

Applied Sociology as Translational Research: A One Hundred Fifty Year Voyage

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Applied Sociology is the oldest and most general term for what Lester F. Ward (1903:vii) identified one hundred years ago as “the means and methods for the artificial improvement of social conditions on the part of man and society as conscious and intelligent agents. Applied Sociology uses sociological knowledge and research skills to gain empirically based knowledge to inform decision makers, clients and the general public about social problems, issues, processes and conditions so that they might make informed choices (Rossi and Whyte, 1983). Over the past century Applied Sociology developed the tools to gather data and then produced useful descriptive and analytical reports. In its broadest sense Applied Sociology encompasses evaluation research (see vol. 2, chapter 40), needs assessment, market research, social indicators (see vol. 1, chapter 49) and demographics (see vol. 1, chapter 48). It would also include directed sociological research *in* medicine, mental health, complex organizations, work, education, and the military to mention but a few.

Today, at the beginning of the 21st Century, this concept of Applied Sociology fits nicely with new funding initiatives in translational research of the National Institute of Health roadmap (Zerhouni, 2003) and the National Institute of Mental Health (2000), which reorganized its divisions and now requires that scientists tie their research to practical applications (Dingfelder, 2005). Translational research aims at converting basic biological and behavioral science research into forms that can address pressing issues in health care diagnosis, treatment and delivery. By extension, this means that applied sociological research will produce descriptions, analyses, and findings that can be translated into ideas and lessons learned from previous activities or programs to be used by action organizations—citizens groups, foundations, business, labor and government. It is likely that in the near future, both public and private funding will continue to shift from basic to translational or applied research and from researcher-initiated grants to funder-defined contracts as universities become more engaged in community based

research and application (Petersen and Dukes, 2004). This may provide a fresh wind for applied sociology and a new leg in its 150-year voyage.

But it has not been smooth sailing. Early on Ward (1906:9) separated Applied Sociology from civic and social reform. The relationship between applied sociology on the one hand and deliberate interventions based in sociological reasoning by social engineers and clinical sociologists on the other has been a source of contention ever since. This chapter will focus on the history and development of Applied Sociology as a research endeavor undertaken on behalf of clients or funding agencies in contrast to the more interventionist Clinical Sociology (see Vol. 2, Chapter 39), or Sociological Practice (see Vol. 2, Chapter 41).

This chapter divides the past 150 years into four periods: from the origins of sociology through the end of World War I – 1850-1920; the struggle between scientific/ objective sociology and applied sociology – 1920-1940; the growth of sponsored research from the Second World War through the end of the War on Poverty – 1940-1980, and the emergence of a more independent applied sociology in an era of accountability and practicality – 1980-2005.

The Maiden Voyages 1850-1920

Auguste Comte (1798-1857) who created sociology divided it into social statics, that is, the study of the conditions and preconditions of social order, and social dynamics, the study of human progress and evolution. Comte (1854) wrote that the statical view of society is the basis of sociology, but that the dynamical view is not only the more interesting of the two, but the more marked in its philosophical character, since it concerns the continuous progress, or rather, the gradual development of humanity. Social dynamics would study the laws of succession, and furnish the true theory of progress to political practice. Comte (Barnes 1948a: 101) then envisioned a corps of positivist priests trained as sociologists, who would not possess any temporal power but rather would influence through teaching, give informed direction to public opinion, and condemn any act. They would provide useful scientific knowledge and social advice in all affairs of civil life. They would suggest action to the civil authorities but would never undertake such action on their own responsibility or initiative. It appears that Comte's applied

sociologists would be neither basic researchers nor social activists/ interventionists, but rather occupy a translational role between the two.

In contrast, Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) argued against any form of artificial interference and that sociologists should convince the public that society must be free from the meddling of governments and reformers (Coser, 1977:97-102). He was very skeptical of the possibility of generating progress through legislation since such legislation is not based on the widest possible knowledge of the sociological principles involved. (Barnes, 1948b: 134). Spencer was a strong advocate of *laissez faire* and coined the phrase "survival of the fittest" several years before Darwin wrote *Origin of the Species*. As a result he is considered the founder of Social Darwinism. Spencer thought societies evolved from coercive militarism to peaceful industrialism in which individuals are free to move about and change their social relations without destroying social cohesion. The change from militarism to industrialism is an evolutionary process that depends on the rate of integration, and the slower the rate, the more complete and satisfactory the evolution (Giddings, 1909). Therefore, evolution is a wholly spontaneous process that artificial human interference could in no way hasten but might fatally obstruct or divert (Barnes 1948b:129).

Given what he saw as the low level of political morality, the general lack of intelligence or special competence on the part of government workers, the failure of the electorate to exercise any considerable degree of wisdom in the choice of agents, and the attitude toward government as an end in itself rather than a means towards an end, Spencer contended that government activity be decreased. Therefore the state should not provide education, sanitary measures, postal service, commercial regulation, support for religious or charitable activities, interfere with natural selection, the regulation and coining of money, build and maintain light houses or improve harbors. (Barnes 1948b: 130-133).

Within academic circles, one of Spencer's early supporters was William Graham Sumner (1840-1910). Sumner introduced the first serious course in sociology in the U.S. at Yale University in 1875, adopting Spencer's *The Study of Sociology* as the text. Sumner promoted a sociology marked by conservative politics, descriptive accounts of societal evolution, and the nature of normative systems (see

Perdue, 1986). In “The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over” Sumner (1894) strongly supported the idea that social evolution was almost entirely an automatic, spontaneous process that cannot be extensively altered by social effort (Barnes 1948c: 160). He favored *laissez faire* policies and saw state activity as “ignorant social doctors” telling the Forgotten Man, that is, the hard working middle class, what to do for those who had failed in the struggle for existence (Barnes 1948c 164). The middle class bears most of the financial burden of state activity and gets the least benefit from this legislation (Barnes 1948 b: 130).

Spencer was popularized in the U.S. through the efforts of Professor Edward Livingston Youmans, a chemist, educator, writer, and eventually an important agent and editor for D. Appleton and Company (Versen, 2004). In 1860 Youmans wrote Spencer soon after reading the prospectus for *Principles of Psychology*, resulting in the first American publication of Spencer's works. He also arranged for Appleton to become the American publisher of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. In 1872 he became the founding editor of *The Popular Science Monthly*, which promoted science generally and evolution in particular. For Youmans (1872), science was not limited to natural and biological phenomena but included the intelligent observation of the characters of people, the scrutiny of evidence in regard to political theories, the tracing of cause and effect in the sequences of human conduct, and the strict inductive inquiry as to how society has come to be what it is.

This spread Spencer's ideas on evolution, anti-militarism, and peaceful industrialism, which became the focus of some adult education courses in the Second Unitarian Church in Brooklyn, NY. Youmans was acquainted with its minister, John White Chadwick (Versen, 2004). This group eventually formed the Brooklyn Ethical Society and one of its objectives was “the scientific study of ethics, politics, economics, sociology, religion and philosophy, and also of physics and biology as related thereto.” The Association devoted its 1881-82 sessions to Spencer's *The Study of Sociology*. Within ten years the Association created a class of Honorary Corresponding Members which included Herbert Spencer himself, Thomas H. Huxley, President of the British Royal Society, who argued that humans created an ethical process that deviated from, and worked counter to, the natural course of evolution (Huxley, 1893),

Joseph Le Conte, Professor of geology and natural history, University of California, President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1891 and a charter member of the Sierra Club, Edward D. Cope, Paleontologist, editor of *American Naturalist*, and Professor of geology and zoology at the University of Pennsylvania, Minot J. Savage, Unitarian minister in Chicago and Boston and author of *Social Problems* (1886), Andrew Dickson White, historian and first president of Cornell University, and Eliza A. Youmans, a pioneer in the field of botany and sister of Edward Youmans.

In 1892 the Brooklyn Ethical Association published *Man and the State: Studies in Applied Sociology* and 1893, *Factors in American Civilization: Studies in Applied Sociology*. This may be the first use of the term Applied Sociology in the title of a book. The Association considered sociology to be the science of social evolution and sought to apply “evolutionary philosophy and ethics to the study and discussion of the pressing problems of politics and statesmanship to come before the people of the United States.” The preface to *Man and State, Studies in Applied Sociology*, reaffirmed Spencer’s views that societies grew in a regular and orderly way according to inherent laws that were not mechanically imposed. It noted that while *a priori* schemes of social reformers can serve to stimulate thought, promote altruistic endeavor, and educate the individual, enacting these schemes into legislation would not abolish poverty or crime, or the speedy renovation of society. The preface saw the role of sociology as a safer and wiser way of individual enlightenment and moral education. Sociology would subject the schemes of social reformers to the operations of the principle of natural selection, to identify what is instructive and good in each; to propose practical forward steps; to substitute the method of evolution for that of violent and spasmodic change, and thus to promote surely but slowly the permanent welfare of societies and individuals.

Lester F. Ward (1841-1913), spent most of his career as a paleontologist with the United States Geological Survey, joining the sociology department of Brown University in 1906 when he was 65. His early work focused on the relation of fossil plants to geological location in strata and this undoubtedly reflected an interest in evolution. In 1876 he published “The Local Distribution of Plants and the Theory of Adaptation” in *Popular Science Monthly*, which brought him to the attention of its editor, Edward

Youmans. Youmans became Ward's contact at Appleton Publishers for *Dynamic Sociology or Applied Social Science*, which appeared in 1883 (see Ward, 1883 acknowledgements 1st edition).

Dynamic Sociology was the first major American work on Sociology and although not intended as a text, was on the reading lists of early sociology courses. Ward differed sharply from Spencer and Sumner on *laissez-faire* individualism, and argued for the efficacy of government as an agent of social reform, if it could be put on a scientific basis and purged of its corruption and stupidity. (Barnes 1948d: 182). Ward was a career government scientist with a legal background who was widely read and a participant in many intellectual and scientific societies (Odum 1951). For example, he read a paper on "Mind as a Social Factor" that emphasized the role of intelligence in human evolution in 1884 before the Metaphysical Club at which John Dewey was present (Menand, 2001: 301). Ward understandably took up Comte's idea of sociocrats, believing that government can directly improve the conditions of society in a conscious or telic manner if the legislators will only become social scientists or have gained acknowledge of the nature and means of controlling the social forces and be willing to apply this knowledge (Barnes 1948d: 183 citing *Dynamics*). Scientific lawmaking would be based on a greater use of social statistics (Ward, 1877) with sociology as the chief source of information that is essential for any extensive development of scientific government (Barnes 1948d: 185).

On the other hand, Ward (1906:10) was very skeptical about the efforts of utopian social reform and socialist movements that favored radical and abrupt changes in social structures. He was a meliorist who thought that much could be accomplished through education of both the public and government leaders. Ward (1906:9-10) wrote, "applied sociology is not government or politics, nor civic or social reform. It does not itself apply sociological principles; it only seeks to show how they might be. The most that it claims to do is to lay down certain general principles as guides to social and political action." He added, "a sociologist, who takes sides on current events and the burning questions of the hour, abandons his science and becomes a politician." Ward came to this well before Max Weber called for value free sociology, mainly as a reaction to Spencer's writing which Ward though was prejudiced, not scientific, and not in harmony with his system as a whole.

Youmans (see Ward, 1896: Preface 2nd edition) was disappointed with the initial sales of *Dynamic Sociology* and suspected that the title, which was drawn directly from Comte's classification, was too close to Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, which in turn derived from Comte's social statics. Although the subtitle of *Dynamic Sociology* is Applied Social Science, Ward may have come upon the term Applied Sociology as a result of attending a meeting of the Ethical Association at which Dr. Felix Adler, professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature at Cornell University and founder of the Ethical Culture movement, among others dealt with different methods of relieving human suffering and promoting human welfare. Ward (1906:28) wrote that this congress (possibly of all the Ethical Societies in America held in St. Louis in 1896) talked applied sociology from first to last. He was most likely familiar with the new ethics that inquired into social conditions and sought to introduce modifications that will prevent existing evils and render their recurrence impossible (Ward, 1906:29). This may have included the Brooklyn Ethics Association's two volumes of *Studies in Applied Sociology*. By the early 1890's Ward (1903:vii, viii, 6) also knew that several European sociologists were using the term Pure Sociology. He may have first used the terms Pure and Applied Sociology in the titles of two summer school courses at the University of Chicago in 1897, which he repeated at the University of West Virginia in 1898 and then at Stanford University in 1899. He published *Pure Sociology* in 1903 and *Applied Sociology* in 1906.

Ward himself did not do any field work or empirical research. And despite his dislike for social reformers, the earliest applied research in the United States was done by reformers at Hull House in Chicago. That it was done primarily by a group of women would probably have pleased Ward since he was a strong advocate of gender equality. Like Ward, Jane Addams was critical of socialism and abstract theories that impeded social learning by their inflexibility and tendency to divide people. She also thought that science could guide social reform through the patient accumulation of facts about the lives of the working poor.

The key activist researcher was Florence Kelley (1859-1932), the daughter of a U.S. congressman, who studied at Cornell University and the University of Zurich, and in 1887 published a

translation of Engel's *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*. She came to Chicago in 1891 with her three children and became a resident of Hull House. Kelley, Addams and the other Hull House activists were convinced that once the overwhelming suffering of the poor was documented and publicized, meaningful reforms would be quickly put into place. (Brown, 2001)

In 1892 the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics hired Kelley to investigate the "sweating" system in the Chicago garment industry. Then in 1893 when the U.S. Congress commissioned a nationwide survey to investigate the slums of great cities and assess the extent of poverty in urban areas, she was selected to lead the survey effort in Chicago. Kelley and others conducted a door-to-door survey in the Hull House district and, following the lead of Charles Booth's maps of poverty in London, created maps showing the nationality, wages and employment history of each resident. Published in 1895, *The Hull-House Maps and Papers* offered no explanation for the causes of poverty and social disorder. In the preface Addams claimed that this was not a sociological investigation, but a constructive work that simply recorded certain phases of neighborhood life and presented detailed information that might prompt a humanitarian response from the government. (Brown, 2001). Kelley authored two chapters, one on the sweating system and another with Alzina P. Stevens on wage earning children. Interestingly two other chapters "The Chicago Ghetto" by Charles Zeublin and "The Bohemian People in Chicago" by Josefa Humpal Zeman were forerunners of the Chicago School of Sociology of the 1920's. Zeublin would join the faculty of the Chicago sociology department.

Kelley earned a law degree from Northwestern University in 1895 and went on to a more activist interventionist career. In 1899 she moved to the Henry Street Settlement in New York City to head the National Consumer's League (NCL). She worked with Josephine Goldmark, director of research at NCL, to prepare the successful "Brandeis brief" defense of 10-hour workday legislation for women in *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), which like the *Brown v Board of Education* (1954) school desegregation case almost fifty years later, used sociological evidence to support their case (Sklar, 1985). Kelley was involved in organizing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909), worked for the establishment of the U.S. Children's Bureau (1912), and supported the passage of the Sheppard-Towner

Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921 that allocated federal funds to health care programs administered by the Bureau.

Jane Addams (1860-1935) followed her own applied and activist track in Chicago. Throughout her career she maintained a tenuous relationship with academic sociology. In 1892 she taught a summer course on applied philanthropy and ethics with sociologist Franklin Giddings, and in 1893 presided over a two-day conference at the Chicago World's Fair sponsored by the International Parliament of Sociology. She declined at least two offers to join the Sociology Department at Chicago, apparently over concerns about the limits of speech and political activism associated with university settings. Addams, however, did become a charter member of the American Sociological Society (later renamed American Sociological Association), was an invited speaker at several meetings, and published in the *American Journal of Sociology* as well as other scholarly and popular journals. Two of her books *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902) and *The Long Road of Women's Memory* (1916) received favorable reviews in the *AJS*. But by 1920 a combination of backlash against social activism, the development of social theory to explain the causes as well as the effects of social problems, and gender discrimination marginalized Addams and other women sociologists from regular academic departments into what would become schools of social work. (Deegan, 1986)

If Addams and other social workers moved away from sociology, Seba Eldridge (1885-1953) sailed in the opposite direction. Initially trained as a civil engineer, he came to New York City around 1907. He enrolled in Columbia University and earned a second bachelors degree in 1911. While studying he held a part time position with the Bureau of Advice and Information of the New York Charity Organization Society investigating and appraising civic and social agencies appealing for aid. He occasionally resided at various settlement houses in on the East side becoming familiar with the conditions of the people in the neighborhoods (Ream, J. 1923, Clark, 1953, McCluggage, 1955).

Eldridge knew of the work of Felix Adler and the Ethical Culture movement. With a loan from a friend in 1911 he enrolled in graduate study at Columbia in social philosophy and finished his dissertation under John Dewey in 1925. But he also studied with both Franklin Giddings and William F. Ogburn and

learned of their interests in scientific sociology, quantitative methods and objectivity. From 1913 to 1915 he served as secretary of the department of social betterment of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities. He also helped organize the Commission on the Federal Constitution, which sought a more democratic way of amending the US Constitution.

In 1915 he published *Problems of Community Life; an Outline of Applied Sociology*. In it Eldridge classified New York's social problems according to the attention given them by reformers and the general public along with the general plans that various philanthropies, social reform groups and municipal agencies put forward for the better organization of reform activities in the city. His suggestions for reform were few and emerged from the logic of the situations under analysis rather than from partisan interests (he was politically active on the side of anti-Tammany forces).

In 1921 Eldridge joined the sociology faculty at University of Kansas where he remained for the rest of his life. Much of his subsequent work focused on methods of improving the quality of citizenship in the US. He believed that average citizens needed to actively work on social problems and was well ahead of his time in advocating that social science departments should give students actual practice in the skills of citizenship through participation in community activities.

Not only was sociology being applied in social welfare and social policy, but it also gained an early foothold in industry. In January 1914 Henry Ford created what he called a profit sharing plan that would pay workers up to five dollars a day, when the average wage for an unskilled worker in the automobile industry was \$2.40. Ford divided pay into two parts, the basic wage and the profit sharing. The profit sharing was not a Taylorist scientific management bonus for additional quality work or for loyalty to the Company. It was not even directly tied to Ford Motor Company profits. Rather it depended on workers maintaining good habits and taking care of their families and dependants. This was a radical concept and challenged the general belief that a sharp increase in the wages would have a bad effect because the workers would spend the additional money on drinking and gambling. Ford, however, wanted every worker to have a comfortable home and be able to afford an automobile. In order to select

workers for the program and monitor their behavior as well as test this “theory,” he created a Sociology Department within Ford Motor Company. (Loizides and. Sonnad, 2004)

The Department was headed by John R Lee who was asked to identify which workers were qualified to participate in the profit sharing and then to aid those who did not to qualify. This meant gathering information on the background, family situation, financial state and personal habits of the workers through informal, semi-structured interviews from the workers and occasionally friends and neighbors. Recorded data included address, neighborhood type, respondent’s age, education, nationality, language spoken, religion, dependents and their ages, home ownership/rental, financial information including bank name, location and balance, life insurance, family doctor, habits like smoking or drinking and an assessment of the condition of the home. In early 1914 investigators and interpreters were highly visible as they drove Ford automobiles to the homes of the workers who were to be interviewed. The result was that 60 percent of the workers qualified for the profit sharing.

The immediate reaction was negative. The investigators were aggressive, some questions intrusive and others repetitive. In addition, many non-English speaking workers did not qualify, possibly because of translation difficulties, and they and their families were angry. Lee then conducted a second phase in the spring of 1914, which attempted to verify the initial findings and utilized better-prepared translators. He told the investigators not to go into anybody’s home in a way that you would not want them to come into yours, and cautioned them about delving into strictly personal matters. At the end of this phase 69 percent of the workers were eligible. The company then began to Americanize its immigrant work force. In May 1914 it opened the Ford Language School, which taught English to workers after the first shift. Classes also stressed American ways and customs, encouraged thriftiness, and good personal and work habits. By the end of 1914, 87 percent of the workers qualified for the profit sharing.

In 1916 Lee published a paper on the Ford profit sharing system in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*. That year he left Ford to develop the field of personnel management. About ten years later Shenton (1927:198) could write in his *Practical Application of*

Sociology that “certain businessmen have already made beginnings in sociological research and a number are conducting experiments under the observation of trained sociologists.”

Tempest Tossed 1920-1940

In 1916 sociology students at the University of Southern California organized the Southern California Sociological Society. They also started a journal, *Studies in Sociology*, but in October 1921 changed the name to *Journal of Applied Sociology*. In a piece entitled “A New Departure” the SCSS president, Alice Fesler explained that the name was taken from Ward’s three fold classification of pure sociology, applied sociology and social reform. The journal carried short pieces by students and well-known sociologists. A 1924 issue (vol 8:4) included “The Major Ills of the Social Survey” by Seba Eldridge, “A Race Relations Survey” by Robert E. Park and “Social Psychology of Fads” by Emory Bogardus. But in 1927 the JAS was combined with the *Bulletin of Social Research* to become *Sociology and Social Research*. An editorial note explained that productive research was the very basis of applied sociology, which needed scientific research findings that could be utilized and applied and that henceforth *SSR* would publish significant pieces of research, although descriptions and analyses of social problems and the process whereby they are reduced and solved would still be printed.

World War I marked the beginning of the end for the Progressive Era of social reform to improve the lives of workers and immigrants, to conserve natural resources, and to make government more effective and less corrupt. The tide turned and the winds shifted, marking the emergence of scientific methods and the acquisition of new knowledge to support a growing dominance of the discipline over professional practice and social activism. Social work was considered to be a technique and an art, not a science (Shenton, 1927). In contrast, Applied Sociology was a science that could contribute to the development of an objective description of social problems and an understanding of their causes (Bossard 1932) and could be used to guide social planning and social engineering (Odum, 1934). Applied Sociology would attempt to keep an even keel of objective value free social research amidst cross currents of political ideology and social activism.

In 1916 Woodrow Wilson, former professor of jurisprudence and political economy at Princeton and then President of the United States, requested the National Academy of Sciences to create a National Research Council (NRC) to organize research and secure the co-operation of military and civilian agencies as a measure of national preparedness. In 1918 after the US entered the war, Wilson issued an executive order under which the NRC was “to stimulate research in the mathematical, physical and biological sciences, and in the application of these sciences to engineering, agriculture, medicine and other useful arts, with the object of increasing knowledge, of strengthening the national defense, and of contributing in other ways to the public welfare.” (Social sciences would not be explicitly added until George H. Bush did so in a January 1993 executive order.)

In 1921 Congress passed the national origins immigration Quota Act that discouraged immigration from eastern and southern Europe. The next year the NRC asked for social science representation in a study of human migration (Rhoades, 1981). The sociologist member of the Committee on the Scientific Problems of Human Migration was Mary Abby van Kleeck, the director of the Russell Sage Foundation’s Department of Industrial Studies. Van Kleeck had conducted studies of unorganized and sweatshop labor helped create and was a pioneer in industrial sociology. Other sociologists who attended a sponsored conference on migration included Edith Abbott, Henry Fairchild, William Ogburn, and Robert Park. (Final Report, 1929).

Upon taking office in 1929, President Herbert Hoover established the President’s Research Committee on Social Trends in the hope that social issues and problems could be scrutinized in the rational manner that had characterized his earlier efforts that reduced domestic consumption of food by 15% without rationing during World War I and his organization of flood relief work and health improvement in 1927. (Volti, 2004; Odum, 1933; Hoover Archives, 2005). The Rockefeller Foundation funded it for three years at \$560,000 and William F. Ogburn (1886-1950), who coined the phrase “cultural lag,” was named study director (Rhoades 1981). He would also serve as director of the Consumers Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration (NRA).

In his 1929 ASS Presidential address Ogburn (1930) declared that “Sociology as a science is not interested in making the world a better place in which to live.” On the surface this appears to be a rejection of Ward’s amelioration and a revival of Sumner’s *laissez-faire* position. But Ogburn’s main purpose was to ensure that scientific methods would be the basis for applied research and to distance it from ethics, religion, commerce, education, journalism, literature, and propaganda. Like Ward, he did not believe that the sociologist as scientist should hold office or lead movements. Ogburn encouraged sociologists to be wherever data on significant social problems were to be found on-- the staff of the courts, in the factory, at the headquarters of the political party, in the community centers. He wanted the sociologist to be there to discover new knowledge and relationships rather than as an executive, leader, or social worker who puts to use the information which the scientific sociologist furnishes. He even predicted that a great deal of research would be done outside of universities and that all levels of government would increase their research functions, as would trade unions, employers' associations, leagues and civic bodies, political parties, industries, and social-work organizations. Ogburn recognized that this research would be done for a specific purpose to prove a particular hypothesis or to gain a desired end. He asserted that in order to do this, the researchers should be free to follow the evidence and that they therefore must be sharply distinguished from the executives or policy-makers.

This was already happening. The most well know private sector applied research began in April 1927 at the Hawthorne Western Electric Plant in Hawthorne, IL. It would culminate with the publication of *Management and the Worker* (Roethlisberger and Dixon, 1939), which described worker behaviors and interactions in the experimental Relay Assembly Test Room and the Bank Wiring Observation Room. A few years later in 1933, J. L. Moreno, in collaboration with Helen Hall Jennings, began consulting at the New York State Training School for Girls in Hudson, New York, where he developed his sociometric system and began the *Sociometric Review*, which was renamed *Sociometry*.

Ogburn also drew an interesting distinction between sociologists who are research scientists and social engineers who, like physicians, are not scientists but who apply reliable scientific procedures and relatively exact knowledge. The concept of social engineering was developed by William Tolman (1909),

who thought that industrialists should assume more social responsibility for their workers and should hire social engineers to be the primary intermediary between the industrialist and the employees. Andrew Carnegie liked the idea and wrote an introduction to the book. Tolman also advocated that employers become involved with the workers and their families through programs for social insurance, profit sharing and savings (► stlund, 2003). These ideas may have led Henry Ford to set up the Sociology Department in 1913 to support his profit sharing plan and John Lee to leave Ford and start personnel management.

But the term social engineering was about to take on an ominous and decidedly negative connotation. In 1928 Stalin introduced the first Soviet five year plan and the Third Reich would soon adopt social engineering and social policy based on applied urban and rural sociology in their plans for the reorganization of an expanded Germany and the expulsion and annihilation of the populations of conquered territories (Klingemann, 1992). These developments were noted by several American sociologists including Arthur E Wood of the University of Michigan and Robert K. Merton of Columbia University, who advocated that scientists repudiate the application of utilitarian norms, and quipped that "an economy of social engineers is no more conceivable or practicable than an economy of laundrymen" (Merton, 1936: 900).

In 1934, *Social Forces* asked 23 prominent sociologists to contribute to a Round Table Symposium and answer questions like "What is the role of sociology in current social reconstruction?" Wood (1934) recounted that Charles Cooley said that in his early days he had the greatest difficulty in trying to tell his colleagues the difference between sociology and socialism. Borrowing terms from William James, Wood then identified three types of sociologists: (1) the tough minded who are all for objectivity but take a seat on the sidelines when it comes to hard contests over practical issues; (2) the tender minded or welfare sociologists who come from a background of religion or of social work but who appear to be tinkering around the edges of the social order without much knowledge or insight into the nature of the structure which they would change; and (3) the radicals, that is, the active participants in radical or revolutionary movements, who have an analysis of the social order and a blue print of what should be done with it, but whose strength lies in their dogmatism which does not qualify them as social scientists.

Without using the term Applied Sociology, Wood concluded that sociology could use descriptive analysis of social structures and processes involving critical evaluations to guide the tendencies of social change in the interest of reform.

The issue of the relationship between pure or scientific sociology and applied sociology in its various forms was the focus of a five year struggle within the American Sociological Society over what Marklund (2005) calls the scientific detachment – political involvement dilemma, or as Stuart A. Queen (1934), who worked for the American Red Cross and the Detroit Community Fund as well as teaching sociology at Kansas and Washington University, put it: how to steer between the Scylla of academic isolation and the Charybdis of partisan activity.

At the 1931 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Maurice Parmelee, an early behaviorist and criminologist, and four members who would serve as Presidents of the Society --Ulysses Weatherly (1923), Frank Hankins (1938), Robert MacIver (1940) and Pitirim Sorokin (1965)-- distributed a memorandum in which they claimed that the programs and publications of the society were devoted in considerable part to practical rather than to scientific problems, that as a result the public has the impression that the Society is a religious, moral and social reform organization rather than a scientific society and that the Society has become in large part a society of applied sociology. To remedy this they proposed that voting members be engaged in sociological research, writing and teaching with a higher university degree in sociology, and that the Society assume control of the official journal, at the time the *American Journal of Sociology* controlled by the Chicago Sociology Department (Rhoades, 1981). Faris (1970) thought that this was primarily an anti-Chicago effort, and Martindale (1976) saw it as a conflict between the Midwestern departments that were located in a culture of populism and progressivism and therefore more receptive to Ward's Comtean view of science as social reconstruction and the Eastern departments that were in a more conservative academic culture and linked to Sumner and social Darwinism.

In 1934 the Society's Committee on Scope of Research reported that New Deal and other social welfare agencies were using sociological research for the solution of practical problems. The committee

recommended a closer integration of sociologists with the sociological work of government; a more complete and discriminating canvass of research in progress; and an emphasis on the region as unit of research because of developments in social planning. Two years later in 1936 the Committee on Opportunities for Trained Sociologists recommended the creation of a permanent committee for the promotion of the professional (as opposed to the disciplinary) interests of sociologists that would get sociological training and field experience recognized as a qualification or substitute qualification for certain Federal and state civil service positions; graduate training in sociology to meet the need for equipping students for technical positions; involve sociology in state planning commissions and reorganization of state welfare systems as well as publicize sociology (Rhoades, 1981). The Society however did not take up these recommendations. Applied Sociology was set adrift in stormy seas as the academics opted for a narrower disciplinary and scientific learned society and the reformers moved into administrative positions in New Deal agencies.

The Winds of War 1940 - 1980

Applied Sociology received fresh winds from World War II and then the War on Poverty. In both cases, research and observations collected in natural settings for applied purposes would generate new knowledge and contribute to sociological theories and concepts, as had been called for by Ogburn in his 1929 presidential address. Fifty years later, Peter Rossi in his 1980 presidential address remarked that many pieces of applied work done for a particular client would overtime be presented in the sociological literature as primarily basic research.

In Nov 1941 the War Department established a Research Branch in the Information and Education Division to provide the army command quickly and accurately with facts about the attitudes of soldiers and other information that might be helpful in policy formation. Samuel Stouffer (1900-1960) became the director of the Troop Attitude Program and with the assistance of over 100 sociologists, seven of whom would serve as presidents of the ASA, conducted over 200 surveys during the war years with over half a million soldiers. Stouffer saw the research branch as doing an engineering job, not a scientific one (Lazarsfeld, Sewell and Wilensky, 1967: 251). Topics covered included practices associated with

trench foot, what articles were read in *Yank Magazine*, determining attitudes toward promotion and job assignments in the military, the attitudes of Negro soldiers, and the point system for personnel demobilization after the war.

In Dec 1942 a compendium of troop attitude studies was published for limited Army staff distribution but each succeeding issue was more widely distributed, eventually down to the company level. These reports not only emphasized that problems could be treated at the local command level, but also they were of value in planning and policy activities, for example, estimates of the numbers who would go to college if federal aid to veteran education were provided led to the GI Bill and accurately predicted the actual postwar experience. Nevertheless Stouffer noted that the channels of communication between the policy makers and the actual study directors in the Branch were often very unsatisfactory and the potential effectiveness in policy making of some of the research was lost. (Lazarsfeld, Sewell and Wilensky, 1967: 251)

Stouffer's applied research efforts, however, would make an impact on sociological theory and methods, initially in the four volumes of *The American Soldier*, and then in extensive secondary analyses published in *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Methods of "The American Soldier"* (Merton and Lazarsfeld, 1950). Chapters by Hans Speier, Edward Shils, Robert Merton and Alice Kitt (Rossi) supported and developed theories and understandings of primary groups, reference groups, and military organization. Also working for the Research Branch was Louis Guttman who made significant contributions to attitude research, particularly the technique, which bears his name, for demonstrating the unidimensionality of scales based on a small number of items. Further study of its properties by Lazarsfeld led to latent content analysis. Finally a number of sociologists including John Useem, George C. Homans, Ralph Turner and Morris Janowitz and Edward Shils utilized their military experiences in their sociological writings.

Applied research was also conducted on the home front. In the fall of 1941 the Roosevelt administration established an Office of Facts and Figures, which was quickly merged into an Office of War Information (OWI) after Pearl Harbor. Its purpose was to conduct surveys to monitor civilian

morale, to assess the effects of wartime regulations, and to collect data on public attitudes and behavior concerning a broad range of war-related problems. The OWI needed a contractor, and sought advice from George Gallup and Elmo Roper. Gallup earned a PhD in journalism, conducted studies of newspaper readership in Iowa, and worked for the market research department of the advertising firm of Young and Rubicam before starting his own public opinion polling organization in 1935 (Marklund, 2005).

Working for Gallup at Young and Rubicam was Harry H. Field, who in the late 1930's wanted to form a nonprofit public interest polling center that would not directly compete with the political polling being developed by Gallup and Roper. Through Gallup, Field was introduced to Hadley Cantril at Princeton who in turn linked him with sociologists Paul Lazarsfeld at Columbia and Samuel Stouffer at Chicago. Through them Field was able to establish the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Denver in the fall of 1941 (NORC would move to the University of Chicago in 1947). NORC got the contract for the civilian surveys and established a New York office in the building used by OWI. Early in 1942, Paul B. Sheatsley, who was working for Gallup at the time, headed up the survey research efforts. Many of the OWI surveys were simply fact-finding endeavors (how people disposed of their waste fats, how they were using their ration coupons, etc), but others were pioneering efforts such as the first national measurement of racial attitudes. NORC pre-tested OWI questionnaires, and administered them before turning over the completed interviews to OWI staff for coding and processing. (NORC 2005)

The OWI employed Paul Lazarsfeld (1901-1976) among others. Lazarsfeld had come to the US as a Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation and served as director of the Rockefeller Foundation's Office of Radio Research, which moved to Columbia University in 1939 and became the Bureau of Applied Social Research (BASR) in 1944 (now the Lazarsfeld Center for the Social Sciences in the Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy). One of his first projects at Columbia was a panel interview study of voters in the 1940 election, which was published as *The People's Choice*. Over the years Lazarsfeld and his students would conduct applied research for clients that would later contribute to modern market research, mathematical sociology, and mass communications research. (BASR, 2005).

His work on personal influence (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955) stemmed from very applied work financed by a magazine publisher to convince would be advertisers that placing ads in the magazine would reach opinion leaders, and a BASR study for a pharmaceutical company on the adoption of a new drug revealed the roles played by professional and social ties among physicians (Coleman, Katz and Menzel, 1966). In 1983 three of Lazarsfeld's former students would be the directors of social research for the three major networks CBS, ABC, and NBC (Sills, 1987).

Just before the war, the US Department of Agriculture appointed Rensis Likert (1903-1981) director of the Division of Program Surveys in Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Likert had already developed the 5 point scale which bears his name and taught at New York University before becoming director of research for the Life Insurance Agency in Hartford CT in 1935 where he conducted studies on effective of different styles of supervision. Starting in 1939 and continuing during the war Likert and his colleagues conducted surveys of farmer's experiences and opinions. At the end of the war Likert began looking for a university base and contacted Theodore M. Newcomb at the University of Michigan. Newcomb had worked with Likert as part of the war effort in 1944-45. The Survey Research Center was approved by the University of Michigan Regents in 1946 to conduct publishable studies for businesses, foundations, governmental and other agencies on all kinds of economic, social and business problems. The first summer institute in Survey Research Methods was held in 1948.

To complement the survey focus, Likert suggested that the Research Center for Group Dynamics (RCGD) then at MIT join SRC. Together, they would become the Institute for Social Research (ISR) in 1948. The RCGD was founded by Kurt Lewin (1890-1947) and then headed by Dorwin Cartwright who had worked with Likert in the Division of Program Surveys in the Dept of Agriculture. Likert had represented the Dept of Agriculture on the Committee on Food Habits of the National Research Council. Lewin had conducted a series of experiments for the Food Habits Committee demonstrating the superiority of a discussion followed by public decision making in changing food-shopping habits than a lecture by an expert. This led to his field theory involving food channels and the concept of gatekeepers. (Wansink, 2002). Lewin used the term "action research" and intended his research to result in guiding the

actions needed to solve social problems, reducing the gap between social science knowledge and the utilization of that knowledge.

Early SRC research included a project at Dodge Local of UAW that provided an objective evaluation of a program to encourage acceptance of minority groups within the union and a study of morale at Michigan Bell Telephone Co that led to improved productivity and job satisfaction. RCGD and Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in London published the journal *Human Relations* jointly. Likert's book *New Patterns of Management* (1961) summarized the principles and practices used by highest producing managers and proposed a more effective system of management.

By 1960, these and other university based social research centers were producing empirical findings that had a considerable impact on sociological theories, methods, and concepts. In 1961 the Society for the Study of Social Problems under the leadership of Alvin Gouldner focused its meeting on the topic of applied social science and major papers were published in *Applied Sociology: Opportunities and Problems* (Gouldner and Miller, 1965). The papers explored practitioner-client relations and cases studies in a variety of areas including law, family, community, race relations and delinquency. Years later co-author S. M. Miller (2001) revealed that he regretted the use of the term Applied Sociology because it was highly ambiguous — did it refer to sociologists employed outside academia, to academic sociologists who did studies for non profit and voluntary organizations whether paid for or not, to social activists or to public policy critics and intellectuals? — and because he saw little linkage between applied work and sociological study.

When Paul Lazarsfeld was elected president of the American Sociological Association he proposed that the theme for the 1962 meetings be “Sociology in Action” or “Applied Sociology” to highlight the contribution of applied and case studies to theoretical and methodological advances. But the ASA Executive Council changed it to *Uses of Sociology*, which also served as the title of an edited volume of 31 invited papers. *Uses* was defined in a broader sense than applied sociology, asking where and to what extent sociological findings and perspective have been used by professions such as medicine and law or by businesses, voluntary agencies, the military, schools and public bodies. It also asked

authors to address the difficulties of translating practical issues into research problems and to discuss the intellectual gaps between research findings and advice for action. Most authors had difficulty in identifying concrete applications of sociological ideas or findings (Gollin, 1983). Yet several years later, Theodore Caplow (1969, 1975) effectively explained and applied Simmel's theories to small groups and organizations.

In a provocative essay, Robert C. Angell (1967: 737) raised some ethical issues concerning applied research. He worried that since such research is used to further the practical ends of business, voluntary associations or government, it would take only a slight distortion in the sampling procedure or in the phrasing of questions to obtain findings desired by the client. Because they do not have the high calling of developing abstract scientific knowledge, he argued that the applied researcher cannot claim the special privileges that are sometimes enjoyed by those who do. For example, while it may be sometimes ethical to deceive subjects for the purpose of obtaining important new scientific knowledge, provided they are later debriefed, in Angell's opinion this justification cannot be used for applied research because the ends are not scientific ones.

But these edited volumes on applied sociology written from the perspective of disciplinary sociology failed to take the wind out of the sails. In fact, in his ASA presidential address Rossi (1980) noted that from 1960 to 1980 applied social research enjoyed a boom period in which sociology, as a discipline, had not really shared. The sails were filled with the winds of the War on Poverty. Dentler (2002) noted that the work entailed program planning, demonstration and pilot services and program evaluations, much of which could not easily be translated into academic publications, were risky and controversial, and were so large as to require full time effort. He estimated that approximately 100 social science research and development firms were established between 1960-75 across the country from the Stanford Research Institute to Abt Associates in Boston, of which one third were located in the D.C. suburbs, for example Westat, Mathematica, and the Cosmos Corporation, which successfully obtained many government contracts. Finally several specialized applied social research center were created, such

as the Disaster Research Center at the Ohio State University in 1963, currently at the University of Delaware.

In 1964 the U.S. Office of Education commissioned James S. Coleman to determine how educational opportunity defined as condition of school buildings, trained teachers, and curricula were distributed by race and ethnicity. The Report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Coleman et al 1966), which studied all third-, sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-grade students in 4000 schools, not only documented the pervasiveness of segregation in the schools, but went beyond the rather narrow Congressional mandate to explore the influence of parental education and social status as well as peer pressures effected student achievement (Dentler 2002, Rossi and Whyte, 1983, and Rossi, 1980). If the findings were controversial, the subsequent implementation of mandated bussing and the flight of white families from city schools were even more so. Coleman (1976), who originally supported school integration, changed his mind in the 1970s when he concluded that the policies that focused wholly on within-district bussing were actually increasing rather than reducing school segregation.

The Coleman Report (Coleman et al 1966) belies the argument that doing applied research for government agencies substantially limits intellectual and political independence and that applied researchers are at the beck and call of decision makers and policy implementers (Dentler, 2002). Rossi (1980) pointed out that the applied researcher could negotiate and in some cases broaden the scope of the study to include sociological variables and factors. On the other hand, it also illustrates Rossi's points that applied social research may be used in policy formation and become embroiled in rancorous controversy in which the work is attacked, misused or misapplied, and that sociologists are ordinarily not directly involved in decision-making, policy formation, or program implementation. Rossi, like Ward and Ogburn before him, warned that applied social research is not for would be philosopher kings.

Rossi observed that what may have been designed and conducted as a basic research was later be found to have applied implications: Benjamin Bloom's (1964) work on stability of IQ during early childhood became an intellectual pillar of Head Start as it provided data on where best in the lives of children to intervene with compensatory educational programs. William Sewell's work (Sewell, Houser

and Featherman, 1976) on status attainment had its beginnings in a state sponsored survey of Wisconsin high school seniors. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977, 1983) directly interpreted and applied her own research on corporations for a broader audience.

A Right Good Crew Learns the Ropes 1980-2005

A good crew learns to work together and master their vessel. For nearly 75 years applied sociologists had tried to sail with the fleet, but that was to change. Applied sociologists had to take command of their own ship and sail on. The 1970's witnessed an increase in the M.A. and Ph.D. sociologists looking for jobs at a time when sociology departments were not hiring. A larger number of new sociologists took positions outside sociology departments—in professional schools and in research units in government agencies, non-profit organizations and private consulting firms. Many wanted to present and publish their findings in sociological venues.

In the spring of 1978 Alex Boros (1931-1996) and several colleagues met over dinner during the North Central Sociological Association meetings and discussed their concern about a lack of applied sessions at the meetings. About ten years earlier, Boros had established what is believed to be the first graduate program in applied sociology at Kent State University. His main focus was on rehabilitation and medical sociology and he had conducted action research, that is, testing hypotheses in real life settings, specifically in services for deaf alcoholics. The group continued to meet and decided to call themselves the Society for Applied Sociology (Steele and Iutovich, 1997). In 1979 SAS created a newsletter and held sessions in conjunction with the NCSA. SAS held its first annual meeting at Kent State in Oct 1983 and was formally incorporated in 1984 with Boros as the first president. SAS began publishing the *Journal of Applied Sociology* in 1984 and created a consultants roster of applied sociologists. Over the years, the presidency of SAS has been fairly evenly divided between applied sociologists who worked in academic institutions and those who either owned their own consulting firms or were employed by governmental, non-profit or business entities.

The late 1970's also saw the creation of the Clinical Sociological Association (renamed Sociological Practice Association) and the ASA Section on Sociological Practice. Then Peter Rossi

became ASA president in 1980 followed by William Foote Whyte in 1981, both of whom identified themselves as applied sociologists. An ASA Committee on Professional Opportunities in Applied Sociology, chaired by Howard Freeman, held a workshop in Dec 1981 entitled “Directions in Applied Sociology.” The presented papers were published in *Applied Sociology* (Freeman et al 1983) and explored the then current status of applied sociology, the range of applied sociology roles in diverse settings, and a consideration of the academic preparation of applied sociologists. (Rosich , forthcoming).

ASA also started a journal, the *Sociological Practice Review* to provide a discipline-sponsored publication for applied, clinical and practicing sociologists. But it failed in 1992 after only three years for a number of reasons – financial pressures on the ASA (Petersen and Dukes, 2004), a lack of good manuscripts and an uncertain editorial policy (Lewis, 2002), and perhaps because of the competition from the *Journal of Applied Sociology* and *Clinical Sociology Review* for what was a small niche market.

In 1991 the American Sociological Association secured funds to establish the Sydney S. Spivak Program in Applied Social Research and Social Policy with the purpose of enhancing the visibility, prestige, and centrality of applied social research and the application of sociological knowledge to social policy. The Program supported policy briefings on the linkage between work and family, the social dimensions of AIDS, variations in sexual behavior, promoting safe schools, welfare to work, youth and violence, immigrants, human dimensions of disasters, and reactions to terrorism. It also offered Community Action Fellowships of \$2,500 which covered direct costs of sociologists working with community agencies and groups to do needs assessments, evaluation studies, empirical research relevant to community activities or action planning, or an analytical literature review in the areas of health, welfare, job training, homelessness, migrants, and children, youth and families (Rosich. forthcoming).

In the *Uses of Sociology*, Lazarsfeld (1967, xxii) noted that a Ph.D. in sociology did not really train one for employment outside academia. He wondered what type of professional training would be needed, what role university research bureaus, centers and institutes would play and whether sociologists should create programs within departments or separate schools of social research. Freeman and Rossi (1984) proposed that some departments having appropriately trained and motivated faculty, add applied

training as an option for their graduate and undergraduate students. They recommended that students in such a program receive a solid general grounding in the history, current trends, theories, and range of research methods in sociology, and then add knowledge and experience in research operations—how to handle the administration of sample surveys or how to take qualitative field notes, how to select and work with a survey research organization or train others to collect data. Students would learn the practical and pragmatic skills of writing a response to a request for proposals as opposed to a journal article.

In her SAS Presidential address, Jeanne Ballantine (1991) reported on a survey that looked at where sociology majors were employed after graduation, what employers were seeking and what undergraduate applied programs were providing. She found a variety of efforts ranging from one or two courses to an internship or field experience to a complete track or concentration. The focus on training generated a set of texts and supplements by Thomas J. Sullivan (1992), Stephen F. Steele, Anne Marie Scarisbrick-Hauser, William J. Hauser (1998), William Du Bois and R. Dean Wright (2001), Roger Straus (2002), Robert A. Dentler (2002), Stephen Steele and Jammie Price (2003), and Dukes, Petersen, and Van Valey (2004).

SAS president Stephen Steele conducted a needs assessment survey of its members in 1992 and found an interest in strengthening training programs at the graduate and undergraduate level. He appointed Harry Perlstadt to pursue this. In 1995 with the support of Joyce Iutovich, SAS President and David Kallen, president of the Sociological Practice Association, they formed the Commission on Applied and Clinical Sociology (Perlstadt, 1995, 1998). The Commission created standards for undergraduate and graduate programs (CACCS, 2005) and by 2005 had accredited three undergraduate programs (St. Cloud State MN, Our Lady of the Lake, TX, and Valdosta State, GA) and two masters level graduate programs (Humboldt State, CA and Valdosta State, GA). Accreditation standards help programs provide quality training with adequate resources and the Commission itself serves as a clearinghouse for the programs.

The Commission was started as a joint venture of SPA and SAS. In Aug 2000 they met together in Washington D.C. with the theme Unity 2000. Both recognized they were small and could benefit from

combining their resources and efforts. As the result of hard work by among others Ross Koppel and Joan Biddle of SPA and Augie Diana and Jay Weinstein of SAS, the two groups merged in 2005 to become the Association for Applied and Clinical Sociology, AACCS, with a combined journal.

Since 1970 many sociologists have conducted applied research in a variety of settings. Unfortunately only a few can be mentioned here. Michael Q Patton is one of the leading experts in evaluation research, wrote *Utilization-Focused Evaluation* (1997) and served as president of the American Evaluation Association. Terence C. Halliday is Senior Research Fellow, American Bar Foundation, and President, National Institute for Social Science Information who maintains his connection with sociology through adjunct appointments with sociology departments in the Chicago area, serving as chair of the ASA Sociology of Law section and writing for sociological audiences. Lola Jean Kozak with the job title of health statistician in the National Center for Health Statistics, Centers of Disease Control has done extensive applied research on hospital and health utilization and delivery. William W. Darrow was the sociologist and sole non-medical scientist in the CDC Task Force in the early 1980's to do the initial investigations of what would be identified as the HIV/AIDS epidemic. He helped develop a model to estimate the incubation period and conducted a study of risk factors in prostitutes.

Captain's Log Supplemental -- Conclusion and Lessons Learned

The voyages of Applied Sociology have tacked a course between sociological theory and sociological practice. It plied a trade bringing sociological theory and ideas to professional practitioners and decision-makers and in return contributing to the knowledge base of sociology as a science and discipline. It also steered away from entanglements with social philosophy and ethics on the one hand and social reform, activism and engineering on the other.

To some extent much of the history of Applied Sociology has been embroiled in what Andrew Abbott (1988) would identify as clarifications and disputes over professional jurisdictions. The initial development of sociology itself and then applied sociology were steeped in positivist philosophy and social ethics. Comte called for a class of positive priests and Ward stressed the ethical nature and

function of applied sociology. As we have seen the term applied sociology apparently came out of an enlightened religious quest for ethical standards in an era of Social Darwinism.

At the same time it was involved in the rise of pragmatism and progressivism. Together these sparked the development of the applications of sociology as an art and an applied science. Sociology as an art generated the field of social work with its activist interventionist approaches. Sociology as an art also helped spawn personnel management.

It was interesting to learn that the U.S. government has been commissioning social surveys and studies for over a century: on slums and sweatshops in the 1890s, on social trends in the early 1930s, on military and war related efforts during World War II and on the nature of segregated education, welfare demonstration projects and child development programs in the 1960s and 1970s. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the NIH and NIMH roadmaps for research continue to look to and fund the applied side of the social and behavioral sciences.

Government sponsored research stimulated the formation of the Chicago School of Sociology in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Columbia Bureau of Applied Social Research, National Opinion Research Center at Chicago and the Institute for Social Research at Michigan among others during the middle of the century and the rise of private research firms in the 1960s and 1970s. In addition agencies at all levels of government are requiring applied research to feed into the policy and decision-making process. Although lacking a job title, this is still creating a demand for trained applied sociologists.

The heart of applied sociology is social research and it is here that the conflict over a division of labor and jurisdictions over work were most visible. The rise of scientific sociology in the 1920s with its expectations of developing theories of society conflicted with the interests of applied sociology to collect data for specific clients and purposes without regard for testing theoretical hypotheses. When the findings of applied social research were used for nefarious purposes by the Soviets and Nazis, or, like the *Report of the Research Committee on Social Trends*, were not germane to the growing economic and social crisis

in the 1930's, many became disillusioned. It was also clear that applied sociologists could not become philosopher kings who would do the research, design the policy and then implement it.

The pivotal debate over the role of sociology in social reconstruction in the early 1930's identified sociologists who were committed to scientific objectivity but steered clear of practical interests and implications of their research, sociologists who sociologists with a humanitarian background and proposed solutions without much knowledge or insight into the nature of the structure which they would change; and the social radicals whose dogmatic analysis of the social order and blue print of what should be done far exceeded what could be supported by scientifically collected data (Wood, 1934). The result was that the American Sociological Society was taken over by the first group and became primarily disciplinary oriented, the second group left for New Deal positions, and the third were reemerge twenty years later to develop conflict theory and critical sociology.

This left a small set of sociologists who worked on applied research during World War II and then in university research centers, non-profit foundations or private firms during the last half of the twentieth century. The last quarter of the twentieth century saw the rise of a second group of applied sociologists who held academic appointments but funded most of their research through contracts. Although a fair number of ASA presidents had carried out applied social research during their careers, and despite the interests of ASA staff in supporting applied sociology, the main focus of ASA continued to remain on basic research and academic positions. As a result, applied sociologists developed a new identity and professionalism in the form of the Society for Applied Sociology, the Sociological Practice Association and the ASA section on Sociological Practice, and began looking to improve the training of future applied sociologists through the Commission on Applied and Clinical Sociology.

Applied Sociology is very resilient. The term has survived for over a hundred years despite vague definitions and attempts to ignore or replace it. But the need for scientific applied social research to bridge the gap between theory and practice and to translate social science research findings into forms that enable others to understand and address social problems and conditions will continue. The lesson for applied sociologists is never give up the ship!

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