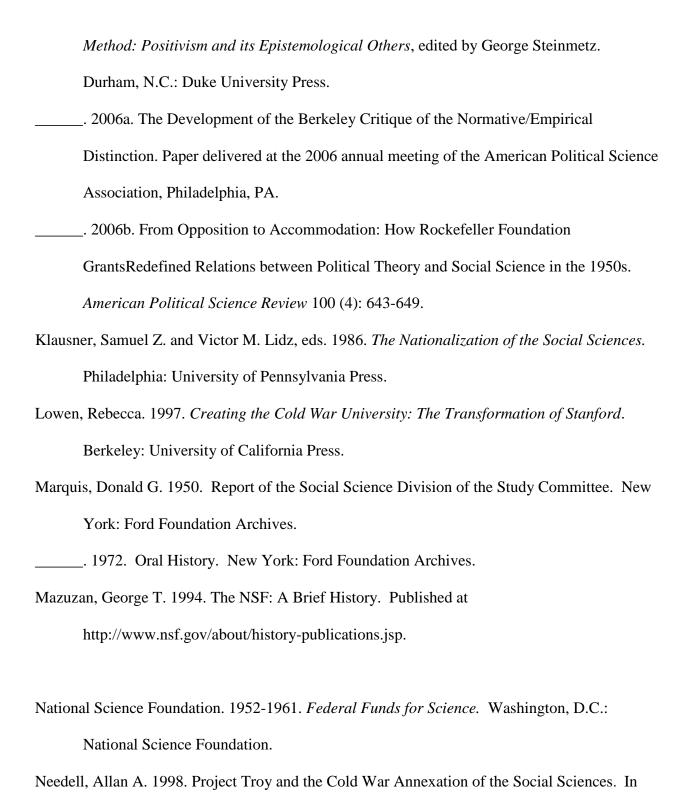
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