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Arnold Rose 1918-1968

Multidisciplinary problem-focused research

The world of the social sciences

Owing to circumstances beyond editorial control, this number reaches subscribers with considerable delay. We apologize for any inconvenience caused to our readers.

ERRATUM

In the article on educational outlay by Guenther Palm, Vol. XX, No. 1, page 101, lines 26 to 32 should read:

'If countries were divided into the following groups of accuracy: I (accurate within ± 5 per cent); II (accurate within ± 10 per cent); III (accurate within ± 20 per cent); IV (accurate within ± 50 per cent) (estimates made by subjective judgement of the relation of *per capita* income to other countries, or some other very general basis), then it has been estimated that, out of 122 countries, 11 were found in group I, 8 in group II, 75 in group III and 28 in group IV.'

Arnold M. Rose
1918-1968

The contribution by Professor Arnold M. Rose on 'Sociological Studies on Mental Health and Mental Disorder' in this issue of the *Journal* is, unhappily, being published posthumously. The new year brought news of the death of Professor Rose from cancer at the age of 49. In his death, the world of social science loses one of its most dedicated and most distinguished devotees of compassionate sociology. His contributions to theory, methodology and applied social problems were far-reaching. It is revealing that at the time of his death he was serving as a consultant to various United States governmental agencies on problems of manpower, youth and agieng. Over the years he maintained relations with several programmes of Unesco, particularly the tensions project and the studies of racial prejudice. His orientation was truly international. He especially cherished his experiences as a Fulbright research scholar in France (1951-52) and as a Fulbright professor in Italy (1956-57), as well as the opportunity to lecture and do research in a large number of other European countries.

It is quite fitting that Professor Rose, born in Chicago on 2 July 1918, and having received three degrees at the University of Chicago (A.B. 1938, M.A. 1940 and Ph.D 1946), should acquire international renown as a specialist in race relations. As a research associate at the Carnegie Corporation, he collaborated closely with Gunnar Myrdal in the preparation of the influential *An American Dilemma.* In all, he wrote or edited twenty books, the most recent of which are *The Power Structure: Political Process in American Society* and *Sociology: The Study of Human Relations.*

Prior to joining the Department of Sociology at the University of Minnesota in 1949, Professor Rose taught at Bennington College in Vermont and Washington University in St. Louis. He also served in the army in the Second World War and was awarded the Bronze Star. He contributed significantly to the studies of the American soldier, directed by Professor Samuel A. Stouffer.

Professor Rose ardently believed in the obligation of the social scientist to participate actively in the political process. He ran for public office in Minneapolis on several occasions and served as a member of the Minnesota House of Representatives from 1963 to 1965.

American sociologists recognized his outstanding accomplishments as scholar, teacher, editor, researcher and social activist by selecting him as President-elect of the American Sociological Association. He had previously served as President of the Society for the Study of Social Problems (1955) and of the Midwest Sociological Society (1961).

At the 1967 meeting of the American Sociological Association in San Francisco he authorized the announcement of the establishment of the $200,000 Arnold and

Caroline Rose Fund for the support of publication of scholarly monographs in the field of sociology.

Professor Rose's career provides ample evidence that concern with scientific method can be effectively combined with social compassion to produce sociological studies of lasting significance.

HARRY ALPERT
Director, Department of Social Sciences, Unesco

Multidisciplinary problem-focused research

Editorial

This number of the *Journal* is the third to be based on material which has become available in connexion with the International Study on the Main Trends of Research in the Sciences of Man, currently being conducted under the auspices of Unesco.

In Vol. XVI, No. 4, 1964, there appeared a series of papers submitted to the preliminary planning meeting which discussed the design of the study, under the title 'Problems of Surveying the Social Sciences and Humanities'. The articles in Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1967, on linguistics and communication were selected from amongst the contributions commissioned for the chapter on linguistics. The present selection has been made from amongst contributions commissioned for a section on oriented or field-induced research, being prepared by Pierre de Bie, who has also written the introduction to this issue.

The first part of the International Study is expected to appear in 1969, covering the following disciplines: sociology, political science, economics, demography, social and cultural anthropology, psychology and linguistics, as well as sections dealing with questions related to the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary dimensions of research in the sciences of man.

An announcement concerning the availability of Part I of the study will be made in these pages in due course.

Introduction

Pierre de Bie

Our object in devoting an entire issue of the *International Social Science Journal* to examples of problem-focused research work in various fields is to draw attention to one of the most typical and crucial poles of development in the sciences of man.

Although the world today is a changing one, what is characteristic is perhaps not so much the speed or magnitude of the change as the realization that it exists and the determination to control it by forecasting, planning and organizing what is to come. Action for which scientific preparations and projections have been made is becoming increasingly widespread: data must be collected and compared, and then knowledge must be coupled with action to produce fruitful results.

Within the human sciences, between the world of pure thought dealing with theory, where knowledge alone matters and is of intrinsic value, and the world of informed action, where utility and practical considerations take precedence, there is a vast area where questions of theory and utility mingle in varying proportions. In this area, the desire for knowledge is to a certain extent linked with the desire for action, and in order to cover all aspects of a subject, recourse is had to a variety of disciplines. This is the field of study which is here described as problem-focused multidisciplinary research.

Since this field of study is extremely broad and varied, the first thing is to explain and delimit it clearly. The next step will be to examine the situation of this type of research in relation to free fundamental research and applied research. Furthermore, it is desirable to bring out the real nature and conditions of the multidisciplinary dimension as compared to the interdisciplinary approach, and to define the scope of multidisciplinary associations.

The concept of problem-focused research

Problem-focused research and free fundamental research

Outwardly, the distinction between these two types of research is clear-cut. But is the same true as regards substance? To begin with, problem-focused or 'field induced' research, as it is known alternatively, differs from free research because it is responsive to, and to some extent depends on, social needs, which determine its scope. Such research centres on the problems which arise in the life of societies, whereas free fundamental research responds to other stimulants and aims at knowledge for its own sake.

Accordingly, there can be no problem-focused research where social needs are not felt and do not arouse the research worker's interest. The mere fact that a problem exists is not enough; there must be an awareness of the problem and a relationship between needs and research, resulting in the choice of an approach aimed at improving the effectiveness of action by means of a better knowledge of the problem.

Problem-focused research may thus lead to the adoption of guidelines for social policy or help to define them more clearly; some of the propositions resulting from such research may be useful in formulating practical decisions, in strengthening the structure of social policy, or at least in providing ideas for certain action programmes. But it is only a question of possibilities of action. Active follow-up measures, while desired by both those who carry out and those who subsidize research, will not necessarily materialize; some problem-focused research may very well lead to only a few practical proposals or even not be translated into action at all. The responsibility may lie with research workers, who are unable to draw up their conclusions in sufficiently specific or meaningful terms, or with the users, if they fail to note the findings and base a policy on them. It cannot be claimed that the nature of research is affected by the use made of its results: research is 'problem-focused' by virtue of its subject.

Problem-focused research can also make a valuable contribution to fundamental research, provided it is carried out in an objective and critical spirit, taking account of the scientific heritage and methods of fundamental research.

Just as there is no essential incompatibility between problem-focused research and fundamental research, the opposition between problem-focused research and free fundamental research is only a partial one. Fundamental research is sometimes described as 'free' research to the extent that it is at liberty not to take account of practical social needs, or else that it is determined solely by the choice, imagination, preferences or even the flights of fancy of research workers. In fact, however, when research workers choose a subject, they take account of the state of advancement of a science, the intellectual traditions peculiar to a community and the requirements imposed by theory in a particular field of research. They may also be influenced by the possibilities of securing financial assistance. Considered from this point of view they are no longer entirely 'free'. Any choice must be oriented, consciously or unconsciously; it is merely a question of proportion.

By definition, problem-focused research cannot, either in its conception or its elaboration, be entirely free and unrelated to specific social needs; but it can be free as regards its results, in so far as these are the product of research which aims at being genuinely scientific. Although, in general conception, it is not the same as 'theoretical' fundamental research, it may be fundamental in its methods and results.

Problem-focused research and applied research

The distinction between problem-focused research and applied research is less easy to make; many research workers fail to distinguish between them and contrast them with pure or theoretical research.

In attempting to distinguish clearly between applied and problem-focused research, recourse must be had to the concept of utilization and also that of repetition. Applied research is the application and exploitation of acquired knowledge with a view to its concrete, practical use; it is typical of it that the effort involved is often proportionate to, and goes no further than, the practical usefulness of its results. The aim is to reapply analytical patterns, conceptual frameworks, techniques and instruments to a specific social reality. This is generally done by services, research departments and administrations. It involves compiling and processing a certain number of data and presenting them in a form which is in line with the technical and conceptual structure of the sciences concerned; this immediately suggests many areas of research, such as public opinion polls, market research and even certain studies on social, industrial or organizational relations.

In the sciences of man, the relative importance of applied research varies considerably. Psychology and economics led on to applied research sooner than other human sciences, and to a greater extent. Sociology is now reaching the same stage, particularly in the United States, where it is more firmly established and more frequently consulted; at some distance behind, political science follows, in so far as progress is being made in the knowledge of electoral behaviour, pressure groups and the techniques of achieving power where opportunities for application arise. It is no longer a question of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but of finding processes, contrivances even, and of being able to use knowledge, however simplified, in order to act more efficiently in a given framework.

The place of problem-focused research

An analysis of the features of problem-focused research seems to bear out the intuitive fundamental concept set out at the beginning of this study:

problem-focused research lies between the field of pure theoretical research, where knowledge is the prime concern, and that of informed action, where usefulness, efficiency and practical results come first.

The difficulty of distinguishing clearly between these three types of research arises from the fact that problem-focused research, lying between fundamental research and applied research, can have features in common with each of them. While it may be free and fundamental in its manner of proceeding and in its results, it is less free in its conception; further, its applicability and the possibility of translating its results immediately into action can be regarded as additional concrete confirmation of the fact that it is problem-focused.

Since it partakes of the nature of fundamental research and at the same time of applied research, problem-focused research seems to defy any simple classification. It is a kind of 'no man's land' between the two. The proportion of theory to application varies not only with the subject of the investigation but also with its stages, with the investigator, the institution to which he belongs and the society in which he works. Much depends on the conditions under which the study is carried out, and in particular on other activities in the environment, which may in some cases be based on pure theory and in others be aimed exclusively at practical results.

Further, as if to make the problem more complex, its parameters may not be sufficiently clear: frequently fundamental, so-called theoretical, research leads to useful applications quite independently of the intentions of the research workers, while applied research may open up new avenues for fundamental research; political economy and demography provide several examples of this.

In order to clarify the exact position of problem-focused research several representational methods may be used.

In Figure 1, I have adopted a distinction drawn by Lazarsfeld, Sewell and Wilensky[1] between autonomous research and problem-focused research based on their contribution to fundamental knowledge. Autonomous or free research and problem-focused research studies may or may not, depending on the case, contribute towards an expansion of basic knowledge.

Fig. 1. Contribution to fundamental knowledge

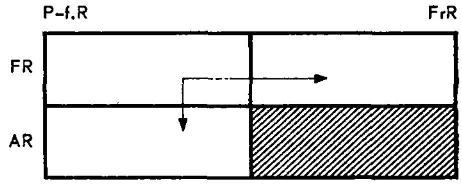
Presence (+)	Absence (-)
P-f.R +	P-f.R -
Aut.R +	P-f.R -

Figure 2 might well serve as a starting-point for a better understanding of the relationship between fundamental research (FR), problem-focused research (P-f.R) and applied research (AR) provided we adopt the conven-

1. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, William H. Sewell and Harold L. Wilensky (ed.), *The Uses of Sociology*, New York, Basic Books Inc., 1967, p. xxiv, xxv.

tion of two dichotomies, i.e., the contrast between problem-focused and free, and that between fundamental and applied.[1] Viewed from this angle, problem-focused research may contribute at one and the same time to fundamental research and applied research.

Fig. 2. Relationship between fundamental research (FR), applied research (AR), problem-focused research (P-f.R) and free research (FrR)



By definition, free research (FrR) is bound to be along the same lines as fundamental research; but one immediately feels that this classification is inadequate, since the dichotomies are open to question. Read vertically, the diagram excludes free research aimed at practical applications and this would amount to restricting its freedom.

A well-conducted functional analysis might prove most useful in a study of the relationship between the three types of research; it would be enough to describe their characteristics in a stage by stage analysis according to the functions they fulfil, making a careful distinction between the different meanings of the word 'function'—the aim consciously pursued, the results obtained, the subjective or social motivations, the role of research workers and of research, etc.

An analysis based on consciously pursued aims is particularly apposite because research investigations are frequently defined in terms of their aims.

In this respect the distinction between fundamental and problem-focused research is clear: fundamental research has no aim other than itself, and it is the method of research which defines the objectives to be reached; in problem-focused research, on the other hand, the problem is dictated by the pursuit of aims which are either ethical, or socially desirable. On the contrary, the distinction between problem-focused research and applied research is, from the standpoint of the aims set, barely, if at all, perceptible.

Let us represent the three types of research by the symbols used above —FR, P-f.R and AR—and the aims by the symbols (ta) (theoretical aim) and (ap) (aim: solution to a social problem). We then have the following associations or 'constellations': FR (ta) and P-f.R (ap), AR (ap). But a closer analysis of problem-focused research and applied research shows that, although in both cases the investigator is concerned with a social problem, its nature may vary considerably. I have already emphasized this difference in defining applied research. We must therefore adopt new symbols: P-f.R (ap′) and AR (ap″).

1. This diagram was suggested to me during conversation with the late Professor J. Hochfeld, who was particularly interested in this analysis.

To analyse the results secured objectively by research, we may use the symbols (tr) and (pr) to distinguish between theoretical results and practical results. Here the associations which first come to mind are: FR (tr), P-f.R (pr), but also P-f.R (tr). From the point of view of results, problem-focused investigations may in fact belong to either the group (pr) or the group (tr) depending on the individual case. To be more exact, from this point of view problem-focused investigations frequently give us mixed 'constellations': (P-f.R) (pr, tr).[1] We also know that we cannot exclude the possibility of the 'constellations' Fr (tr, pr) and even AR (pr, tr).

A schematic presentation is given in Figure 3, where continuous lines are used for the most normal and frequent associations, and dotted lines for less frequent associations.

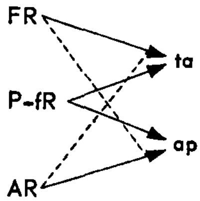


Fig. 3

Turning to motivations for research, we should, to be exact, make a list of differences such as those between individual and social, explicit and implicit, and psychological and sociological motives. Individual motivations may be relevant to the authors or users of the research; social motives may vary according to the groups taken into account. *A priori*, there is nothing to justify the assumption that the motives may coincide, and everything to suggest the opposite. Thus the explicit motivation of the investigator may be mainly of the type (pm)[2]—work aimed at practical and useful results—with a view to falling in with the wishes of his sponsors and to obtaining financial resources for his research which are more easily forthcoming for 'constellations' of the type (ap) and (pm); whereas in fact the implicit motive is of the type (tm)[3] which would no doubt lead him to results that would also be of the type (tr), perhaps exclusively so. The combinations of different motives may thus be extremely complex.

If we limited the functional analysis to the first two variables, i.e., the consciously pursued aims and the results, setting aside the question of motives, we might consider the following associations as the ones to be normally expected: FR (ta, tr) - P-f.R (ap′, pr, tr) and P-f.R (ap′, tr, pr) - AR (ap, pr).

In actual fact, the following 'constellations' also arise, though they are less probable:

1. The symbols in brackets indicate a decreasing order of frequency.
2. pm = practical motive.
3. tm = theoretical motive.

FR (ta, *tr*, pr), FR (ta, tr, *pr*),

P-f.R (*ap*, ta, *pr*, tr), P-f.R (ap, ta, pr, tr), P-f.R (ap, ta, tr), P-f.R (ap, ta, pr),

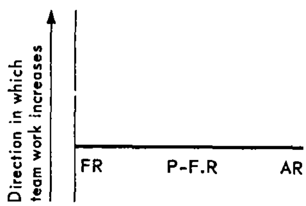
AR (ap, *pr*, tr), AR (*ap*, ta, *pr*), AR (*ap*, ta, *pr*, tr).

It will be noted that there is a very great variety in the associations typical of problem-focused research. The symbols italicized indicate the areas where intentions and results predominate.

By introducing into the above analysis the various types of motives, we might pursue it further and assign to it a complexity out of all proportion in relation to our purpose.

A somewhat different analysis might be made by specifying the functions of the research worker, which may differ fairly considerably according to the type of research and the results expected. We might take as a dimension the degree of autonomy of a research worker, depending on whether or not he is a member of a team; seen from this angle, Figure 4 presents a fairly true picture, in so far as it is more probable that problem-focused work will be carried out by a team than fundamental or applied monodisciplinary research.

Fig. 4



Following on this abstract theoretical analysis of the manifold distinctions to be drawn, in the light of various criteria, between free fundamental research, problem-focused research and applied research, the study of the actual position of these types of research in different societies ought to be of real value.

In many societies, teachers and research workers set great store by fundamental research and rank problem-focused research well below it; as for applied research, wanted by immediate users, its prestige may be comparatively low in academic circles.

It is characteristic of most socialist societies that research activity is mainly dependent on national planning. It seems that the distinction between free fundamental research and problem-focused research must yield before the basic social values of commitment and service to the community. Here the idea of 'free' research assumes a new meaning, and refers to scientific research conducted by research workers because of their personal interest in it, irrespective of what is foreseen in the national research plans. It may be that research prompted by purely intellectual personal interest is regarded with less favour in these societies than research aimed at purely practical social advantages.

In countries with a group ideology of social progress through planning, all activities must be covered by such planning; although the advancement of knowledge is certainly prized, theoretical 'free' or 'isolated' research is suspect. The defence of theoretical research is that it contributes to action. Viewed in this way, problem-focused research takes up a central position; indeed, is not all research, in a certain sense, problem-focused?

The sciences of man are characterized by the socio-cultural environment and its criteria; it is the commonly accepted values which determine the order of importance of different types of research and, within a particular type, of various objectives.

Problem-focused types of research lend themselves to this more than others, since they are always associated with a value which defines their aim. In research on mental illness this value is health, the well-balanced personality; in criminological research, the aim is an ethical one which can be expressed as the prevention of crime and the reintegration of offenders into society; research on the family is almost always bound up with considerations of social morality regarding the role of the family, its appropriate place in society, and the equilibrium and healthy development of its functions.

It is, moreover, obvious that these values do not always command the same degree of universal respect; they may carry more or less weight, and give rise to controversy. It is unusual for a specialist engaged in family-focused research to question the basic judgements which commonly determine observations and classifications, and even the criteria applied, or, for example, to think to himself: 'What is a healthy family?' To take another example, rural sociology, which is dependent financially and institutionally on vested interests and pressure groups, is split between those who uphold 'the good old order of country life' and the go-ahead people who are often regarded as trouble-makers.

There are any amount of options, but they are not always formulated consciously and here we have one of the main factors which may impart a bias to problem-focused research, give it a relative character and reduce the independence which should always be a feature of free fundamental research. This problem is particularly acute in the case of problem-focused research undertaken by developing countries on the basis of criteria of economic growth and technical and social progress borrowed from the country of origin of the investigator and alien to the country carrying out the studies which are destined to serve as a basis for action.

The multidisciplinary dimension

As soon as any attempt is made by means of scientific research to shed light on social problems which actually exist and are therefore necessarily complex, reference to several scientific disciplines seems the obvious solution. The history of scientific research in the social sciences offers many examples of recourse to various disciplines in a concerted effort to solve social problems. Cases of such recourse, already numerous in the past, are becoming more and more frequent today.

'Social surveys' provide a typical example. The Americans, taking as their model famous English pioneers such as John Howard and Charles Booth, have carried out a large number of social surveys with a view to an empirical study of social problems in the United States at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. As early as 1930, Eaton and Harrison drew up their first bibliography listing 2,775 different studies. Some of these, such as the Pittsburgh and the Springfield surveys, have remained standard reference works.[1]

Multidisciplinary team-work was undoubtedly one of the most typical features of these surveys; sociologists and welfare officers worked alongside social psychologists, economists and criminologists. This co-operation appears to have been inevitable, since the surveys covered local communities or problems such as poverty, delinquency and unemployment, which have manifold aspects. The authors of the surveys were convinced that it was not possible to separate family life from professional life, work activities from leisure activities, and the economic aspects of problems from their psychological ones; they were also convinced that an approach through a single, specialized branch of science could only produce a fragmentary view of the problems involved, which would not be adequate for the formulation of proposals and the taking of decisions regarding action. Undoubtedly, when it is a question of solving a problem bearing on social and economic development, it is essential to look beyond the horizons of one specialized discipline; it quickly becomes evident that many links exist between elements which a specialized monodisciplinary scientific analysis would be liable to separate, and the natural impulse is to go beyond the frontiers of particular disciplines in order to get a more general and complete picture.

At the present time, the investigations which are most closely allied to social surveys, though without being consciously conducted along the same lines, are undoubtedly those which relate to local communities and urban or regional development. The horizon has, however, broadened out, specialists are now looking beyond their national territory, and there is also the extremely rich and varied range of studies on economic and social development in the developing countries.

Different terms, sometimes varying according to the size of the unit under observation, are here used to describe areas of concerted study and action: community development, local community studies, regional investigations, physical planning, surveys in developing countries, etc. The bibliographies on investigations in these domains reveal the existence of a wide variety of specialists. The volume *Industrialization and Society*,[2] the result of an international conference on the social implications of industrialization and technological change—a question of the greatest importance for the developing countries—contains papers by sociologists,

1. Cf. Allen Eaton and Shelby M. Harrison, *A Bibliography of Social Surveys*, New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1930.
2. Bert F. Hoselitz and Wilbert E. Moore (ed.), *Industrialization and Society*, Paris, Unesco; The Hague, Mouton, 1963.

economists, demographers, social and cultural anthropologists, and political scientists. Joint participation in this task was essential.

The author of a study on sociology in developing areas, Wilbert E. Moore, has shown how, depending on the size of the unit under consideration, different specialists had to be brought in to work together on the investigation under way; for surveys centred on the development of local communities, recourse is had to rural sociologists and social anthropologists, often assisted by social welfare workers and teachers, and even a great variety of other specialists such as dietitians, doctors and agricultural experts. At the national level, however, economists are the ones who are likely to play a leading role,[1] but to them might be added demographers, statisticians, political scientists and administrators.

What is true for planning and development surveys also applies to a great many other topics of problem-focused research, such as youth, the status of women, old age, industrial relations, mental health and fertility. When it comes to studying man in society, various types of disciplinary association are always inevitable. Any attempt to give an account of man as a human being necessarily involves collaboration between different disciplines, since each disciplinary sector stems from an abstraction and a separation. 'Pure' economic analysis is an outstanding example: the science of economics was at one stage unable to advance until it had disposed of the myth of *homo oeconomicus*. The same applies to the 'citizen' taken as a subject of study by the political scientist, and to the 'laboratory specimen', entirely cut off from all social contacts, studied by experimental psychology.

The standard work by Ralph Linton on the cultural basis of the personality was primarily interesting because it was one of the first conscious attempts at a pragmatic statement of the problems involved in integrating scientific disciplines from the starting-point of man considered as a personality linked to a given socio-cultural environment. Arguments in favour of giving an institutional framework to what are known in the United States as the 'behavioural sciences' follow the same lines of thought. In problem-focused research the object is man—as a social being who must be helped, healed and protected, and included in plans and forecasts for the future. It is man who introduces the multidisciplinary dimension.

A study of the fields of problem-focused research brings out a number of factors which determine the disciplinary associations:

1. Appreciation of the importance of study and research as bases for intelligent action.
2. Complexity of the subject of research; not only are the phenomena to be studied complex, but their complexity creates problems for research.
3. The need to solve new problems for which no traditional solution is available means that a great many different factors must be taken into account.

1. Wilbert E. Moore, 'Sociology in Developing Areas', in: Lazarsfeld, Sewell and Wilensky (ed.), *The Uses of Sociology*, op. cit., p. 647-50.

4. Industrialized and developing societies are changing societies; in so far as future developments can be foreseen, they present a problem. Planning becomes a component of these changing societies and calls for joint study by a variety of specialists.
5. For the reasons given above, certain topics lend themselves better than others to problem-focused research: this is true wherever change, development and planning are concerned.
6. The need to call on specialists from several of the sciences of man is particularly apparent when the investigator is faced with a problem in a cultural context different from his own; whether they be problems relating to the family, to crime, mental health, technological development or to living standards, it is plain that a whole series of elements in the socio-cultural environment enter in.
7. Appreciation of team-work and, in a world in which special branches of learning are multiplying fast, anxiety to increase communication and exchanges between them.

A number of the factors involved in multidisciplinary association are characteristic not only of problem-focused research, but also, in some cases, of the association of scientific disciplines for free fundamental research. I have, however, refrained from mentioning factors that would appear to concern the latter more exclusively; in this connexion, I might have alluded, for example, to the interest in multisectorial dimensions such as time or space, or the apperception of new theoretical concepts which might be discoverable or applicable in several fields of knowledge; models, information systems, etc.

Moreover, among the factors noted—and the list is, of course, incomplete—there are five which relate to the content of problem-focused research, whereas two only concern the human element and the mode of intervention. But though it must be borne in mind here that research is becoming increasingly well organized and teams more numerous, it must also be emphasized that private and public funds are earmarked with increasing priority to this form of research. In the domain of the sciences of man, problem-focused research stands the best chance of being financed—and the better it is organized, the greater its chances will be.

Action along certain lines, however well informed and enlightened it may be, is not in itself enough to promote multidisciplinary research. There is also the question of institutional proximity. The fact that specialists representing several of the sciences of man are engaged, in the same institution, in studying a single problem makes it far easier for them to exchange views and compare results than when they remain isolated or work in separate disciplinary institutions. Multidisciplinary research teams formed within a problem-focused research institution such as a development study institute, a criminology centre, or a family studies centre, are in a distinctly privileged position, belonging as they do to a single institutional structure.

Researchers working in teams are far better off than those who, working with a university or academy, would like to create multidisciplinary associations because they see their importance theoretically, but who in fact come up against institutional barriers in the form of schools, institutes and faculties, all jealous of their disciplinary independence. Within the university or academy, incentives to co-operate and exchange ideas may be lacking, or prove to be far less powerful than those resulting from the need for joint intellectual efforts in overcoming a difficulty or executing a plan. Professional schools at university level tend far more than the institutes or departments on the humanities side to be multi- or interdisciplinary.

Lastly, attention should be drawn to scientific affinities conducive to certain multidisciplinary associations rather than others. In one instance it may be the tradition for demographers to collaborate with sociologists, in another with economists. Social and cultural anthropology has, in fact, largely taken over from ethnology, but it is much closer to sociology and is interconnected with linguistics. In continental European countries, political science has for long been particularly preoccupied with constitutional and administrative law; under the influence of Anglo-Saxon research it has broadened its scope more and more to include the work of sociologists, social psychologists, linguists, ethnologists and organization theorists. And amongst the sciences of man it is sociology that primarily attracts the psychologist. These examples are merely by way of illustration, and far from perfect; scientific affinities vary enormously according to countries, schools and individuals. One of the merits of Jean Viets' all-round approach in his report on the sciences of man in France is that it represents an attempt to review the various interdisciplinary relations obtaining within a single country.[1]

The multidisciplinary dimension of problem-focused research has been treated as self-evident, and the examples given have confirmed this view. But does this mean that all problem-focused research is necessarily multidisciplinary and vice versa?

Problem-focused research can be disciplinary: in the sciences of man there is probably not a single discipline that has been able to develop without taking account of the needs of practical action, or being concerned with big social problems. Moreover, when one studies the history of these sciences and considers their beginnings, one is struck by the extent to which the pioneers were anxious to shape the course of action. Dr. Quesnay and the physiocrats embarked upon a study of the laws of political economy in order to lay down rules of conduct for the benefit of States and individuals alike, and when Auguste Comte founded, as he believed, the science of sociology, he did so with the intention of reconstructing the social order on a rational basis. In varying proportions, depending on the discipline, there has been an appreciable amount of research focused on social problems: research done by psychologists, for advisory purposes or in order to

1. Jean Viet, *Les Sciences de l'Homme en France*, Paris, 1966, p. 55 et seq.

apply and interpret mental tests, in schools, hospitals and guidance centres; research by political scientists aimed at understanding and forecasting electoral behaviour, or at improving the structure of political parties; analyses conducted by sociologists of human relations in industry or of relationships between ethnic groups; and studies by economists of the processes of economic decision-making, or of factors involved in growth and prosperity. New fields for disciplinary problem-focused research are opening up, praxeology for one, or again the action research in sociology proposed by J. Dumazedier—following the example of action research in economics—which would be at once fundamental and applied.

In some respects social and cultural anthropology has perhaps proved to be an exception, in so far as its objective at the outset was simply descriptive and interpretative knowledge of cultures and modes of social organization foreign to the research worker's own country. But contacts between different civilizations and the problem-focused approach to development conceived in terms of values and conceptions peculiar to the Western world have largely modified this state of affairs, and the trend of many anthropological studies is towards problem-focused research as part of a development policy for which knowledge of the anthropological data is a prerequisite for success.

One variant of multidisciplinary problem-focused research is to be found under the guise of disciplinary research when specialists in various sectors of a single discipline work together on the same research project: crime statistics experts, specialists in the sociology of the family, and more theoretical sociologists concerned with problems of deviance might all, for example, collaborate in a study relating to criminality; to analyse the significance of the phenomenon of worship, with special reference to the formation of religious groups, specialists in the sociology of religion, in urban and rural sociology and in the sociology of organization would be called in, along with the social psychologists.

Because of the breadth of its scope and the number of its research sectors, sociology is perhaps here in a special position, as various areas of problem-focused research can be regrouped on the basis of common theoretical frameworks; for instance, the organization sociologist may be useful to various administrations—religious, civil, military and industrial; the group relations specialist may concern himself with relationships between religious groups, between ethnic or racial groups and between linguistic groups.

Multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research

We also speak of interdisciplinary research. Is this likewise linked with problem-focused research, and if so, why should the expression 'interdisciplinary problem-focused research' not be used?

The question is one of importance and presupposes that multidisciplinary research should first be distinguished as clearly as possible from interdisciplinary research.

The distinction between them is based on the fact that the multidisciplinary nature of a research project merely implies the calling in of specialists in two or more disciplines: in a sense, it is enough for them to juxtapose their findings. Interdisciplinary research, on the other hand, requires far closer co-ordination of efforts and presupposes a certain integration of the research activities.

Multidisciplinary research calls for the services of various research workers, so that since each approaches the same problem from the angles of his own particular training, their combined findings result in fuller and less one-sided knowledge. The responsibility for solving a problem or meeting social needs implies, if due account is to be taken of all the different aspects, that various disciplines must contribute; multidisciplinary research is thus often the spontaneous answer when it comes to carrying out a problem-focused research project. The sheer variety of disciplines contributing is enough to guarantee its multidisciplinary character; the distinction between it and disciplinary problem-focused research is clear cut.

But when a particular investigation incorporates the findings of several disciplines, borrows their tools and techniques, above all when it makes use of conceptual patterns and analyses pertaining to several branches of knowledge in order, once these have been compared and appraised, to make them converge, we are dealing with interdisciplinary activity. Similarly where certain concepts or terms are common to several sciences, there we may find the starting-point for interdisciplinary research; recourse to new theoretical notions which, taken up again in several fields of knowledge, may cross-fertilize them (systems and information theories, semiological research, research on decision-making) can be considered in the same perspective. It must surely prove rewarding for the disciplines concerned to recognize and explore more fully what they may have in common. This comes within the scope of interdisciplinary research, whose principal aim is the integration of knowledge.

The distinction between multi- and interdisciplinary research is, then, based above all on the degree of association amongst the disciplines, which may range from simple juxtaposition to highly advanced integration.

Given, then, that the difference between multi- and interdisciplinary research lies principally in the degree of co-ordination and above all of integration of investigations, it follows that the transition from the first to the second must be gradual. This phenomenon may be brought out more clearly by the following examples:

1. Research workers in different disciplines make a parallel study of various aspects of a single problem and submit separate reports; thanks to this juxtaposition, it is hoped that further light will be shed on the problem under consideration.
2. Research workers in different disciplines tackle the same problem simultaneously and synchronize their efforts, exchange findings and

draft separate reports, which will be prefaced by a joint report attempting to integrate all these findings; in this instance what is sought is some degree of convergence, if not throughout the investigation, then at least in the comparison of findings.

3. Research workers tackle a single problem together, compare their working hypotheses, make a critical assessment of each other's methods and draft a final joint report.
4. One discipline has recourse to the tools and techniques of others so as to arrive at a better understanding of its own aims (cf. the contribution made by mathematics and statistics to the social sciences).
5. One discipline uses the results of others; as examples, we may quote the use made in sociology of the data of human geography, the recourse had to sociological data in order to interpret demographic phenomena or to supplement the economic analysis of an undertaking, or again the reliance on psychoanalysis in order to clarify the relationship between culture and personality, etc. (at this point interdisciplinary areas emerge; rural sociology, sociology of population, socio-economy of industrial undertakings, social psychoanalysis).

There is no doubt about it—the contrast between multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research is clear only in extreme cases. It is above all in such cases that one is tempted to link the forms of disciplinary association to a specific type of research: multidisciplinary in the case of problem-focused research, interdisciplinary in that of fundamental research.

Moreover, in the series of examples designed to throw light on the various degrees of integration of research, two dimensions have been mingled; team-work and the establishment of closer relations between disciplines. Examples 1, 2 and 3 refer to researchers and to methods of team-work, examples 4 and 5 to borrowings amongst the disciplines and to their mutual penetration.

Another variable to be taken into account is the institutional structure; the degree of co-ordination and integration of research may vary in accordance with this—that is, according to whether researchers work in a single institution or in several. Viewed from this angle two variables stand out: the situation, firstly, in which there is institutional integration in so far as the research workers all form part of the same institution, but do not integrate their research activities, each studying a separate subordinate problem, and secondly, the situation in which the researchers belong to different institutions, yet genuinely integrate their research work and findings, drafting joint reports on these.

Is it not possible that interdisciplinary research, which involves questioning and listening carefully to fellow research workers, was a simpler matter when one and the same scientist succeeded in penetrating into neighbouring disciplines and mastering them?

It must be remembered in this connexion that specialization as we know it today is a recent phenomenon, and the great authors of the past—less preoccupied by problem-focused and planned research than our contemporaries—were in fact doing interdisciplinary work before the term had been invented: Aristotle, Thomas More, Rousseau, Montesquieu were all at once political scientists, moralists, educators, sociologists and jurists. But today the fields of research have increased in number and scope to such an extent that interdisciplinary polyvalency can no longer be attained by any one individual, and multidisciplinary team-work is agreed by all to be essential.

The distinction between multi- and interdisciplinary cannot be based on the different nature of team-work involved with the former referring to the more loosely integrated kind and the latter to highly integrated teams; this would be to confuse the integration of the research itself with that of its agents, whose relations may be more or less well co-ordinated. But it is obvious that relations within a team may facilitate interdisciplinary efforts, or the reverse.

Is there no place for interdisciplinary activity within the framework of problem-focused research? *A priori*, it appears not. And it ought even to be added that scientifically planned action will be all the better planned if it is based on the results of interdisciplinary research work, than if it depends on juxtapositions of data deriving from several disciplines.

Things must, however, be considered on a factual and not merely abstract plane. It is no simple matter to draw the line between multi- and interdisciplinary research, and it becomes increasingly difficult when the distinction between investigations conducted with a view to action and theoretical research remains vague. Moreover, the requirements of genuinely interdisciplinary research are many, and the conditions in which a great deal of problem-focused research is carried out are seldom conducive to successful interdisciplinary research: it is a difficult undertaking, demanding great patience. It is not so much a question of contributing to the progress of knowledge in certain sectors, as of making a concerted effort to open up new horizons.

Position and bearing of multidisciplinary associations

Many experiments have revealed the fruitfulness of multidisciplinary associations: it must not be inferred, however, from the benefits accruing from closer relations between disciplines in the human sciences that multidisciplinary research or the integration of the social sciences could ever be a panacea for the evils of specialization. In the view of some of our contemporaries, the terms 'multidisciplinary', 'interdisciplinary', 'integration of the human sciences' and even 'unification of knowledge' have a magic virtue, but I do not agree with them. Truly interdisciplinary work is laborious and success is rare: the most solid multidisciplinary associations emerge on the frontiers of two disciplines: even then, communication between specialists is still difficult and, if it is not to remain superficial, requires a considerable amount of initiation on both sides.

On the noetic plane, dangers arise when the gaps between disciplines are narrowed, dangers which the desire to create a common language tends to foster rather than to eliminate. Narrowing the gaps should not imply confusion; it is important to compare points of view, to offer interpretations and to keep on adding to them till an exhaustive understanding of the subject under study is acquired. In the process of cognition the distinction between points of view has an analytical value that should be cherished; in any analysis of reality the distinction between a psychological, sociological or political viewpoint is in itself knowledge gained and an asset. It is thanks to this distinction between disciplinary vantage points that analysis grows subtler and more acute. If the human mind proceeds by way of analysis and synthesis, the latter operation must not inhibit the former. It may make it possible to override or to brush aside purely verbal differences, but its principal merit must lie in enriching and refining knowledge. Based on an understanding of the variety of approaches possible, it may encourage certain convergences and above all lead to the discovery of complementarities.

These remarks do not imply the adoption of any attitude towards the manner in which knowledge is organized nowadays amongst a certain number of disciplines. It is clear that such disciplinary arrangements derive from a series of historical circumstances and that they may be seen by future historians as temporary and peculiar to our own era. Certain disciplinary categories will doubtless be supplanted by others of which little or nothing is heard today, and which result either from an awareness of new points of view, or from the conjunction of sectors of research belonging at present to separate disciplines.

In an unchanging world tradition maintains the *status quo*; activities are regulated, there are set patterns of behaviour and institutions are what they are bound to be: the various categories of individuals abide by their roles that have been fixed by a seemingly eternal statute. The fact of being static confers sanctity, since whatever is presents a character all its own, based on a tradition that appears to vanish into the mists of time: what is established cannot be touched, and for lack of any other available models nobody dreams of introducing any modifications.

But in a changing world everything is on the move; things alter, thus they might have been other than they were. They will doubtless become whatever they tend towards becoming, but this may not inevitably be so. Notions of forecasting, planning, control and anticipation emerge. Change becomes fundamental, sacred and must be fostered by every means.

The greatest advances in social and political thought and study have occurred during periods of change, when men, observing how the old order was changing, have been almost obliged to apply their brains to the situation. In every age men have used any tools available, reacting as their systems of values and the new circumstances in which they find themselves dictate. In the twentieth century, they are adjusting themselves to organized scientific research; the values inherent in their civilization urge them to look ahead, to programme, to draft plans for concerted research and action; programming is ideally suited to multidisciplinary collaboration, to the exchanges and contacts which, within the systems of values of societies on the move, are by definition fruitful. The increasing mobility and interdependence of intellectuals today surely reflects the growing interdependence of social phenomena on a universal scale.

In present-day industrial societies, a whole series of factors are conducive to multidisciplinary research.

In a society in which the function of education is growing to the point where it absorbs a major part of the national budget, thereby adding greatly to the number of intellectuals and high-grade technicians, in which research has an ever greater share in ordinary, day-to-day activities, it is only natural to make use of the intellectual and graduate potential available on the labour exchange, for research in the service of the undertaking.

The most recent and doubtless one of the most dynamic elements is this urge to forecast and programme, which is growing in intensity and scope in many fields: physical development (town and country planning); education (reforms and plans); demography (recognition of problems raised either by an imbalance in the demographic structures (age) or by the development or underdevelopment of certain categories (the young, the gainfully employed, the aged)); political democracy (association of sociology, social psychology and political science in the study and analysis of electoral opinion and behaviour, forecasting of voting, studies of the activities of pressure groups and party dynamics); social and economic democracy (study of standards of living, either by social strata or by family types: family budgets and cost-of-living indexes), problems relating to mass communication and information; research on fertility, peace, social tensions and leisure. And the developing countries, so called because change there is more rapid and striking, offer an optimum field for problem-focused research within development programmes that are more all-embracing and ambitious than elsewhere.

We are swept along by our systems of values: this era of mass communication and exchange is conducive to team-work, which in certain respects appears to be a necessity. Work in isolation, disciplinary teams working on their own are a thing of the past: exchange is the order of the day. Nor are we far from believing that, merely because it exists, exchange must be creative, and here border upon dogma. Surely, recognition of the merits and advantages of team-work and multidisciplinary associations does not require us to go quite so far.

The development of multidisciplinary problem-focused research needs to be considered within the context of the development of scientific research as a whole.

It is important that the various scientific fields should not remain fenced of one from another. If they have been so in the past, there are many trends and demands peculiar to contemporary research and thought that argue for opening them up so as to permit exchanges. The structures and requirements of education have been an important factor in the specialization of the various branches of knowledge: this has been encouraged by the tendency of schools, faculties and university professorships to increase departmentalization and to create scientific 'alveoli' whose independence was guaranteed by their being able to rejoice in the name of a particular discipline, to have a terminology of their own or specific tools of research. Intellectuals have been trained in institutions having no openings upon the outside world. But the requirements of action and research have led to a dawning awareness of fellow researchers, to the crossing of frontiers and the creation of new 'constellations' of knowledge centred upon a particular theme, project or purpose. New disciplines have been born: social psychology, psychiatric sociology, socio-linguistics, ethno-linguistics, socio-economics, psychological anthropology, behavioural sciences and the science of information.

The structure of scientific knowledge can undoubtedly be considered, as P. G. Herbst has pointed out, in terms of interlinked disciplines, and this is true equally of the natural and social sciences; on the one hand, for example, physico-chemistry and biochemistry are emerging, on the other social psychology and socio-economics. Moreover, these phenomena of interlinking and interdependence are not restricted to the field of pure sciences, but concern equally the relations between pure and applied sciences: the history of research bears witness to the fact that developments in one field have beneficial consequences for others.

Given that scientific research is costly and that society is generally more inclined to invest in useful projects likely to show a visible return in the more or less immediate future, problem-focused and applied research stand the best chance of being generously financed. In this respect the position of the natural sciences may differ from that of the social and human sciences; the former have furnished proof of their usefulness and enjoy, as a whole and *a priori*, a degree of confidence. The latter still have a struggle ahead in order to win equal credit, and they are more likely to do so through multidisciplinary problem-focused research bringing 'striking' results, or applied research providing techniques, processes or information which can be used again immediately. The most important advances may then be made on these rather than on theoretical planes, and this might result, in the realm of knowledge, in the impetus and intellectual stimulus coming principally from the problem-focused or even applied sector and directed towards the theoretical sector.

[*Translated from French*]

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Socio-linguistics and the language problems of the developing countries

Joshua A. Fishman

What is socio-linguistics, and why?

Interest in the sociology of language can be traced quite far back, certainly to the French, German, Italian and British masters of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sociology and social philosophy. However, a more sensitive search, i.e., one responsive to more fragmentary indications of interest, would easily take us much farther back as well as to more distant parts of the globe. Mediaeval, Renaissance and Reformation Christendom, early and later Islam, the Talmudic and Responsa periods in Judaism, ancient Greece and Rome, Persia and India and China all produced thinkers, some of whose concerns were recognizably socio-linguistic. Nevertheless, modern socio-linguistics of the past ten years is not the direct heir of any of these or other older substantive traditions, but rather is most accurately viewed as a by-product of very recent and still continuing developments in its two parent disciplines, linguistics and sociology.

I think it only fair to admit that the stronger and clearer interest has come from linguistics, both as a result of its recently more sophisticated synchronic (i.e., non-historical) concerns as well as its growing (and increasingly comfortable) response to applied demands.

Many more linguists have come to be concerned with variations that were formerly set aside as purportedly unsystematic and of little scientific account. These have increasingly been discovered not to be 'free' or unsystematic at all but, rather, to correspond to intragroup (speech community) norms relating to face-to-face international (situational) or higher order language behaviour contexts (Ervin-Tripp, 1964; Fischer, 1958; Gumperz, 1964; Hymes, 1962; Labov, 1964). Linguistics has discovered (or rediscovered for synchronic purposes) the principle of co-territoriality, i.e., the fact that one and the same population usually controls several fully systematic varieties (whether registers, dialects or languages) and that these varieties may come to influence each other quite systematically as well (Blanc, 1964;

Ferguson, 1959; Ferguson and Gumperz, 1960; Gumperz, 1966; Haugen, 1966; Kachru, 1965).

The foregoing discovery makes many linguists even better prepared to cope with literacy problems, problems of non-standard (dialect) speakers, problems of societal second language learning and problems of language planning and language policy than they might otherwise be, for each of these, in turn, is illuminated by the realization that speech communities possess a repertoire of varieties, each of which may have and retain its separate accepted and systematic purpose(s) even while the repertoire as a whole can be expanded in order to cope with new interests, opportunities or concerns of the entire community or of certain of its networks.

Sociology has also contributed to, and benefited from, the new socio-linguistics. Initially, interest was greatest among a number of sociologists preoccupied with the relationship between transformations in intragroup identification on the one hand and intergroup relations on the other. As human aggregates come to view themselves differently (i.e., as their consciousness of kind changes in content and in saliency) their relations with their neighbours change as well. These concomitant changes, equally (although far from identically) noticeable among international civil servants and other extra-territorial *élites* (Useem, 1967), among impoverished and dislocated urban populations of recent rural origin (Fishman, 1964), among populations moving from limited (tribal) to larger (national) identifications (Fishman, 1965*b*), among working class populations struggling against the economic and cultural domination of those in control of technology and high culture (Lieberson, 1965), among delinquent or pariah groups seeking self-dignity as well as differentiation from society (Savitz, 1966), all have highly visible counterparts in the languages and in the language-related views and behaviours of the populations involved. Thus, some sociologists have become sensitively aware of language as a clue to societal change and development and, furthermore, aware of language as an area or object of societal change and development *per se* (Bernstein, 1958; Bidwell, 1962; Das Gupta and Gumperz, 1968; Fishman, 1965*a*; Fishman, 1967; Gallagher, 1964; Grimshaw, 1966; Harrison, 1960; Hunt, 1966; Paden, 1968; Passin, 1963; Van den Berghe, 1968; Zima, 1968).

More recently, another branch of the sociological fraternity has demonstrated even more central interest in language, namely, that concerned with small network interaction in general and with the foundations of everyday life and the detailed understandings on which such life is based. Since most human utterances are ambiguous and incomplete, to say the least, what contextual and linguistic regularities are utilized to arrive at the high proportion of meaningful and consensual interpretations that nevertheless obtain? This branch of sociological socio-linguistics is still in its infancy but it is developing with great theoretical and methodological thrust (Garfinkel, 1964; Lennard, 1960; Rose, 1964; Sacks, 1963; Schegloff, 1968) and will be heard of increasingly over the coming years. Whether or not this microprocess wing will ultimately be organically relatable to the macro process (and macrostructure) wing mentioned earlier remains to be seen.

It should be obvious from all of the above that socio-linguistics as a whole (the study of the relationship between the linguistic repertoire and its range, compartmentalization and fluidity, on the one hand, and the social role repertoire and its range, compartmentalization and fluidity within speech communities, on the other hand) is by no means exclusively concerned with the language problems of the developing countries. What follows therefore is definitely not an impartial review of socio-linguistics as a whole but, rather, an attempt to focus on only one corner of it.

This attempt should not be begun, however, without stressing the fact that among those who refer to themselves as socio-linguists there is a strong conviction that their field is now making and will continue to make important contributions to both parent fields. Nevertheless, the foregoing division into linguists and sociologists, and even more, the division into linguistic and sociological interests, is a somewhat arbitrary one and likely to become even more so. As time goes by a few socio-linguists are tending to define themselves as such rather than as primarily linguists or sociologists. The topics to which they have devoted their attention reveal increasing dependence upon or influence from the 'other' discipline, i.e., the field or fields other than the one in which they obtained their own initial training. It is not clear how far this trend will go. There are certainly many traditional forces in academic life which will tend to keep it from going very far for very many. Nevertheless, there is widespread agreement within socio-linguistics that the true promise of the field will be realized only if one or another way is found to foster truly interdisciplinary work and thought.

On the other hand, there is also considerable awareness that the field as a whole faces serious problems of training, theoretical systemization, empirical verification and applied implementation. Although the following pages attempt to focus only on socio-linguistics and the language problems of developing nations it is hoped that in so doing some of the broader implications and more general problems of socio-linguistics will also be touched upon.

The language component of the problems of developing nations

The problems of developing nations differ largely in degree rather than in kind from those of most other nations since few nations, if any, are completely stabilized, unified and legitimized. However, precisely because certain nations are at an earlier stage of development, the problems and processes of nationhood are more apparent in such countries and their transformations more discernible to the researcher. As a result, the developing nations (new nations) have come to be of great interest both to those socio-linguists who are interested in the transformations of group identity in general as well as to those interested in the societal (governmental and other) impact on language related behaviour and on language *per se*.

A widespread problem of new nations is that their political boundaries correspond rather imperfectly to any pre-existing ethnic-cultural unity. If this was true of the new nations of Eastern Europe after the conclusion of the First World War—even though they had behind them decades if not centuries of nationalistic, ethnic-cultural activity which led to a high degree of cultural consolidation and integration before the achievement of nationhood (Rustow, 1968)—how much truer is it of the new nations of Africa where political independence has commonly been achieved far in advance of such unification around a common set of 'national' behaviours and myths? In the absence of a common nationwide ethnic and cultural identity, new nations proceed to plan and create it via national symbols that can lead to common mobilization and involvement above, beyond and at the expense of pre-existing ethnic-cultural particularities (Almond and Verba, 1963; Bell and Bell, 1964; Bidwell, 1962; Fallers, 1961; Geertz, 1963; Hunt, 1966; Marriott, 1963; Moscos and Bell, 1965; Whitely, 1957). It is at this point that a national language is frequently invoked (along with a national flag, a national ruler, a national mission, etc.) as a unifying symbol. It is also at this point that the local counterparts of these national symbols may be reactively developed among populations that never ideologized them before (Greenberg, 1965; Harrison, 1960; Rustow, 1968). Thus, language may and has become a symbol of supra-local ethnic-cultural identification, i.e., of ethnic-cultural identification at the nationality level (therefore: nationalism), just as it may and has become a symbol of contra-national ethnic-cultural identification on the part of smaller groups who, resisting fusion into the larger nationality, develop a localized nationality consciousness of their own (Haugen, 1959).

It is in this process of conscious integration (and, in counter-reaction thereto, of conscious differentiation) that previously local languages or languages of restricted populations or functions become elevated to national, unifying symbols (e.g., Swahili, Hindustani), are frequently rendered more differentiated from languages or varieties with which they have long been in contact (e.g., Afrikaans *v.* Dutch, Hindi *v.* Urdu, Landsmaal *v.* Riksmaal, Yiddish *v.* German, Ukrainian *v.* Russian, Macedonian *v.* Bulgarian, etc.; for the general case see Kloss, 1952; Read, 1964), and are related to national heroes, national values, national missions and, ultimately, to the sacredness of the State and of the moral order *per se*. Thus, the ideologization of languages that enables them to play desired roles in symbolic mobilization and unification also leads to the development of these languages *per se* into fitting instruments of government, technology and high culture (Auty, 1953; Guxman, 1968; Nahirny and Fishman, 1965; Weinreich, 1953; Whitely, 1968; Wurm, 1966).

Thus we come to the second large cluster of problems of developing nations, namely those that revolve about efficiency and instrumentality more than about authenticity. Successful nationalisms finally create a sense of ethnic-cultural unity and of involvement or commitment within the geographic limits of their nations, but that takes time and, frequently, also force (as exemplified by the lack of full ethnic-cultural unity in such well-established polities as Great Britain, France, Spain, etc.). Until such unity is established (and certainly also when such organic unity is not—or is no longer—sought, as in Belgium, Switzerland, India, etc.), the nation must continue to function, must continue to protect itself from external and internal opponents, and must continue to meet the needs of its citizenry with respect to the facilitation of communication and the conduct of commerce, industry, education and all other organized societal pursuits.

Once again then, and this time in the pursuit of the efficiency of 'nationism', new nations must face language problems (Fishman, 1968). The need for a broader ethnic-cultural unity may well point to the long-term espousal of a given language as the national language. Nevertheless, the immediate operational needs of government, education and industry in all regions of the country may necessitate the short-term recognition of multiple languages that lead away from the long-range goal of creating a new, supra-local authenticity. Thus some nations have hit upon the expediency of recognizing several local languages as permissible for early education (e.g., grades 1 to 3 or even 6), whereas the preferred national language is retained for intermediate education and a non-indigenous language of international significance is retained (at least temporarily) for governmental activity and higher education (Armstrong, 1968; Friedrich, 1962; Gallagher, 1964; Le Page, 1964; Passin, 1963; Ramos, 1961; Whitely, 1968). If such a pattern promotes or retains sufficient stability, language policies can subsequently be set into motion that continually develop the preferred language so as to enable it successively to displace the language of wider communication above it (viz., the increasing displacement of English in the Philippines and in India), and, at a later stage still, the languages of narrower communication below it. Such displacement not only requires careful educational, political and social planning (for it fosters the co-occurrence of identities which may become resistant to displacement or to containment) but requires concomitant language planning of a very careful and concerted sort. Thus a successful language policy focused on nationism ultimately also helps form the new nationalism, just as surely as a successful language policy focused on nationalism also helps form and maintain the new nation.

The above sketch of the language component in the growth of nationalism, on the one hand, and in the growth of nationism, on the other, is a highly theoretical reconstruction based more on hunches, extrapolations and partial observations than on systematic and comparative study. The truth of the matter is that socio-linguistics has not (yet) been closely or directly involved in the vast amount of recent (and continuing) sociological, economic, political science, educational and other scholarly work on the developing nations. Very few of the area-studies centres specializing in Africa, Asia or Latin America have attracted scholars devoted to socio-linguistics and even where this has been done very little interest has been shown in the transformations of society and language in the large, as distinguished from 'socio-linguistically oriented', but otherwise quite definitely linguistic pursuits.

The recent major volumes on developing nations have devoted little attention to language (for a welcome exception see Passin, 1963). The few recent volumes on language problems of developing nations have been singularly innocent of social science expertise (Anon., 1963, 1965, 1966; LePage, 1964; Spencer, 1963). At the 1966 Congress of the International Sociological Association (Evian) only two language-focused papers were presented at the several sessions devoted to the new nations. A more recent attempt (November 1966) by the Social Science Research Council of the United States to bring together linguists and social scientists for three days to discuss and clarify this area of joint interest was only moderately successful, primarily because of the absence of major social science participation, but also because of the innocence of attending linguists concerning social science theory and findings pertaining to the developing nations in particular and concerning nation-characterization in general. At an even more recent (December 1966) international conference on social psychological research on developing countries (Ibadan)[1] there was substantial interest in language but only one investigator planning to study its societal role. As a result, while much is suspected and roughly understood concerning the role of language in nationalism (Deutsch, 1953) and in nationism, all too little is known with certainty and very little indeed that can be clearly used as the basis of policy.

All this is most unfortunate for not only are the new nations beset by problems that are clearly language-related but the earliest stages of these problems are the most fleeting and the ones most difficult to reconstruct by means of archival or laboratory analysis. Furthermore, although the new nations are submerged in a churning sea of social change, there is very little language-related research under way on the transmutations and elaborations of ethnicity, on the development of identification with the broader nationality and the broader nation, on the resurgence of tradition in certain behaviours (e.g., in dress, naming practices and religious observances) together with the growth of modernity in the occupational, educational and governmental spheres, on the impact of previously available great traditions, on the acceptance of more modern and broader identifications, on the restructuring of traditional value hierarchies as distinguished from their disintegration, on the bicultural counterparts to diglossia, etc.

All of the foregoing topics are clearly language-related but they cannot be studied as such by most socio-linguists today (not to mention most sociologists or most linguists). Topics such as these require the close collaboration and integration of disciplines that are still too rarely in serious contact with each other. Optimally, they require much more than multidisciplinary research but, rather, the preparation of researchers who are themselves interdisciplinary and who can therefore approach questions

1. See this journal, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1967, p. 456-8 for a report on this meeting.

in this area in terms of a total problem orientation rather than in terms of vested disciplinary interests and skills. Problems such as the foregoing truly require socio-linguists rather than merely 'socio-linguistically oriented' sociologists or linguists.

The social component of the problems of developing languages

The developing languages (i.e., languages undergoing the greatest and most rapid change in societal functions and, therefore, most exposed to substantial planned and unplanned change) and the developing countries do not stand in a completely isomorphic relationship to each other. In addition, the developing languages do not reveal problems or processes that are really discontinuous with those of other more accepted or better-established languages. Nevertheless, the developing nations do tend to present the best and most numerous laboratories for the study of developing languages and, therefore, must be of interest to the socio-linguist for that reason alone. Languages undergo development when their functions undergo real or anticipatory expansion as a result of the expanded role repertoires (once more, real or anticipatory) of those for whom these languages have become too symbolic of group membership and of group goals to be easily displaced. Such expansion and symbolic elaboration of languages has, in recent years, occurred most frequently in the developing nations.

Both nationism and nationalism are concerned with language choice (selection) but in quite different ways. For the nationalist, language represents the continuity of a great tradition with all of its symbolic elaborations in terms of ideologized values and goals. Language selection therefore represents a triumph over other and purportedly lesser traditions and goals. Nationalisms do not need to ponder language choice since each nationalism is seemingly irrevocably and seemingly naturally committed in this connexion. Thus, nationalisms pursue language reinforcement and maintenance rather than selection *per se*. For the nationist, however, language choice is a matter of calculated effectiveness, of communicational ease, of operational efficiency (Fishman 1966*b*). Rival languages are considered in terms of what they can contribute in terms of the functional strength of the nation. The nationist may conclude that the fewer the languages the better and the less opposition to them the better. Thus language choice may well come as the resultant of these two frequently contradictory considerations. Nationism has more initial degrees of freedom with respect to language choice than does nationalism. However nationism, too, tends to fence itself in on the language question since even initial nationistic solutions set into motion forces which soon engender inflexible language maintenance and reinforcement goals of their own.

Whether language selection evolves primarily from nationalistic or from nationistic considerations, or, as is more common, from a combination of both, the engineering of consent or acceptance is needed. Without such acceptance language selection may be resisted or sabotaged. The vehicles of engineered acceptance are many: language censuses (often rigged), subsidized schools for children and classes for adults; free publications and audio-visual materials; language societies with national, regional and local branches; examinations and contests yielding honorific or more tangible rewards; translation institutes for converting world literature into the selected language, etc. (see, e.g., Anon., 1965, 1966; Das Gupta and Gumperz, 1968; Haugen, 1966*a*).

Many of the above-mentioned examples imply that in the process of winning friends and influencing people on behalf of a particular language the language itself is usually enriched (or at least altered) in one way or another. This is indeed the case and a case well worth studying for far too little is known about it.

Western languages, even those that have considerable international prominence, are constantly undergoing elaboration (in response to the growing and changing technological, scientific and cultural pursuits of certain networks of users of these languages). Similarly, Western languages are constantly undergoing recodification, via dictionaries, grammars and usage handbooks by means of which multifocal elaboration efforts are evaluated and consolidated (Guxman, 1968*b*). Such processes of elaboration and codification are even more necessary (and noticeable) in those new nations in which an indigenous language has been selected for some function above and beyond those with which it has hitherto been associated. Inevitably official, semi-official and unofficial agencies, institutes and societies arise that prepare and distribute orthographies, word lists and grammars (as well as related teaching and learning materials). These frequently reveal serious disagreement (or elicit such) in view of different postures that are adopted with respect to a few basic issues (Berry, 1958; Ferguson, 1968; Garvin, 1959; Heyd, 1954; Lunt, 1959; Mills, 1956; Pietrzyk, 1965; Ray, 1963).

Where the language being elaborated or codified has lacked a generally accepted standard variety, elaboration/codification efforts may disagree *ab initio* as to which variety should be selected for attention. Selection for elaboration/codification is normally guided by considerations such as: number of speakers (although, at times, a case is made for a variety spoken by relatively few on the grounds that it is not involved in the bitter traditional rivalries to which more widespread varieties have become exposed), past association with a great tradition, current association with major social trends (urbanization, Christianization, etc.), greater purity in the sense of fewer influences from varieties or languages considered undesirable or, conversely, greater similarity to other highly regarded varieties or languages, and, lastly, a middle-ground position *vis-à-vis* overly pure and overly indistinguishable varieties. Depending on the initial selection based upon considerations (and value-laden positions) such as the above, the end-products of subsequent elaboration/codification efforts can obviously differ widely in orthography, phonology, lexicon and grammar.

Considering the number of instances in which the selection, elaboration and codification of developing languages has occurred during the past century we have surprisingly few complete case studies of these processes, even fewer that relate them to the continuing societal developments with which they co-occurred (there are a few, e.g., Clough, 1930; Haugen, 1966*a*), and fewer yet that attempt to do so on a comparative or contrastive basis so that generalizable parameters can be formulated and their relative significance estimated (perhaps only Guxman, 1968*a* and, to a lesser extent, Haugen, 1966*b*). While we have many lists of new words (and new forms) in language X we know almost nothing of how language academies operate, how governments review and implement the recommendations of such academies, how language societies popularize and defend the recommendations and decisions of academies and governments, or how rival academies and societies confront each other and seek to influence governments and populations in accord with their own preferences. We are particularly limited with respect to any systematic social-theory guided approach to why certain selective, elaborative and codificatory attempts succeed (i.e., why they are accepted by the desired target populations) whereas others fail (Morag, 1959).

Very little work on questions dealing with the social component of the problems of developing languages is currently being conducted in the United States (but note Ferguson, 1962; Ferguson, 1966; Haugen, 1966*a*). The current centres for the study of exotic, critical or less commonly taught languages (most of these being developing languages in accord with our definition, although probably not all developing languages are, as yet, being taught in the United States) have not turned their attention to matters such as these. A study of the social component of developing languages requires more than linguistic sophistication embellished by societal curiosity or sensitivity. It requires thorough familiarity with theories of social change and social innovation and social research methodology. Given such familiarity the developing nations represent an indispensable and truly intriguing array of field-work locations for a new breed of genuine socio-linguists, some of whom might ultimately become attached to one or another centre for the study of less commonly taught languages (or language and area centre), provided such centres undertook to expand their currently limited appreciation of the relationship between societal development and language development.

Possible contributions to other topic areas

There are a number of implications of socio-linguistic research in general and particularly of that on the language problems of developing nations for other language-related topics. Language teaching should some day be ready to give up its attachment to the myth of fully separate and unvarying languages and, when it does, it will find the socio-linguistic concern with situationally and functionally defined varieties extremely useful. Native-language as well as foreign-language teaching should benefit from the concept of a speech community with its repertoire of varieties, so that communicative appropriateness is not defined linguistically alone but also in terms of appropriate interlocutors, situations, interactions and emphases. Contact between socio-linguistics and language instruction is just beginning (Gumperz, 1965, 1967; Stewart, 1964) and should become stronger with the passage of time.

The rapidly expanding concern with the language problems of disadvantaged speakers of non-standard varieties represents another area of growing interaction with socio-linguistics. The language of lower-class urban Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the United States has already begun to be seen as revealing several varieties, along a scale of intimacy-distance, differing noticeably in the extent to which they are effortlessly mastered during and after adolescence (Labov, 1966*a*; Stewart, 1965). Certain of these varieties have already been found to command intra-group loyalty so that the impediments between them and the activization of more standard varieties are not only structural but functional as well and fully ideologized to boot (Labov, 1965; Fishman, 1965). The educator's task in connexion with the verbal repertoire of the disadvantaged has been stated to be that of repertoire expansion accompanied by role expansion (Bernstein, 1966; Friedman and Hannerz, 1966; Gordon, 1966; Labov, 1966*b*). In general, the problems of disadvantaged populations might helpfully be seen in broader perspective if they were considered against the background of co-territorial language differences more generally and of planned language shift in particular. The long experience of other countries in coping with home-school dialect differences of a major sort (e.g., in England, Germany, Italy, etc.) might be illuminating if only to indicate more clearly the difference between those cases and that of the American Negro. All in all, there have been ample signs of the potential value of socio-linguistics for the study of the language problems of developing populations in the United States as well as those abroad (the Urban Language Study of the Center for Applied Linguistics, the work of Labov, the conference convened by the National Council of Teachers of English (Shuy, 1965), the conferences convened by Yeshiva University's Project Beacon (Gordon, 1966)).

Socio-linguistic research methods

The studies cited thus far utilize a variety of research methods. Linguistic data (i.e., the data of language behaviour itself, as distinguished from the data of behaviour toward language) has traditionally been obtained by elicitation procedures developed by trained linguists for work with informants. These procedures enable linguists to derive the basic phonology and grammar of a language on the basis of analyses of extended free and controlled discussions (tape-recorded) with a few speakers of that language. Socio-linguistically-oriented linguists supplement or replace the traditional elicitation methods (which normally reveal only the more formal spoken varieties of a language) by participant observation and disguised experimental approaches. These attempt to reveal the entire repertoire of varieties available to members of a speech community by varying (a) the context of speech and (b) characteristics of the speakers themselves. Thus, older and younger, statusful and non-statusful, male and female, educated and uneducated members of a speech community will be sampled with respect to their intimate, casual, interview (semi-formal) and formal speech varieties, and, on occasion, also in connexion with their reading and writing varieties. The purpose of this more elaborate and social science-oriented approach to speech elicitation is to go beyond the abstraction of a single unified language employed by traditional linguistics and to replace it by equally rigorous descriptions of the entire repertoire of varieties utilized in any relatively complex speech community.

Similarly, the sociologically-oriented socio-linguist has had to go appreciably beyond his former approach to language behaviour and to behaviour toward language. Census data and all other self-report data are still considered significant indications of what speakers are either willing or able to report about their language usage and attitudes. Nevertheless, there are now ample data to indicate that the gulf between self-report and either actual language behaviour or behaviour toward language is often quite wide. As a result, the sociologically-oriented socio-linguist now supplements self-report data (whether census, questionnaire, interview, etc.) with participant observation of the ethnographic variety, disguised experimentation, structured testing, etc. This combination of methods is not only utilized in order to cross-check impressions derived from any one method, but, more basically, to piece together the picture of who speaks what variety to whom and when.

Conclusions

The language problems of developing nations present socio-linguistics with a virtually inexhaustible and untouched field for the exploration of its central hypotheses and concerns. The problems themselves require interdisciplinary, comparative as well as both theoretical and applied attention. The intensity of these problems, their difficulty of solution, and their centrality to several major interests of sociologists, linguists and political scientists, not to mention socio-linguists *per se*, argues for devoting greater attention to them in the years ahead. Such attention can take the form of increased research efforts that focus upon these problems *per se* rather than upon more traditional linguistic and sociological concerns in the context of developing nations. Indeed, even 'socio-linguistically oriented' research in the developing nations is not at all likely to successfully tackle either the 'nationalism-nationism' problems or the 'developing languages problems' referred to in this report.

Before the quantity and quality of truly socio-linguistic research on the language problems of developing nations can be markedly changed, serious limitations in the number and in the training of socio-linguists must be overcome.

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Research on human fertility

Reuben Hill

This article will delineate a few of the consequences of the shift from the pursuit of knowledge about fertility for its own sake to the enlistment of research in the quest for solutions to what has been identified as the world population problem: changes in methodological stance, the choice of units of study, the conceptualization of research problems demanding attention, the involvement of new disciplines to cope with these problems, and the innovation of new methodologies.

The field induction of fertility research has occurred with the recognition that the problematic factor in population growth today in both developing and developed countries is the fertility component. Growth rates in most countries are little affected by international migration; they depend primarily on mortality and fertility levels (Freedman, 1962). Mortality levels in most underdeveloped countries have dropped so dramatically in recent years that the increasingly rapid rate of growth, given continued high fertility levels, is regarded by development experts as a threat to programmes of economic and social development (Coale and Hoover, 1958). Administrators, political leaders and the informed public concerned with these programmes are among those pressing for research which can be used in action to bring about a lowering of fertility to more appropriate levels. It is assumed that just as mortality levels have been lowered by the application of scientific knowledge, so also can the fertility of a society be brought under control. This view of vital events, as subject to social control, is sufficiently new to have required a rather marked reorientation among demographers who, until very recently, have virtually monopolized the systematic study of vital events.

Range in methodological stance by participating disciplines[1]

The disciplines which have entered the arenas of reproduction and population study have brought varied assumptions about the relationship of man to his society. They have ranged from demography and economics, which have been known as the dismal sciences because of the endemic pessimism about the possibilities of social reform, to social psychology which makes the assumption of a continuing expanding control by man of his social environment.

The more macroscopic the level at which the discipline makes its observations, as in economics and demography, the less necessary it has been to take into account individual behaviour in describing social phenomena. This has been compatible with the task assignments taken on by demographers, who, because they were dealing with questions of fate such as being born, ageing, having children, being ill and dying, over which men have traditionally exercised so little control, have tended to conceptualize man as a passive entity at the mercy of physical, biological and social forces which determined, so to speak, his 'demographic fate'. They have accordingly dealt with the phenomenon of reproduction in a fatalistic way, choosing to describe and record its ebbs and flows in an orderly fashion rather than to take action to control it.

Working at the level of large aggregates with data for gross categories of the population, demographers have produced descriptive summaries of societal behaviour and charted national trends of reproductive outputs in juxtaposition with changes in the economy and the polity over long time periods. The demographer occasionally predicted by extrapolation, but did not seek the data necessary for interpreting his predictions. Indeed, due to the aggregative level of analysis at which he manipulated his data, the great variability in the behaviour of individuals within these aggregates did not have to be accounted for. This self-distancing by the demographer from the causal nexus of fertility behaviour, linked with his 'nature over man' fatalism, have inhibited his participation in the field-induced research required for identifying the factors to be manipulated in action programmes. His descriptive contributions, nevertheless, have been substantial, as will be noted.

In contrast, sociologists dealing with small groups like the family and social psychologists interested in public opinion and the communication of ideas have entered the arena of field-induced research on the regulation of human reproduction at a quite different level of observation and with more of a 'man over nature' value orientation. Their customary units of

1. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for the germinal idea of contrasting demography and social psychology as I have done in this section to the presentation by K. W. Back at the 1965 meetings of the American Sociological Association. A revision of that presentation has just been published. See K. W. Back, 'New Frontiers in Demography and Social Psychology', *Demography*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1967, p. 90-7.

study have been the individual or the small group which impels them to observe behaviour at the microscopic level of individual and small group decisions about issues over which man does exercise some control. Viewing man as initiator as well as reactor, capable of making decisions within the context of his interpersonal relationships and the social structure, the orientation and focus of the family sociologist and social psychologist are particularly relevant for understanding and explaining voluntary childbearing, the microscopic expression of man's expanding control of his 'demographic fate'. Moreover, the data from national samples collected at the family level by social psychologists can be aggregated up to the societal level to ascertain how well the country as a whole is coping with the phenomenon of population growth.

In responding to the challenge of world population growth, demographers have made contributions through their generalizations and predictions about the social and economic correlates of fertility trends. They have undertaken cross-national analyses of large magnitude to test theories about the demographic transition in countries with varying rates of urbanization and industrialization. They have been influential in creating, staffing and improving national systems of statistics in most countries to obtain reliable information not only about vital events, but all manner of other information needed to predict changes in these events.

It has been the demographer and economist, often working together, who have documented the fact of increasing population growth and its implications for educational and welfare goals that have precipitated the formulation in a number of countries of explicit policies to regulate population growth. Their findings have also been used in some countries facing possible population decline to rationalize pro-natalist policies of graduated family allowances to equalize the costs of child rearing and reward couples taking on the responsibilities of large families. Thus, although their findings have been descriptive and non-prescriptive, they have nevertheless yielded to application because they dealt with the same level of aggregates utilized by policy makers and planners in national and international planning.

Most of the field-induced research on human fertility, however, is being undertaken less with the aggregates of whole societies than with families and their social networks. To this level of observation the experimental stance of the social psychologist and the intervention orientation of the family sociologist are particularly appropriate. The family sociologist brings the phenomenon of population growth down to the family level of decisions or non-decisions about family size. The nation's fertility rate is decomposed into the behaviours of millions of couples coping with the timing of births and the numbers of children desired. The national problem of too rapid population growth has its family counterpart in too rapid childbearing and the surplus of children over the numbers the family can support and educate.

There are families which underachieve, having fewer children than desired; families which overachieve, having more children than they desire; and families which are effective in having neither more nor less than they desire. The family sociologist seeks to explain the relative success and failure of these families in family size control.

There is some traffic between these two complementary approaches to fertility study, with some demographers abandoning their fatalistic stance of detachment and their exclusive preoccupation with aggregate analyses at the national level in favour of more microscopic analyses and field experimental programmes. Moreover, at least one social psychologist-demographer team is looking at the characteristics of whole societies in an attempt to account for the variation among countries with respect to their population policies (Back and Winsborough, 1967).

Professor Donald Bogue, an eminent demographer who has recently crossed over to social psychology from demography, has delineated as a new field of inquiry 'family planning research' which he differentiates sharply from 'demographic research' (Bogue, 1966). He describes 'demographic research' as the study of population size, composition and growth and the implications of these phenomena for economic development and other academic disciplines. By revealing the detailed population processes involved in the growth of the labour force, in educating oncoming generations, in providing housing, and in striving to increase *per capita* income, it furnishes the broad perspective which makes it evident that fertility control is necessary and urgent for national welfare. This branch of study concentrates on the analysis of national census and vital statistics data and of population data derived from national sample surveys.

He describes 'family planning research' as the systematic study of the phenomenon of family planning among populations, of the processes by which the practice of family planning diffuses through a community or nation, and of the forces that retard or facilitate such diffusion and adoption. Such studies may be investigations of contemporary conditions or they may be designed to accelerate the adoption of family planning. One of their outstanding traits is that official census and vital statistics are seldom sufficient for their purpose; family planning research usually involves going into the field and collecting data in a comparatively small local area, either to test a hypothesis or to evaluate a proposed action programme.

Bogue contends that 'the upsurge of family planning action has created new research demands and avenues of inquiry that previously had not been of great interest to demographers and which previous demographic research could not satisfy'. The reader will note that Bogue has operationally defined family planning research as 'field induced', in that it followed the upsurge of action creating new research demands and avenues of inquiry. The content of this 'new field' of inquiry is outlined by Bogue in a paradigm consisting of a four by three table in which one axis comprises the 'subfield of family planning research' and the other the 'research context'. The four subfields are: (a) motives for adopting or rejecting family planning; (b) attitudes toward family planning; (c) knowledge of family planning methods and services; and (d) behaviour, adoption or rejection of family planning. The three research contexts are: inventory (baseline studies); explanation (testing of hypotheses); evaluation (measurement of change). It will be noted that the content of the new field and its research orientation are coterminous with many of the substantive interests and methodological preferences of social psychology and family sociology alluded to earlier in discussing the contrasting approaches of demography and social psychology to the study of fertility control.

Professor Phillip Hauser (1967), in a review of Bogue's work, vigorously disagrees with the latter's proposal to separate 'family planning research' from 'demographic research' and offers two reasons: First, motivation and incentive for research in family planning is most likely to be rooted in the demographic facts of life as revealed and understood by demographers. In consequence demographers are bound to be among those interested in pursuing such research as one type of investigation of 'population studies'. Second, the ultimate test of the success of a family planning programme lies not in the number of clinics opened, the number of contraceptives, old or new, dispensed, the number of respondents whose knowledge or practices in respect of contraception has increased, but rather in the reduction of the rate of population growth. The measurement of changes in fertility and rates of population growth will for some time in the developing regions of the world be highly complex and difficult problems that only highly skilled demographers can accomplish.

Thus, a leading demographer makes a case for participation of demographers in the new research field by linking up the new dimensions of field-induced fertility research with the basic dependent variables of the demographer—the fertility rate and the rate of population growth. As this occurs, the strengths of traditional demography will have been enlisted to make the new family planning research more useful to evaluators of population policies and programmes, since their ultimate concern is the impacts of national policies on the rate of population growth.

The scope of field-induced fertility research

To contain this article within manageable scope, I am delineating 'field-induced fertility research' within the boundaries being set by the emergent entity known as 'family planning research'. This renders residual research on population quality by geneticists and the burgeoning research on the physiology of reproduction and on contraceptive technology which have also been field induced.

Taking the critical social problem of rapid population growth at the national level and the equally pressing problem of sustenance and care of children at the family level as the precipitators of family planning research, its scope is set by the contributions science can make to bring the rate and timing of pregnancies under effective control. Family planning research throws out a wide net of inclusion but the criterion of relevance is all important. In regard to the researches to be discussed, I will therefore pose the following questions: Does the investigation describe the phenomenon of pregnancy control, and/or does it identify and assess the relative importance of the antecedents of fertility control, and/or does it validate experimentally hypotheses about the factors associated with pregnancy control? The studies to be described in the balance of this article must survive this test of relevance.

I will necessarily be selective and illustrative in the researches to be cited since the productivity of family planning researchers has been considerable in the decade to be covered here.

In most countries the bulk of the research about family planning has remained essentially descriptive, consisting of baseline inquiries designed to inventory the situation in a given country. Many of these are the popularly termed KAP studies—so called because of the emphasis they place on the incidence of knowledge (K) about population issues and family planning methods, attitudes (A) about family size and the use of methods for fertility control, and practice (P) of these methods. Still other studies are explanatory in intention, seeking to test hypotheses in order to answer 'Why' type questions. Similar in type, and dependent upon hypotheses confirmed in the explanatory studies, are experimental type researches which evaluate the effectiveness of family planning action experiments, determining whether there has been a significant change in motives, attitudes, information level or behaviour in the direction of more competent family planning. The sheer number of these three types is highest for the first, and least frequent for the third, although there are increasing opportunities for experimental studies with the many action programmes under way or on the drafting boards. Each of these types of family planning research is illustrated in the documentation which follows.

The KAP descriptive sample surveys

Researchers in more than thirty different countries have undertaken descriptive surveys, ranging from small limited studies on non-representative samples, usually in urban centres, to country-wide probability samples to assess the readiness of the population to participate in programmes of family planning. The researchers have varied greatly in their attention to response errors because many of them had had only limited training and were undertaking their first large-scale studies.

In countries just beginning to consider family planning issues, the surveys have been uncommonly useful in disproving popular stereotypes about the masses and in supplementing the scanty information of the census and vital statistics records about the reproductive behaviour of all families in the population. The surveys have filled in the information vacuum for government officials and medical personnel about the range and variation within the population with respect to their family size desires, motivations to plan the number and timing of births, and the knowledge about and readiness to use local traditional and modern methods of family limitation. One government official explained why he needed a KAP survey in his country: 'From our analysis of the census and current vital statistics records we have been able to calculate the birth rates, the death rates and the rate of growth of the population, but these parameters give no idea of the readiness of families in our country to limit the number of births as infant mortality decreases so that they have no more than the number of children they can feed and educate. For this psychological dimension the baseline KAP survey seems to me to be indispensable.'

It has been alleged that the traditionalism of the lower classes and peasants would lead them to oppose family planning services. These and many other such assertions made by the *élite* about the population as a whole have been disproved by the KAP type surveys. Herewith are some examples of these *élite* diagnoses of their fellow countrymen which the surveys have disproved: (a) that the Latin American male wants many children to prove his virility (disproved in Puerto Rico and Mexico); (b) that good Catholics want all the children God sends (a very small minority respond this way, regardless of the country being surveyed); (c) that in Asia, couples wish for many children in order to be cared for in their old age (rarely expressed in any survey); (d) that no Moslem male will use a condom (on the contrary, this is a widely-used method); (e) that men want more children than their wives (on the contrary, in the countries surveyed husband and wife tend to be in basic agreement about desired family size, but without knowing it); (f) that illiterate peasants have not the intelligence or the foresight to use modern methods of contraception (let no man underestimate the intelligence of the unlettered!) There is some truth in all of these allegations, but for the bulk of the population they do not stand up. Thanks to the KAP surveys undertaken, these and other stereotypes about the alleged traditional resistance of the masses can be disregarded safely in undertaking national programmes of family planning.

A secondary discovery relates to methodology. In every country it has been alleged prior to a research survey that families would not co-operate in extended interviews. Countrywomen were identified as too modest and shy to respond to intimate questions, while, even if the interviewer were admitted into the home, it was expected that respondents would tire quickly and provide inadequate answers. The surveys to date have ranged from 100 to 300 questions and have lasted from 40 to 80 minutes. Yet the refusal rates have been very low, running well below 10 per cent in most countries. By and large the rates of refusal have been less in the developing countries and in the rural areas than in urban areas and in industrialized countries.

What has been learned from the descriptive surveys? First of all, let us

TABLE 1. Average number of children in completed families compared with 'ideal' number desired for several countries

Country	Actual completed families	Ideal family size	Excess or deficit
High fertility			
Ghana (urban)	7.0	5.3	+1.7
Puerto Rico (national)	6.0	3.0	+3.0
Tunisia (national)	5.9	4.3	+1.6
Philippines (national)	5.9	5.0	+0.9
Turkey (national)	5.8	3.5	+2.3
China (Taiwan) (urban)	5.5	3.9	+1.6
Korea (Republic of) (national)	5.4	4.2	+1.2
Indonesia (rural)	5.3	4.3	+1.0
Thailand (rural)	5.2	3.8	+1.4
Colombia (urban)	5.2	3.8	+1.4
Mexico (urban)	5.0	4.2	+0.8
Moderate fertility			
Venezuela (urban)	4.3	3.5	+0.8
Costa Rica (urban)	4.3	3.6	+0.7
Panama (urban)	3.8	3.5	+0.3
United States (national)	3.4	3.3	+0.1
Brazil (urban)	3.3	2.7	+0.7
Low fertility			
France (national)	2.7	2.7	0.0
Belgium (urban)	2.6	2.8	—0.2
Hungary (national)	2.5	2.4	+0.1
Czechoslovakia (national)	2.4	2.3	+0.1
Germany (Federal Republic) (national)	2.2	2.8	—0.6
Japan (national)	2.0	2.8	—0.8

Sources: W. Parker Mauldin, 'Application of Survey Techniques to Fertility Studies', in: M. C. Sheps and J. C. Ridley (eds.), *Public Health and Population Change*, Pittsburgh, Pa., University of Pittsburg Press, 1965, p. 106-7; Bernard Berelson, 'KAP Studies on Fertility,' in: B. B. Berelson *et al.*, *Family Planning and Population Programs*, Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago Press, 1966, p. 658; and Alain Girard and Elisabeth Zucker, 'Une Enquête auprès du Public sur la Structure Familiale et la Prévention des Naissances,' *Population*, vol. 22, no. 3, May-June, 1967, p. 407.

look at the question of family size preferences in high-, medium- and low-fertility countries. How do these compare with the average completed family size for these same countries? Table 1 lists this information in straightforward fashion for several countries. Married couples in both the high- and medium-fertility countries want fewer children than they will have under present fertility conditions. It is only in the low-fertility countries that couples have fewer children than they regard as ideal. The size of the difference between completed and ideal family size varies within the high-fertility countries with 'over-achievement' in family size for Asian, African, and Caribbean countries ranging from 1 to 3 children and for Latin American countries of the order of 0.5 to 1.0 child. France and the United

States and Canada are roughly in balance while the low-fertility countries of Japan and Central Europe show some evidence of under-achievement. The surveys suggest, in general, that, if couples were able to do what they have said they want to do, there would be a substantial decline in the birth rates in most of the countries of the world.[1]

TABLE 2. Percentage not wanting more children by number of children already born for several countries

Country	Percentage according to number already born						Percentage of all families who want no more children
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Ceylon	2	8	29	57	69	88	44
India	2	7	25	43	74	88	44
Pakistan	4	5	25	42	67	74	46
China (Taiwan)	0	1	24	54	76	88	46
Thailand	12	30	48	71	85	96	72
Turkey	19	34	58	68	67	76	58
Philippines	3	24	42	56	68	85	50
Korea (Republic of)	1	8	28	65	81	94	50
Tunisia	1	9	26	44	68	87	49
Brazil	21	53	85	95	93	93	69
Colombia	15	45	55	67	79	93	61
Costa Rica	24	45	60	67	78	86	59
Mexico	16	30	48	64	76	86	66
Panama	11	35	51	70	86	94	57
United States	8	20	57	62	81	74	49

Source: Bernard Berelson, 'KAP Studies on Fertility,' in: Berelson *et al.*, op. cit. p. 662.

A second finding could probably be predicted from the data shown in Table 1; namely, that many families wish no more children now. In Table 2 we show the proportion of the population in several countries who wish no more children by the number of children they already have. Almost all women who have no children want to have a baby, and a substantial majority with one child want a second (except for Brazil, Costa Rica and Colombia). But once there are two living children, the desire for additional children diminishes sharply with each additional child born. Throughout the world, between 25 and 50 per cent of couples who have two children want no more; at least 50 per cent of couples with three children want no more; and at least 80 per cent of couples with four children feel that they have had enough.

Recent findings from Thailand show that this phenomenon is as true for farm as for city families. Seventy-four per cent of farm families interviewed

1. Judith Blake Davis (1965) calls our attention, however, to the very substantial margin of unfulfilled childbearing in the European countries and in sectors of the American public which under more economically stable conditions might bring a rapid population increase in these countries. In a series of analyses she has explored this matter and spelled out the implications for national policy.

wished no more children compared with 71 per cent of all families in the Thai survey. This high motivation to undertake some measure of family limitation rises from 37 per cent of those having had one child to 97 per cent for those who have had five children (Prachuabmosh, 1967).

Linked to the findings that couples wish relatively small families and that the majority are ready to stop childbearing after two or three children, is the high interest expressed in most of the developing countries of the world, in learning how to control their fertility, and the proportion approving family planning in principle. In five countries surveyed recently (China (Taiwan), Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey and the Republic of Korea) from two-thirds to three-fourths of respondents indicated an interest in learning about methods for controlling their own fertility. In India, where there have been many studies of the question, proportions expressing approval of the idea of family limitation range from about two-thirds to four-fifths, and in Turkey and Thailand roughly the same proportions approve the idea of a national government programme of family planning. This approval of and interest in learning about family limitation programmes is the more remarkable because in these countries the same respondents are so poorly informed about the physiology of reproduction and modern methods of family limitation.

Knowledge is apparently hard to come by in most of the developing countries. Fewer than 10 per cent of Turkish and Thai women correctly know the days of the cycle when conception is most probable. Substantially more know that fertility control is possible, and that one or more contraceptive methods are available, but the numbers without any information about contraception reaches as high as 89 per cent in the rural villages of Mysore in India, 85 per cent in Tunisia, 65 per cent in rural Thailand, 40 per cent in Turkey, and is as low as 5 per cent for the developed countries of Japan and the United States.

Thus, although interest in learning more about methods looks high, the search for information has apparently not been extensive, since the level of knowledge about medically developed methods of family limitation is not congruent with the interest expressed.[1]

From these many findings for several countries about the size of family

1. Mauldin (1965) suggests that answering 'Yes' to a question about interest in learning is a generalized expression of wanting to learn about a new topic, with the respondent not being quite sure what it is all about. 'Thus it should be no surprise', he writes, 'that the proportion of persons who learn about and adopt a method of family limitation is much smaller than the proportion saying they would be willing to learn about such methods.' Caldwell's study of urban families in Ghana is cited by Mauldin (1965) as an attempt to correct for this type of response error by asking two filter questions that bring an element of commitment to the response. The pay-off for prediction purposes of such depth probes shows up in the answers Caldwell obtained.

	Percentage answering affirmatively	
	Males	Females
If you were told by a doctor of some way to avoid having a baby, would you use it?	72	63
If the method were complicated, would you use it?	37	26

desired, the readiness to limit family size, the interest in learning how to do so and the level of information, it is apparent that the picture held by country *élites* of a hard core of mass resistance and open hostility to family planning, reinforced by large family norms, is without foundation. Family planning researchers have repeatedly found, in one developing nation after another, that even highly fertile populations wish to have moderately sized families (from two to four children) and that wherever death rates have been reduced to as low as twenty per thousand for only a few years, popular resistance to the idea of fertility control is very low.

But what about the incidence of adoption of contraceptive practices? It varies widely by countries: in the developing world from very low to moderately low (for example under 10 per cent in rural India, Pakistan, and Thailand; 15 per cent to 25 per cent in China (Taiwan), the Republic of Korea, and Tunisia; 25 per cent in Turkey), in the developed countries moderately high to high (over two-thirds in Japan, 80 per cent in the United States). And from examination of the descriptive surveys, the more widespread the practice in a country, the earlier in the marriage it tends to begin. In the developed countries couples begin using contraceptives to postpone the first child and thereafter for spacing purposes, whereas in the developing countries they begin, if at all, only after the third or fourth child.

What of abortion as a birth control practice? Lacking good medical statistics on the incidence of induced abortion except in some Eastern European countries (Klinger, 1966) and in Japan (Muramatsu, 1967) where the laws are more permissive, family planning researchers have adapted the techniques of the field survey to collect data about it. One of the earliest systematic epidemiological researches was by Armijo and Monreal (1965) in Chile based on household probability samples with 3,800 women aged 20 to 50 in the cities of Santiago, Concepción, and Antofagasta. Roughly 25 per cent of women interviewed disclosed at least one induced abortion and one-quarter of them had already had three or more abortions. Eighty-five per cent of abortions were reported by married patients.

In other Latin American countries similar surveys were undertaken with results paralleling the Chilean findings. In Buenos Aires, 25 per cent of all pregnancies of patients aged 35 to 49 were found to have been terminated in induced abortions (Gomez-Ferrarotti and Garcia Varela, 1964). In Rio de Janeiro 10 per cent of a sample of women aged 20 to 25 had already had one induced abortion (Hutchinson, 1964).

In the Republic of Korea, where induced abortions are also illegal, the KAP surveys have included questions about induced abortion. Kim (1966) reported an increase from 1965 to 1966 in the percentage with one or more induced abortions from 10.7 per cent to 13.5 per cent while the proportion utilizing contraception increased from 22.4 per cent to 27.2 per cent. Abortions in the Republic of Korea appear to be used disproportionately to prevent the fourth or later births (72.1 per cent). The incidence of induced abortion in urban Korea was 26.6 per cent, about the same as that reported for urban Chile and for Buenos Aires above.

What is puzzling from these surveys is the high motivation to birth control which they imply in countries where abortion is both religiously disapproved and legally forbidden and which carries over so infrequently into preventive action by means of contraception. Apparently the desire to erase an error after conceiving is much more intense than the desire to prevent the conception in advance.

Explanatory studies of family planning

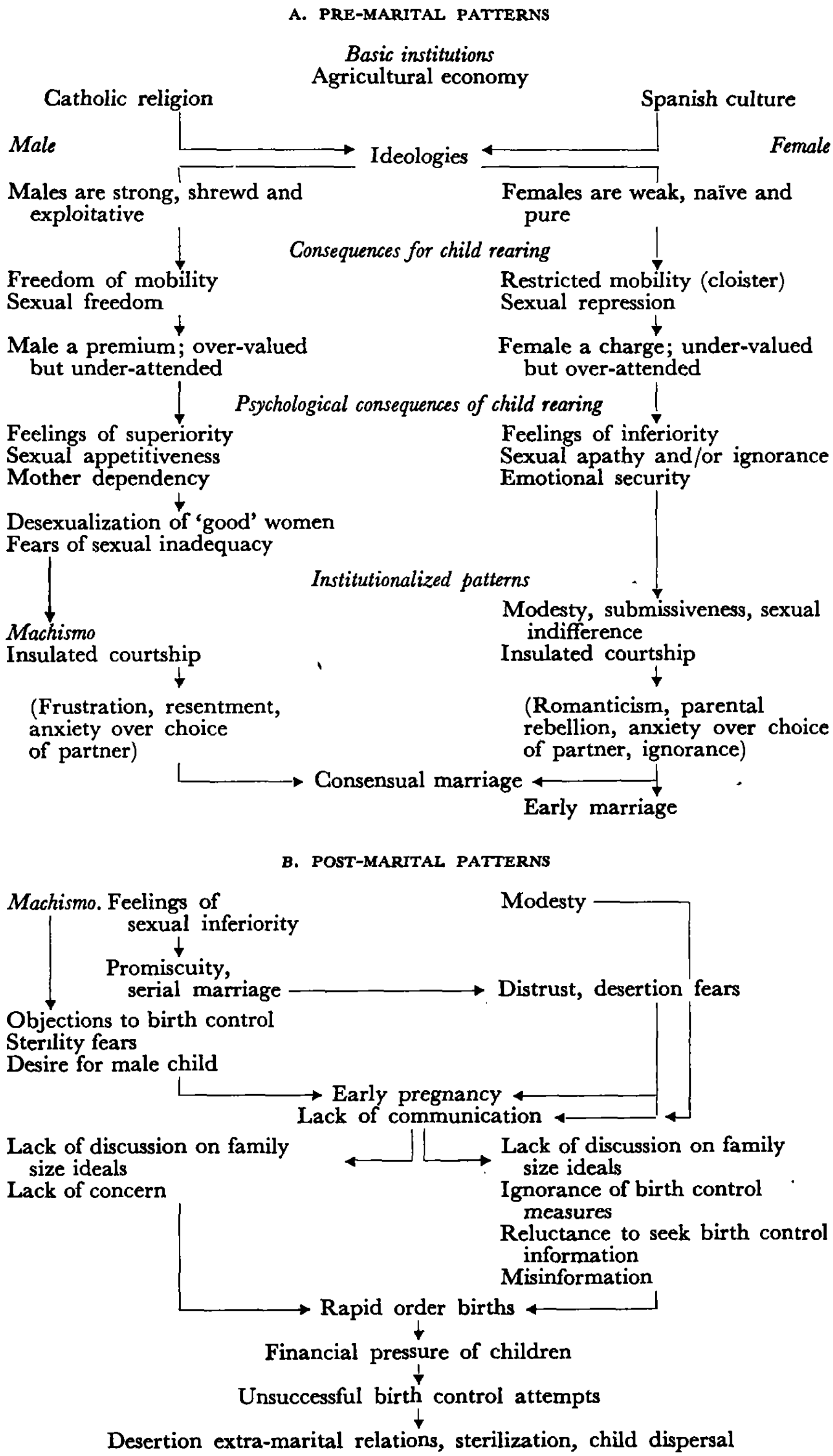
More ambitious than the descriptive surveys delineated above are the studies that have been made to specify the conditions necessary for effective fertility regulation. This type of research is more complex and less frequently undertaken in the developing countries than the descriptive surveys and is, therefore, less likely to be cross-culturally comparative.

The variables that affect human fertility are numerous and complex in their interrelations. Because contemporary family planning research, like field-induced research, has been responding to the questions posed by action-oriented administrators even more than to the questions phrased by social theorists, the explanatory studies offer ready help to those who would organize national programmes of family planning. Their findings have accordingly been helpful in identifying countries which are likely to be responsive to a national programme of family planning because of the state of their economic and social development and, within countries, they have been useful in identifying the target families most likely to adopt contraceptive practices. In even more focused fashion, the findings from explanatory studies have been used by programme organizers to select the methods of education and the content of instruction most likely to socialize non-planners into effective family planners. We may draw on some of these researches to illustrate the nature of this level of field-induced research on fertility.

Explanatory research about fertility control behaviour at the macro level

At the macroscopic level of countries, Freedman (1963) has synthesized from the findings of several demographic and anthropological studies a chain of propositions about the societal conditions necessary before fertility decline is likely to occur. He reviews evidence that social norms support the moderate to high levels of fertility found in the developing societies. These social norms cover a variety of issues including when to marry, when sexual intercourse is permitted and the range in numbers of children that are permissible or desirable as well as specifying the acceptability or non-acceptability of means for limiting family size, such as infanticide, abstinence or abortion. In each society, the cultural norms about these vital matters tend to be consistent with the social institutions in which they are imbedded.

Fig. 1. A paradigm r the antecedents and consequences of high fertility



Stycos (1955) has illustrated this phenomenon for Puerto Rico in a socialization model (Fig. 1) which highlights the continuous impact on both sexes of institutional patterns making for high fertility from early childhood into young adulthood and the childbearing years. Some changes would surely appear necessary, both in the norms and in the mechanisms of cultures which reward high fertility early in marriage and make tolerable numerous progeny in the middle years before marked declines in fertility level are likely to occur.

Freedman supports the thesis that a variety of control measures, including some forms of contraception, have long been available in underdeveloped areas and that past failure to use them more extensively has been a result of normative pressures in favour of high fertility. Two very general explanations are offered for these normative pressures: 'From either the individual or the social point of view, high fertility has been an adjustment both to high and variable mortality and to the central importance in community life of familial and kinship ties.

'In most pre-industrial societies a wide range of activities involve interdependence with kinsmen and especially with children. These include production, consumption, leisure activity, assistance in illness and old age and many other activities covered by non-familial institutions in modern societies. To simplify greatly: large numbers of children are desired if the values considered worthwhile are obtained through familial ties rather than through other social institutions. If kinship ties are very important in a society where mortality is high and variable, the number of births desired and produced will be especially high in order to insure the survival to adulthood of the essential minimum number of children. Selective experience favors the development of beliefs and practices encouraging fertility high enough to minimize the grave risks of few or no surviving children.'

Freedman (1965) deduces that fertility decline is likely to occur and an effective social policy for reducing fertility is likely to be formulated only after changes in key institutions have occurred which reduce normative pressures for high fertility. Fertility decline may be expected in countries, therefore, characterized by the following conditions:

1. Where mortality rates have been low for some time.
2. Where significant social development is under way so that many people are linked to groups and institutions outside their extended family and local community for both the definition and achievement of their life goals.
3. Where there is evidence that many people wanting moderate-size families are beginning on their own to try to limit family size.
4. Where there are effective social networks transcending local communities through which family planning ideas and services and other modernizing influences can be disseminated.
5. Where there is an effective organization to provide family planning information and services.

6. Where such newer contraceptive devices as the IUD and oral contraception are available.

Freedman's conditions form a chain of propositions which need to be researched both historically for countries of low fertility and comparatively for countries which vary in fertility level. What combinations of conditions make for populations most receptive to family planning? Does the sequence of achieving these combinations, or the speed of shifting from traditionalism (i.e., the absence of the Freedman conditions) to modernity, affect the readiness of the population to adopt family planning? Do we not have in the Freedman conditions an example of the 'necessary but not sufficient' proposition? Has he identified several conditions which are necessary of which none is sufficient by itself to precipitate widespread adoption of contraception practices?

Back and Winsborough (1967) have taken advantage of the United Nations Survey on Population Policy which went out to 113 member nations to examine the relationships between the demographic properties of these countries and the salience of their concern about population as a problem requiring social action. I offer their study as a partial test of Freedman's threshold theory of the readiness of countries to adopt family planning programmes.

The researchers were able to place forty-three responding countries on a five-point scale ranging from 'concerned' to 'disinterested', based on the presence or absence of three criteria of salience including: (a) future time perspective about population; (2) conscientious answering of all questions in the survey suggesting the adequacy of their data collection and reporting systems; and (c) concern about over-population and interest in possible population planning programmes.

The Concerned Countries[1] (high on all three criteria of salience) have good reasons for their concern since they tend to be countries of high density with economically poor but highly urbanized populations. Population increase is moderate rather than excessively high. Politically, these countries have well-organized bureaucracies and the necessary systems of media circulation to facilitate social action. Ethnically and religiously, the Concerned Countries are homogeneous with low proportions of Catholics. In education and health the facilities for upper-class groups are superior but the services are inadequate to begin to serve the great majority of the masses.

How do these Concerned Countries appear on the action front? In general they are the countries most prominent in discussions of family planning. Their representatives in the United Nations voted most frequently in favour of population control in the twelve votes taken about the issues to be included in the United Nations survey and about the recommendations to involve the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in providing technical assistance on family planning to

1. They included India, Pakistan, Malaysia, China (Taiwan), Turkey, United Arab Republic, Jamaica, Netherlands and Sweden.

developing countries. Moreover, by 1967, nine out of ten of these Concerned Countries had instituted large-scale programmes of population control.

The Supportive Countries,[1] high on perspective and comprehensiveness of reporting but low on concern for population issues, are countries of moderate density, balanced economies, high education levels and low rates of population increase, but look with favour on birth control programmes.

The third type was dubbed the Theorists by the analysts because they are high on future time perspective but low on comprehensiveness of reporting and on concern. Like the Supportive Countries they are wealthy, moderately densely populated with good bureaucratic organization and with a low rate of population increase. They seem to be countries which have passed the demographic transition.[2]

The fourth type, called Conscientious Countries[3] by the authors, is high on comprehensiveness of reporting but low on time perspective and concern about population. These countries are the most economically depressed of the responding countries, non-urban in occupational composition with deficits in cadres to man the country's services and with poorly organized bureaucracies. Although they have low rates of density, they have high rates of natural increase and the highest fertility rates of all countries. They seem to have severe incipient population problems and are most likely to be prospects for future population programmes.

The Disinterested type,[4] encompassing countries negative on all three criteria of salience, is not distinguished by many common demographic properties. They are highest in proportion of Catholics with no overriding population problems, and their low involvement appears to be due to political factors and to the high proportion of Catholics among the *élite* which forestalls governmental attention to population as an issue. With one exception there appears to be no overriding population problem. In contrast with the Concerned Countries, nine out of ten of which had organized major family planning programmes by 1967, in only three out of eleven of the Disinterested Countries had taken such action.

The authors acknowledge that they are on shaky ground in taking the reporting behaviour of officials in respect of the United Nations survey as indicators for the degree of salience of population for whole countries. Yet the demographic correlates of these indicators of salience and the subsequent actions of governments in instituting population control programmes align the several responding countries very nicely with the authors' theory of

1. Three are wealthy and encourage immigration: Australia, New Zealand and the United States; four are East European: U.S.S.R., Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.
2. Five of the six are European: Finland, Greece, Ireland, Italy and the United Kingdom. The sixth, Sudan, is a deviate.
3. Three are Middle Eastern and North African: Jordan, Kuwait and Morocco; three are Latin American: Bolivia, Colombia and Guatemala.
4. The eleven countries in this type include European and North American countries: Austria, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Norway and Hungary, and three African countries: Cameroon, Ghana and Libya, and one Latin American country: Chile, a deviate.

the antecedents and consequences of salience and with Freedman's threshold theory of the necessary conditions antecedent to the adoption of family planning. More definitive research utilizing the Back-Winsborough framework of concepts would be useful to test the threshold theory of national policy formation.

In concluding this discussion of explanatory studies at the macro level, I would like to identify work being undertaken on the 'problem definers' of the population, the influential *élite*. At a high policy level it is members of the *élite* who decide that there will be a national family planning programme, how it will be organized and what priorities it will be assigned. At the local level, the *élite* also influence the reception accorded the programme by the general population. J. M. Stycos has pioneered this dimension in his study of the views of political and religious leaders in Turkey (1965*a*) and in his assessment of the conservation of the *élite* with respect to population issues in Latin American (1965*c*).

In his definition of the new field of 'family planning research' referred to earlier, Bogue made room for this genre of research in his phrase 'research on the forces that retard or facilitate the diffusion and adoption of the practice of family planning'. Conceptually, this calls for research into the properties of country spokesmen, lying somewhere in between the properties of countries and societal conditions associated with the development of national population policies and the more microscopic properties of the country's families associated with the adoption of family planning practices.

David Radel (1967) has just completed the first stage of such middle-ground research in his quest for the antecedents of supportiveness in respect of population programmes by the *élite* of the society. Radel's theoretic model specifying the interrelationships of the several factors operative in this middle ground is reproduced in Figure 2. Taking active supportive behaviour on behalf of population programmes by the *élites* of several countries as his dependent variable to be explained, Radel theorizes that the predispositions to supportiveness will be made up of three components: (a) the perception of the salience of population growth as a problem; (b) favourable attitudes toward birth control and government participation in family planning programmes; and (c) personal preferences for a small-size family. 'Knowledgeability about population matters in one's country' by itself does not have an independent impact upon supportiveness. Among the antecedents of this cluster of favourable predispositions to supportiveness of population regulation, Radel theorizes that the relatively non-manipulable value orientations of Individual modernity and Secular orientation will be positively related, and Nationalism negatively related, to supportiveness. Radel also expected the level of formal education of the *élite* to be positively related to their supportiveness of population policy. The full test of this section of the model awaits the second phase of Radel's research.

The two variables in the upper left of the chart are the immediate antecedents of 'salience of population as a social problem' for the *élite* and are

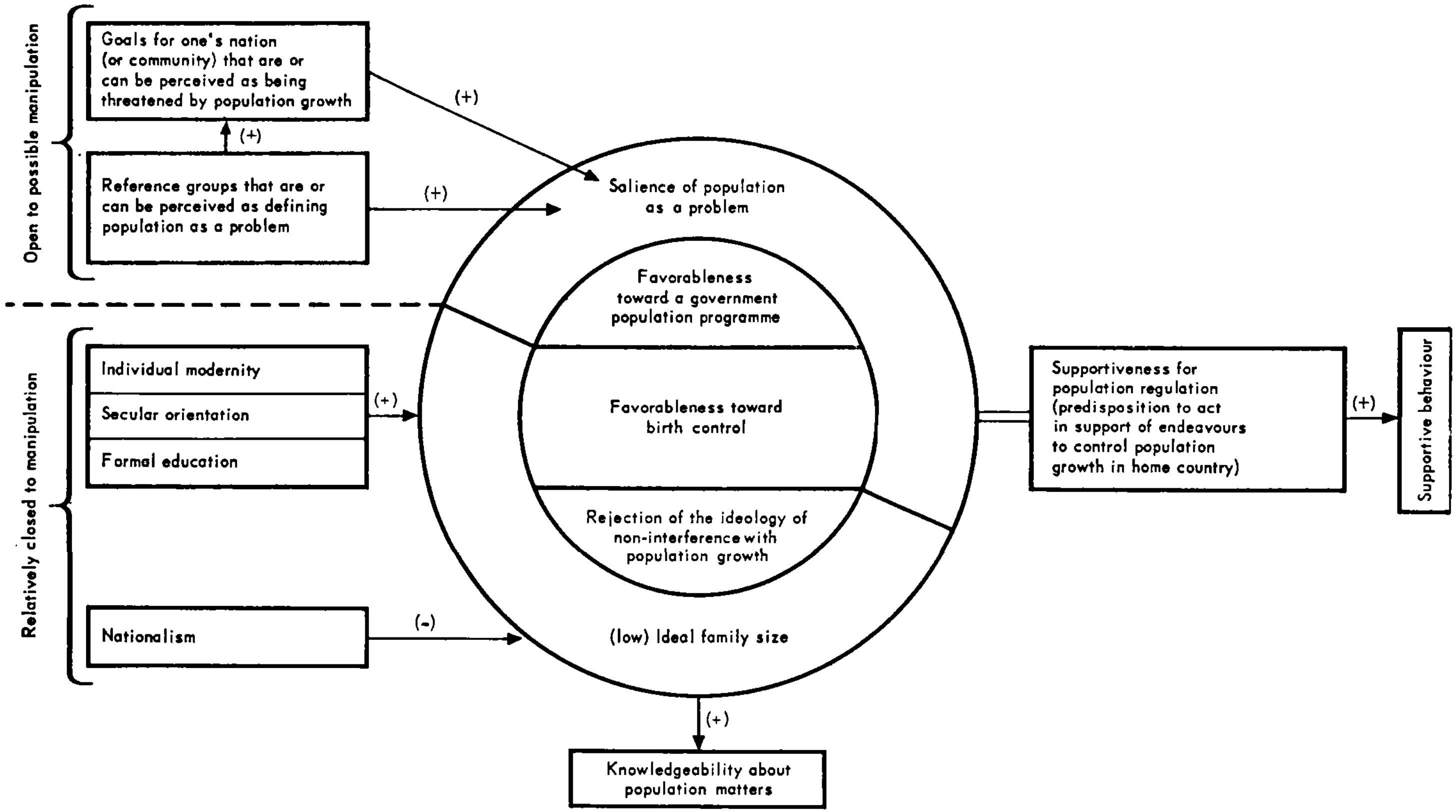


Fig. 2. Theoretical model of relationships among antecedents of supportive behaviour of population regulation among members of the *élite*

relatively more open to educational and mass media manipulation. The first consists of the number and importance of goals for the *élite's* nation perceived as threatened by rapid population growth. The second variable is made up of the number of the *élite's* referrents who are perceived as defining population growth as a problem. These several latter antecedents have been shown in Radel's initial exploratory study to be significantly related to the supportiveness by *élites* of population programmes.

These selected references to explanatory research about the properties associated with societal action on population control are at best illustrative of the developments at this macro level of analysis.

Each of the researches cited, it should be noted, has focused upon the conditions which precipitate movement by the society to cope with its population growth. Once a country formulates a policy or, in the absence of a clear policy, begins to take action, however, another set of considerations enter into the generation of macroresearch on the population problem. The dependent variable to be explained changes to the relative effectiveness of a country's organizational strategies. Attention turns to the way the countries allocate their financial resources and organize viable programmes for delivery of family planning services and supplies to the population, including the training of new cadres for this purpose. Students of social organization, public administration theorists, mass communication and marketing researchers are just now being recruited to participate in this phase of field-induced research on family planning.

Explanatory research about fertility control at the family level

At the more microscopic level of married couples facing the problems of regulating family size, explanatory studies have been undertaken to throw light on three questions:

1. What determines the number of children couples desire?
2. What determines who will and who will not practise family planning?
3. What determines who will succeed and who will fail in family size control?

Antecedents of small family desires. There is more uniformity from one country to another in the parameters of size of family desired and ideal age of marriage than there is in the way they are distributed within the population by social class or other social categories. This can be seen very clearly in the attempt to explain intranational differences in family size desires. In the United States and Canada (Westoff *et al.*, 1961; Carisse, 1964) the higher the social class the greater the preference for small families. In studies undertaken in a number of European countries, Belgium (Julemont and Morsa, 1964) and France (Girard and Zucker, 1967) and in Peru (Stycos, 1965*b*) the size of family preferred increases as social class advances. The explanation may lie in the differences in perception in these countries of children as financial liabilities or as symbols of prestige and consumption to be enjoyed. Dobbelaare (1967) offers status congruency theory as an ingenious way of accounting for the differences between Belgian and American families on this respect. He finds that Belgian families of high social status are also more frequently highly integrated members of the Catholic Church. If one is seeking to achieve high status in the Church by practising the total Church ideology, then, in order to avoid status incongruency, one would also accept, among other things, the norm of a large family. He finds this a better explanation of the differences among Catholic women than the institutional socialization theory of Westoff and others (1961) that the number of children desired by Catholic women is a function of the degree of exposure to the value system of the Catholic Church in their formative years.

Three principal hypotheses have been advanced and verified for explaining the differences among families as to size of family preferred in the United States.

1. The more family activities are home centred, the greater the number of children desired.
2. The greater the number of functions fulfilled by the family for its members, the larger the family size desired.
3. The more the major roles of family heads are compatible with the presence of children, the larger the number of children desired.

David Golberg (1960) of Michigan has confirmed the first two hypotheses for 500 families representative of the families of Detroit, Michigan. He found a positive relationship between the number of children desired and the proportion of leisure time spent at home, the amount of domestic production of goods in the home and the number of activities in common. These relationships were especially important at the beginning of the marriage. Among families which already had three children, the decision to add other children appears related, however, in more positive fashion to level of income, level of education and level of social participation of the married couple. In other words, the size of family desired is associated with familism at the beginning of marriage and with the indicators of social class later in the marital career.

Blood and Wolfe (1960), drawing on a representative sample of 731 Detroit families, provide a confirmation of the third hypothesis. They found both gainful employment of mothers and occupational mobility on the part of the husband negatively related to family size desired. Indeed, they found that mobile families, regardless of the direction, whether upward or downward mobile, wished fewer children than those who were continuing in the social class in which they were born.

Westoff (1961) and his colleagues, in a national sample of 1,165 urban families who had just had their second child, found vertical mobility negatively related to the number of children desired. But they add that there were so many exceptions that they were tempted to suggest that a change of perception is occurring; namely, that many American couples now perceive the number of children they may have as a symbol of success

—children for them are the fruits of upward mobility rather than handicaps or barriers to mobility.

The recent work of Perrucci (1967) about career mobility and the timing of marriage and the coming of the first children is relevant to our quest to explicate the antecedents of family formation patterns. Perrucci analysed data from a sample of 1,029 engineering graduates from two large West Coast universities. Their educational level was positively related to the time interval between college graduation and marriage and the time interval between college graduation and the birth of the first child. In general, intergenerational mobility preceded marriage and initial reproductive behaviour, although social origins played a part in the timing of the second child. The chief finding, however, was that career mobility (advancement since college graduation compared to one's peers) was positively related to the time interval between college graduation and birth of the first child as well as inversely related to the birth date of the second child, indicating some support for the hypothesis of negative impact of career mobility on speed of family formation for engineers during the early career years.

Antecedents to the use of family planning methods. Most of the early family planning studies undertaken in the industrialized countries showed that the rate of adoption of family planning was higher among the better educated, the wealthy and propertied, and the more urbanized and cosmopolitan. It was therefore presupposed that the motivation to adopt family planning was based upon aspirations for improving one's lot in life and for gaining the benefit of modernization. A number of recent studies may be said to cast doubt on the generalizability of these earlier findings. They suggest that the opposite may be true in the developing countries; namely, that one of the strongest and most pervasive motivating forces for adoption of fertility control methods in a population that has been exposed to family planning information is the economic deprivation engendered by population pressure and privation. Khan and Choldin (1965) conducted a study of the characteristics of adopters and non-adopters of traditional methods of contraception (condom and foam tablet) in a group of villages located in one of the most isolated and least educated segments of East Pakistan. They found that the poorest and least educated were as likely to adopt family planning as others more educated and prosperous; indeed, the landless peasants adopted family planning even more readily than farmers with large land holdings. Similar results were found by Prachuabmosh (1967) for Thailand where the preference for no more children occurred soonest among the most poorly educated who never read newspapers or listened to the radio. In rural West Pakistan, 61 per cent of the husbands of wives adopting the intrauterine device were illiterate. In China (Taiwan) and the Republic of Korea an almost equally high proportion of adopters of the IUD were illiterate as literate. To return to Freedman's conditions for fertility decline with which we introduced the discussion of explanatory research, it would seem that suffering from the ill effects of high fertility, overpopulation and privation is in itself a strong motivation force to change attitudes and to bring about adoption of fertility control.

The study of adopters and non-adopters of contraception has now been carried out in many developing countries but nowhere more systematically than in China (Taiwan) and the Republic of Korea where the results have been used to guide the administrators of country-wide family planning programmes.

A methodological innovation has been the adaptation of a computer programme developed by Morgan and Sonquist (1963) to data from the Koyang Family Planning Study in the Republic of Korea (Bang, Lee and Yang, 1963) to identify groups of women with especially high and especially low acceptance rates in the programme. The results are reported by John Ross (1966) using a tree format which follows the convention of always putting the higher adoption groups on top when a split is made (see Fig. 3). By reading along the topmost line, therefore, the progression of ever higher adoption percentages is seen. In five splits, a 97 per cent adoption group is isolated.

Of twenty-two variables tested with this special computer programme for their predictive power, the most important appears in the first split. Dividing the respondents by the length of time since last birth, only 9 per cent of women with an interval of more than thirty months accepted contraception whereas 57 per cent of those with shorter intervals did. The second most important differentiator was the answer to a question in an earlier survey concerning 'a desire to use contraception'. The third most important differentiator was 'satisfaction with the number of sons' which, if affirmative, increased the adoption rate to 78 per cent on the positive side, but if negative reduced the number of acceptors to zero on the negative side. Thus, in the progressive splitting of the group which adopted family planning, the three most important questions isolated a group on one branch with zero adoption and a group at the other extreme with almost four-fifths adoption. Two additional differentiators of high predictive power were age of mother (above or below 40) and number of living children (four or more).

The application of this method can help quickly to identify the target group of families most likely to respond positively to a family planning programme. By going to the local registers and taking off the names of couples under 40 years of age who have recently had a child and already have three children, at least one of whom is a son, the family planning worker can reach quickly a group of families in need of immediate service who will be highly likely to accept it.

The research of Hill, Stycos and Back in Puerto Rico (1959) sought to identify the characteristics internal to the couple as decision-makers which were associated with the adoption of family planning methods. They were able to differentiate 'never users' from 'ever users' at the level of family organization.

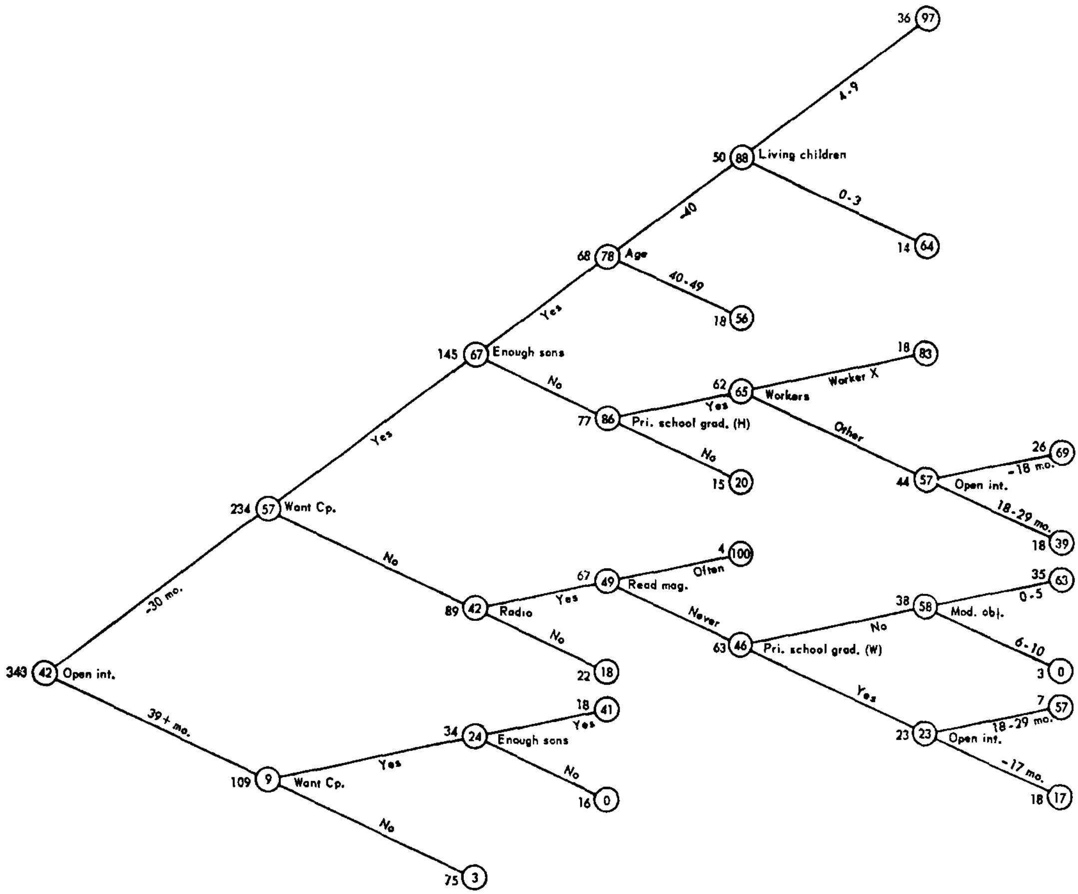


Fig. 3. Predicting adoption of family planning in Koyang (Korea) from key antecedents detected by the Algarithym Interaction Detection Program

Key to legends

Enough sons? *At the before survey, was the woman satisfied with the number of sons she had?*
Mod. obj. *Number of modern objects owned (e.g., bicycle, loom, wristwatch).*
Op. int. *Open interval (months since last live birth).*
Pri. Sch. Grad. (H) or (W). *Is the husband (or wife) a primary school graduate?*
Radio. *Do you own a radio?*
Read mag.? *How often do you read magazines?*
Want cp.? *At the before survey, did the woman report a desire to use contraception?*
Worker. *Which fieldworker covers the area in which the woman lives?*

1. At the level of values, Hill and colleagues found the probability greater that contraception would be used:
   (a) for those who planned their life in general;
   (b) for those with higher aspirations for their children;
   (c) for those who favoured small families;
   (d) for those who perceived numbers of children as a problem early in marriage.
2. At the level of marital organization, the researchers found the probability greater of adopting family planning:
   (a) for those who were equalitarian in decision making;
   (b) for those who had high communication between husband and wife about family problems;
   (c) for those spouses who knew one another well enough to predict the other's desires accurately.
3. In short, any values which are favourable to trying out family size control and any type of family organization which makes it easier to explore solutions to problems lead to the practice of birth control.

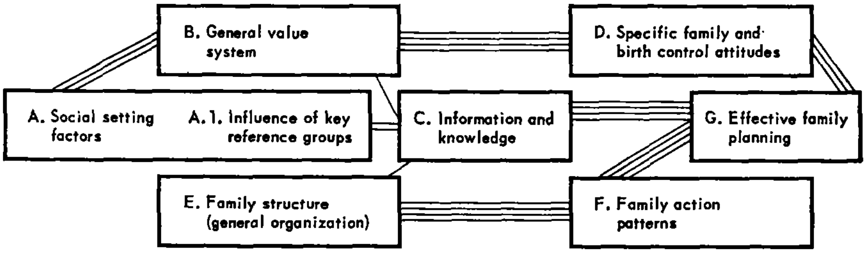
Antecedents of effective family planning. To identify the family properties of those who are effective planners is much more complex than explaining size of family desired and ever use of contraception. Effective family planning is an achievement analogous to success in getting ahead as a family in general. The first attempt to study this problem was undertaken by Whelpton and Kiser and associates (1950) in the well-known Indianapolis Study of the Social Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility. Among their findings was the discovery of an association between marital adjustment and successful family planning. Hill, Stycos and Back (1959) looked even more closely at family organization variables, highlighting those properties which would make the family an efficient organization for taking action on a problem. They tested hypothesis by relating marital communication, marital empathy, marital power structure and marital agreement to the couples' success in fertility control (percentage of unplanned pregnancies per months of exposure while practising contraception). They found significant correlations between success in fertility control and these measures of efficient family organization. Subsequently Misra (1967) has replicated with low-income Negro couples in a high-fertility area of Chicago the Puerto Rican study's focus on marital concurrence, empathy and communications as associated with efficient use of birth control. He confirms many of the hypotheses but finds they are most likely to be operative after family size has passed four children. Andrée Michel (1967) in a probability sample of Paris and Bordeaux couples confirmed the major Puerto Rican findings about marital organization for France and further asserted that these educationally manipulable factors of communication and consensus are substantially more closely linked with the avoidance of unplanned children than the non-manipulable factors of socio-economic status such as occupational category of husband, educational level and family income. The many factors explored by the Puerto Rican study and its replication in France and in Chicago are shown in Figure 4.

Evaluative and experimental studies

Differing in intention from the descriptive and the explanatory studies are the experimental and evaluative studies, which are designed to assess the impact of programmes of education and mass communication on the motivations and attitudes, level of information and reproductive behaviour of families. In their simplest form, surveys of the KAP variety will be undertaken before a family planning programme is launched as a baseline and repeated at a later period of time to assess changes in family planning that may have occurred. The Republic of Korea and Chinese (Taiwan) programmes have used the continuous survey to good advantage as an evaluation instrument supplementing the day-to-day records and the registration of vital statistics. By varying the education and clinical procedures by geographic areas it is possible to learn the relative impact of mailed booklets, home visits and group meetings on the attitudes and adoption rates of family planning methods. It is also possible to learn what sectors of the population are most receptive to programmes of persuasion by educational level, sex, parity, duration of marriage and income level.

The experimental validation phase of the long-term projects in Puerto Rico (Hill *et al.*, 1959) and in Jamaica (Stycos and Back, 1964) have involved the most complex design for field experiments developed by family planning researchers to this date. In Puerto Rico, treatment groups were matched with control groups receiving no treatment. Treatments were divided into two by methods employed; namely, values and information, instruction designed to improve intrafamily communication, and both contents combined. Measures of attitudes toward small families, and toward family planning, and of adoption of family planning methods and regularity of use, were undertaken before the experiment for both control and treatment groups, and again three months after the programmes had been carried out. A year later a third survey was undertaken to ascertain the extent of unplanned pregnancies in the several control and treatment groups. Space does not permit the presentation of the detailed findings of this experiment but in general it validated the hypothesis confirmed in the prior island-wide interview survey that changes in values and information would bring about adoption of family planning methods, and that changes in family organization aimed particularly at improving interspousal communication would increase the couple effectiveness in practising fertility control. With respect to the impact of methods of presentation there were some suprising findings. It was not expected that the distribution of a series of inexpensive pamphlets would be even more influential than group meetings in precipitating adoption of a family planning method for the first time. Group meetings were, however, more successful in bringing about the degree of commitment

Fig. 4. Schema specifying the hypothetical interrelationships of selected antecedent, intervening, and consequent variables in fertility



A. *Social setting factors*
- Residence
- Occupation
- Education
- Religion
- Economic status
- Marital union
- Age at marriage

A. 1. *Influence of key reference groups*
- Neighbours
- Work mates
- Classmates
- Fellow parishioners
- Fellow sufferers
- Married set
- Marital cohort

B. *General value system*
- Fatalism-striving
- Traditionalism-modernism
- Aspirations for self and children
- Tendencies toward general planning

C. *Information and knowledge*
- Extent of knowledge about birth control methods
- Timing of learning about methods

D. *Specific family and birth control attitudes*
- Importance of children
- Ideal family size (present and past)
- Summary index of family size preferences
- Interest in spacing children
- Attitudes about birth control methods
- Saliency of family size as a problem

E. *Family structure (general family organization)*
- Extended *v* nuclear family household
- Power structure
- Role allocation structure
- Affectional structure
- Familistic organization
  - Degree of wife's mobility
  - Degree of male dominance
  - Prohibitions exercised by husband

F. *Family action patterns*
- Marital communication on general issues
- Communication of family size ideals and birth control
- Marital empathy
- Modesty and respect handicaps
- Marital consensus
- Marital happiness
- Sexual satisfaction
- Family readiness for action on birth control

G. *Effective family planning*
- Ever use of birth control methods
- Length and regularity of use
- Success rate (proportion of unplanned pregnancies per woman months exposure)

required for achieving regularity of use which is so important for effective fertility control.

Professor Donald Bogue (1966) of the University of Chicago, who has been active in developing methods for assessing the impact of programmes of mass communication and persuasion on adoption of family planning, has summarized the results from several subsequent countrywide programmes:

'In the early days of attempting to motivate family planning it was commonly assumed that sex was a tabued topic, and that all sex-related matters such as information about family planning would not spread readily from mouth to mouth by the channels of informal conversation between friends, relatives, and neighbors. . . . Research and experience with action programs have demonstrated that both of these assumptions are false. . . . It has been found that the flow of private discussions about contraception in response to mass communication programs is truly phenomenal. In Taiwan, news of the Taichung family planning program spread into the rural areas entirely by the process of diffusion, and large numbers of women came to the clinics on the basis of rumor alone. In the low income areas of Chicago it was discovered that after the distribution of booklets on family planning 91 per cent of the population who received a booklet discussed family planning with persons other than their spouse within one month. The average number of persons with whom conversations were held was four. . . . In Taiwan because they can count on informal channels to carry the message about the IUD and to elicit cases for insertion, direct face-to-face contact for recruitment purposes need no longer be highly concentrated. It can be interspersed with some distance between contacts.

'It has been discovered that simply by providing reliable information about family planning to interested indigenous residents of a community where it is hoped to promote an action program, it is possible to manufacture a large number of "opinion leaders" who become indigenous teachers of family planning. In Comilla, East Pakistan, women from the village were trained to return to their villages to instruct other wives in the use of the foam tablet, and to act as a source of supply with great success. A similar effort in rural Alabama produced comparable results. A stimulus so mild as simply mailing a booklet on methods of family planning to the interested person has been tried out in India with substantial success.

'In summary, it is possible to motivate low-education peoples to adopt family planning *either* by working through indigenous instructors, especially trained for the task, *or* through authorities who have high credibility. For maximum speed it would seem advisable to employ both approaches simultaneously and in a coordinated way.'

Some emerging dimensions of family planning research

It is characteristic of field-induced investigation that each success generates additional studies. This is clearly evident in the new field of family planning research. Space limitations preclude elaborating on all of the dimensions but it is worth noting some of the principal categories of research which are emerging.

At the macrosocietal level a completely new set of researches is being generated by the emergence of a new dependent variable, the efficiency with which countries deploy their resources in undertaking large-scale family planning programmes. Comparisons of the relative effectiveness of different policies in organizing viable programmes are being undertaken. Marketing researchers, for example, are comparing distribution systems for contraceptive supplies and services, which emphasize the private sector, with those utilizing public agencies exclusively, and again with those which are pluralistic in the outlets patronized. In a different vein, the tools developed for describing and explaining the diffusion of innovations are currently being applied to the adoption of family planning services and practices for a number of countries. The implications of the findings from these studies are in turn being assessed for the utilization of the mass media in bringing the masses to adopt the new technology of oral contraception and intrauterine devices. A host of disciplinary strangers to family planning research are being commissioned to participate in the new dimensions generated by this change of focus to effectiveness of national organizational strategies for controlling population growth: political scientists and public administration theorists, marketing and consumption economists, cultural anthropologists and mass communication specialists.

At the microfamilial level, yet another set of emergent dimensions may be identified. One category is the study of the 'hard to reach' families, who do not respond to the appeals of the family planning programmes. Another involves the examination of 'dropouts' who adopt a method but soon discontinue use.

The study of the 'hard to reach' is a type operational research, since it seeks not only to describe the special properties of non-participating couples, but to discover what barriers may be endemic in the programme of services which make them unacceptable to the couples. The transactions between the 'hard to reach' and family planning workers are observed over time and phases. In a second phase of this type of research, the 'feedback' data are utilized by the family planning administrators to change the service and an assessment made of increased patronage from the disaffected group.

The study of 'dropouts' is important for any programme, but it is particularly needed to decrease the rate of requests for removal of intrauterine devices among fearful and ambivalent patients. In some countries the problem of IUD retention is serious enough to call into question the policy of medical preference for the IUD over other methods. Comparative studies of the long-term use of the IUD, the oral contraceptive and the conventional methods suggest that each requires reinforcement to be used for prolonged periods. There is some indication that learning theory psychologists are being involved, since their methods and principles are appropriate to the study of the disenchantment of new users.

A third category of emergent microfamilial research is the timing dimension. In attempting to establish the linkage between family properties and success in fertility control, the timing dimension has been repeatedly encountered as a mediating variable. The timing of learning about birth control methods, of crystallizing a family size ideal, as well as the timing of marriage and first birth appear intimately related to the adoption of family planning and to its efficient use. The timing of marriage affects the interval between marriage and first birth, and appears related to subsequent spacing, to timing of last birth, and ultimate completed family size. The timing of marriage and first birth is also correlated with occupation achievement, acquisition of wealth and lifetime income.

New research utilizing cohorts married in the same year is exploring both the antecedents of differences in age at marriage and the consequences over the life span of the time scheduling of marriage and parenthood. It is now possible, by making certain assumptions, to simulate on computers the progression of marital cohorts of a population over the life span, showing the effects in family building of differential timing of vital events. Some research is being planned to compare the consequences of differing timing of marriage for countries where the arranging of marriage is the responsibility of parents as against countries where couples do their own scheduling of wedding dates.

The fourth and final category of emerging research to be identified is the study of the social and psychological consequences of using different family planning methods. A number of questions are challenging researchers in this shift, from accounting for adoption of family planning and for success in its utilization to the consequences for its users:

1. What effect on the moral codes is effective protection from pregnancy for unmarrieds likely to have?
2. What are the consequences on the marital relation of separating the pleasure of the sex act from reproduction?
3. What are the impacts in sex satisfaction, in marital adjustment, and in personal adjustment of adopting family planning in general and of utilizing specific methods in particular?

In their haste to solve the world population problem, the proponents of family planning have chosen sides on this issue without asking for much documentation. Some surprises may be in store for these advocates when the studies of the social psychological consequences dimension are terminated. Are the psychological consequences of repeated induced abortions in societies where these have been legalized as traumatic as supposed? Do marital adjustment and sex satisfaction fare better while using oral contraceptives than after surgical sterilization of one member of the couple? How do these users compare in their family integration and valuing of children with those who have used no methods or have used traditional contraceptives? Some studies of these matters have already been published. To answer these questions precisely requires a methodology peculiar to experimental design which, to date, has rarely been used in these consequence studies. I predict that the number of such studies will increase in the next decade.

Summary

What has been covered in this discussion of field-induced research on human fertility? I began by identifying the range of methodological stances of the disciplines working in what is known today as family planning research. I suggested that perhaps the focus of family planning research has become somewhat more the province of the family sociologist and the social psychologist than of the demographer and the economist, although the contributions of the latter have been of high significance in sensitizing national and international bodies to the urgency of taking action on the social problems associated with rapid population growth. The most appropriate unit of study has become the couple in its reproductive years, rather than the large aggregates of national societies utilized by the demographer and the economist. It is within the family unit that the reproductive decisions or non-decisions which constitute the population problem are made. The transactions between the couple and its immediate social network have tended to set the boundaries within which lie the subject matter of the new field, but the content of husband-wife interaction constitutes its focus. My subsequent discussion of the field's content and method was divided among three types of family planning research: the descriptive KAP type survey, the explanatory studies and the experimental evaluative researches.

The findings cited from the descriptive surveys have been encouraging for advocates of social action for they reveal world-wide preferences for relatively small families, widespread approval of family planning methods and interest in learning more about them. These same studies, however, show that families in the developing countries have very modest levels of information about and even less experience with modern contraceptive methods.

The explanatory findings cited divide between conditions at the macro-societal level necessary to precipitate social action in the form of national policies and programmes, including changes in the key institutions, and in the perception of the 'problem definers', the country's *élite*, on the one hand, and changes in the value orientations and decision-making organization of the country's childbearing couples, on the other. At this latter familial dimension, explanatory studies noted that effective fertility control requires both planful value orientations, knowledge about and acceptance of methods timed early enough in the marital career to be useful, and a type of marital organization characterized by open channels of communication and clear lines of authority and accountability to facilitate decision making in the sexual and reproductive areas.

The experimental studies undertaken, both pilot experiments and large-scale family planning programmes tend to affirm that educational and mass communication methods can speed up the adoption of new family planning methods for the sectors of the population already motivated to adopt some method, such as couples of high parity and couples who turn to abortion. These programmes are as yet achieving only modest results, however, with couples of low parity finding it difficult to commit themselves to a programme of regular use early enough in their marriage to avoid children in excess of the number they desire.

I concluded the article by identifying some emergent dimensions of research. These new dimensions have been generated both by changes in the nature of the population problem since family planning research began and by the illumination of the problem from the findings of these first researches. At the macrosocietal level the focus of research is changing from the study of conditions favouring countries recognizing the problems of population growth and formulating programmes of action, to the multifaceted dimension of the comparative success of different organizational strategies for reducing population growth.

At the microfamilial level, four new dimensions of research are emerging: (a) operational research on non-adopters utilizing feedback to change the programmes of persuasion and service to win the 'hard to reach' as a new clientele; (b) operational research on 'dropouts' to discover the contexts of discontinuance; (c) study of the timing dimension, that is the timing of marriage, of learning about birth control, and of crystallizing a desired family size, and its consequences for success in family planning; and (d) the study of the social and psychological consequences of family planning.

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APPENDIX: CENTRES UNDERTAKING FAMILY PLANNING RESEARCH

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Gerontological research: present situation and prospects

Paul Paillat

While, at the present time, the falling birth rate is inevitably bringing about an ageing of the population, that is to say an increase in the proportion of old people in the community (whether 60 or 65 be taken as the threshold of old age), medical advances have, for their part, resulted in a rise in the numbers of the elderly, and have given more and more adults a chance of reaching old age.[1] It should be borne in mind that the over-65s represent 8 to 12 per cent of the total population in the industrialized countries, as against 3 to 5 per cent in the developing countries, and also that we are dealing here with a phenomenon which has made itself felt in our century; except in the case of France, it was not till the period between the two world wars that ageing took on the proportions now familiar to us, and it was only comparatively that an exact diagnosis was established.[2] It is thus not surprising that it should have been primarily the number of older people that first attracted the attention of those concerned with social work, whether organized or voluntary: the consequence concealed the cause. A few illusions, still nourished by an understandable defensive reflex, concerning the increased longevity of the human race, are delaying the moment when the general public will become aware of the real facts of this problem, still—it must be admitted—shrouded in obscurity.

Concurrently with these demographic and medical developments, the countries in which they occurred were moving more clearly in the direction of industrialization and urbanization, with all the upheavals in family structures and interpersonal relations that such processes involve. The old see their place, already threatened by their rising numbers, still further circumscribed by the fact that they are no longer responsible for handing

1. For example, out of 100,000 Frenchmen over 50 years of age, 82,559 reached 65 and 71,800 reached 70 in 1964, as compared with 61,728 and 47,100 respectively in 1900. Moreover, a far larger proportion of the children born reach the age of 50, so that there is a substantial rise in the actual numbers of the elderly, though it is less than the rise for the young.
2. United Nations, *The Ageing of Populations and its Economic and Social Implications*, New York, 1956 (Population Trends and Problems, No. 26). See also: *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1963: 'Old Age', particularly the Introduction by Clark Tibbitts.

down tradition—itself subject to attack in consequence of the acceleration of technical progress—and that their authority over those younger than themselves has vanished, or is maintained only by artifices more like rear-guard actions than anything else.

In a society that sets such store upon physical beauty, youthful vigour, well-paid work and, ultimately, money, the elderly often feel rejected. Whether or not they are right, the fact remains that there are now many studies showing that, in prosperous societies, or those tending towards greater prosperity, there still remain large sections of poor people, prominent among whom are the older generations. Not only are private means too often modest or totally insufficient during the latter part of life, but community facilities and services for the assistance of the aged are not generally adapted to their express needs, and are sometimes indeed tragically inadequate.

Even so, we must find out what these needs are, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and be able to weigh up whether a particular form of action is on the desired lines, since good intentions are not enough by themselves. It is thus understandable that research workers in various branches of the social sciences should, little by little, have specialized, finally coming to be recognized under the new title of gerontologists.[1] Their position is now attested by an International Association of Gerontology (IAG) set up in 1950, and recognized by Unesco, which held its seventh triennial congress in Vienna (Austria), in 1966.

Because this new discipline is concerned with a sphere in which there is a far-reaching need for social work, and because here more than elsewhere research workers are in contact with caseworkers, it is hardly surprising that gerontology lends itself to oriented or planned research, half-way between basic and applied research. This tendency is reinforced, firstly, by the interdisciplinary character of the work undertaken and, secondly, by the aims to which that work is directed.

Interdisciplinary character

Gerontology is concerned, at one and the same time, with a situation and a process, with the ageing individual and with the group to which he belongs. It therefore calls for the co-operation of: doctors, physiologists and biologists, for the study of physical senescence; psychologists and psychiatrists, to measure the changes occurring with age in the mental, intellectual and affective state; sociologists, to study the relations of older persons with society and its various sections, and to evaluate the position accorded by society to the old (not omitting the study of life in institutions intended for them); demographers, to measure the extent of the phenomenon

1. In this article, the term 'gerontologist' is applied to research workers in all disciplines except those concerned with the medical and biological aspects of ageing. Medical practitioners, it will be remembered, are 'geriatrists'.

and the repercussions of the ageing of the population structure, and to outline future prospects; specialists from the social services handling casework, to draw up the necessary inventories and formulate the questions to be put to research workers, and to translate their advice into practice.

This list is in no way exhaustive and should also include, for example, economists, for global or sector analyses, specialists in occupational matters (including competent representatives of trade unions and employers), actuaries, financiers, etc.

This wide variety of specialities is matched by an extensive range of techniques. Setting aside the medical aspects, we find the usual methods employed in psychology and sociology: surveys based on quota or representative sampling, group surveys or monographs. In all these cases, the surveys are most often cross-sectional, but the advocates of longitudinal sampling are pressing their views ever more urgently, drawing attention to the dynamic aspect of ageing, which is at once an individual and collective state and an insidious or rapid but irreversible process. It is not so much matters of principle as material considerations that have set obstacles in the way of the development of longitudinal surveys; necessitating, as they would, a methodological effort, the major objection to them is that they take time, just when specialists are being pressed on all sides for a diagnosis, so that measures can be taken on behalf of older people.

Besides these surveys, which may cover the population as a whole or be restricted to certain sectors (ordinary households or institutions; active and unemployed persons; town and country-dwellers, etc.), we have statistical studies, based on censuses or similar operations, and the analysis of various records (for example, the files of the Ministry of Social Security). In recent years there has been a trend in favour of comparative international surveys. Even when the field is limited to societies of much the same economic and technical level, it is obvious that added difficulties of method and analysis attach to work of this kind, one of whose champions is Mr. H. Friis (the Director of Denmark's Institute for Social Research); nonetheless, this line of inquiry cannot be neglected at a time when big political and economic entities like the European community of the Six are being formed, with the harmonization of social overheads and the freedom of establishment and increasing interchange of people and services that such entities imply. It is not Utopian to suppose that, in the near future, retired people will often move to milder climes, since there have already been cases of migration of this sort. What appears to be still more significant in this confrontation is the spirit of emulation it may breed, from which the aged will eventually benefit.

Scope of research carried out or in progress

Anyone glancing through the proceedings of the IAG congresses must be struck by the variety of subjects dealt with, a variety so great as to leave an almost pointillist impression and to suggest doubts about the effectiveness of what is being done. At the seventh congress, no less than 1,000 papers were presented. Even when medical or biological texts are grouped separately, the others still make up an impressive volume.

To contend with this anarchic situation—inevitable so long as there is no system of co-ordination and planning—the association organizes seminars as well as its congresses, bringing together a limited number of participants to study specific themes; the quality of the papers, the interchange of knowledge and the pooling of ideas undoubtedly gain thereby, so that the lessons drawn, the new paths explored, the mistakes made and acknowledged, all help forward research, even within individual countries. Symposia of the same kind are organized at regional level by the various committees of the IAG, by the United Nations (e.g., the remarkable congress at Saltsjöbaden in Sweden, held in September 1966), or by other organizations such as the Council of Europe, OECD,[1] or the European Economic Community.

To bring out the principal lines of research in the last few years, reference may be made to the programmes of the fifth (San Francisco), sixth (Copenhagen), and seventh (Vienna) congresses of the IAG, the themes—the actual formulation of which may vary—being classified under the following heads:

Psychology: personality and adjustment; functioning of the intellect; attitudes towards death and the will to live; measurement of the psychological state and forecasting of its evolution; prophylaxis, treatment and rehabilitation of mentally ill and maladjusted old people; relations between social, psychological and physiological variables in the course of ageing.

Experimental psychology: analysis of reaction time; memory; training and problem-solving, reaction to tests; perception and detection of signals; factors involved in the modification of intellect; measurement of deterioration; changing of personality and of attitude; psychophysiology.

Sociology: role of the family, and family relations of the elderly; family and way of life; living conditions of the aged; changes in the family relationships of the aged in various cultures over the past fifty years; impact of social dynamics; age, work and social change; social problems connected with housing the aged; older people in community life, contrasts between urban and country-dwellers; psychological and social aspects of institution life.

Demography: demographic ageing (economically active population, total population, etc.); characteristics of the over-65 age group; mortality and longevity.

Economics: standard of living, consumption budgets of the aged; economic and social problems of retired people; extension of programmes designed to guarantee means for the aged; employment structure in relation to age and retirement; possibilities of employment and re-training

1. *Employment of Older Workers. Regional Seminar, Heidelberg,* Paris, OECD, 1965.

for workers over 50; judgement on policies regarding questions of retirement.

Social medicine: characteristics of the aged (health, morbidity); health and retirement; social medicine.

Applied social sciences: counselling, case studies and social services; social aspects of medicine; extension of social services for the aged; appraisal of needs with regard to home care; housing and social services directly connected with housing; activities for the aged, associations, preparation for retirement, clubs; leisure-time activities; old people's homes, the implications of recourse to institutions; recreation, adaptation, organization; institutional treatment; community organization; appraisal of needs in institutions; role of State services, local communities and voluntary organizations, with a view to extending measures for the assistance of the aged; co-ordination of social services; experimental social therapeutics.

Miscellaneous: training of staff at different levels; teaching of social gerontology.

Methodology: methodology of social research in applied gerontology; use of research findings in the development of social policy.

It is obvious at once that certain subjects can be dealt with only by a multidisciplinary team, for the fact that they are associated with a particular theme does not conceal the variety of problems raised and avenues of approach open to those tackling them. Certain interests shared by a number of research workers have no place in this classification: for example, the reintroduction of leisure time into our system of values, or the critical analysis of the various methods of studying the process of ageing.

It is, in any case, significant that the problem of the link-up between research and the application of its findings is represented in these programmes. This concern is not so clearly apparent in meetings of scientists dealing with other disciplines. This is in fact the mark of its urgency; societies do not know how to deal with this gift of progress, the mass appearance of a new age in life, the age of retirement.

Origin and purpose of research

As gerontology is still a young science, it is quite natural that, until recently, most studies were undertaken on the initiative of a single research worker, or a group, working on their own and often indifferent to possible applications. There will, incidentally, always be a place for initiative of this sort, which provides a means of guarding against the risk of conformism that may be involved in planned research. It would, moreover, be deplorable to penalize independent minds, when there is so much unknown territory still to be explored. It is in the light of the findings of such work that oriented gerontological research has been able to define its field of activity and its priorities.

For obvious practical reasons, measures had to be taken before studies could be made; it has been by checking the effectiveness of these measures and by seeking to extrapolate what was to be learnt from them, that applied research, often conducted by the social services themselves, has brought grist to the mill of oriented research.

This is being increasingly carried out at the instance of the public authorities, whether national or local. Where they exist, it is the ministries of social affairs, health, labour and housing which commission reports: some of these have set up special departments of their own, sometimes with a measure of independence, to deal with the problems of old age (e.g., the 'Special Staff on Aging', attached to the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the United States of America). At the same time, social security organizations are taking a keen interest in ageing; the relation between active and unemployed old people, development of superannuation and old-age pensions, arrangements for social assistance (equipment and services). It must not be overlooked that these organizations are advised of demands for the improvement of the lot of retired persons and that, even today, the reactions of those in charge of them (public authorities) are all too often governed by the political situation rather than by sound economic and social analysis.

Among other bodies commissioning research, mention should be made of the specialized foundations (like those existing in the United Kingdom and, latterly, in France): these provide liaison between the inquirers, who furnish part of the resources, and the research workers, who are thus no longer left entirely to their own devices. In this connexion, the National Corporation for the Care of Old People[1] has set an excellent example: it publishes and periodically brings up to date a survey of all work in progress (*Old Age. A Register of Social Research*), giving the following basic particulars about each research project: authority commissioning the work, director of research, broad outline and method, starting and finishing dates. This permanent register, complete with tables, provides a ready guide to the specialist in a given aspect of gerontology. It may be the result of undue modesty but the fact remains that no other country has any similar publication available, although certain national gerontological societies are active enough and have sufficient resources to discharge this function, since they successfully promote research work, especially medical research.

In the United States of America, universities, such as Michigan University, Ann Arbor, have set up specialized research units, but the need for co-ordination, or at any rate for exchange of information, has quickly become apparent: various committees provide for this, with the support of the 'Special Staff on Aging', whose headquarters are in Washington D.C. Their endeavours produced a notable result in the organization of the White House Conference on Aging, which crowned a wholes series

1. Address: Nuffield Lodge, Regent's Park, London N.W.1.

of meetings held at State level, with the assistance of the public authorities.[1]

Use of research findings

As in all other sciences, research must nourish further research: this is indeed the guarantee of progress, which may lie in the gaining of a deeper knowledge, in the broadening of knowledge (new domains, new avenues of approach), or in the challenging of what may sometimes have been too quickly taken for granted. Gerontologists have several means available for this essential pooling of knowledge:

1. Conferences, congresses and other seminars, which may include gerontologists only or may be organized in conjunction with specialists in other branches of study.
2. The bulletins of the regional committees of the IAG; the European Social Research Committee, for example, intermittently publishes a bulletin (Editor: Mr. S. Bergman, Tel Aviv, P.O. Box 11243) which has in part adopted the method of outlining projects used in the British register referred to above, and includes in addition a section dealing with publications.
3. The journals of gerontological societies, and independent reviews;[2] these, however, devote only a relatively small amount of space to social gerontology, which makes but a timid appearance among articles by doctors, biologists and psychometricians.
4. The publication of work done (in the form of separate books, reports for limited circulation, or articles in periodicals). The need for a systematic, annotated bibliography is ever more keenly felt, for it should not be assumed from the list above that the situation is wholly satisfactory to those who feel the lack of a reliable documentation service.[3]

Considering the field of study, and the nature of the inquirers, it may be wondered what practical use is made of the work done. This depends on several conditions:

1. The relations between inquirers and research workers (commissioning of work, financial and administrative support, personal contacts).
2. The existence of an appropriate body for following up reports (commission, research department, methodology department), without which findings are liable to be left languishing in some drawer.
3. Adherence to a programme and a time-table; these are two basic

1. See: *The Nation and its Older People. Report of the White House Conference on Aging, 1961*, Washington, D.C., United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This conference, held in January 1961, was attended by 2,800 delegates.
2. For example, *Journal of Gerontology*, Baltimore, Md. (United States of America); *Geriatrics*, Lancet Publications, Minneapolis, Minn. (United States of America); *Revue Française de Gérontologie*, 10 rue des Pyramides, 75 Paris-1er (France).
3. But note Nathan Shock, *A Classified Bibliography of Gerontology and Geriatrics*, Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1951 (suppl. 1957 and 1963).

features of oriented research; they are also major sources of difficulties, for the concerns of the users and the research workers are seldom the same, their mentalities differ as much as their methods—not to speak of their sense of time.

4. A favourable state of mind; co-operation between research workers and public authorities may begin with the joint working out of a programme, but three obstacles have to be overcome. The first is the formulation of the users' request: 'The greater the social significance of a question, the less apt it is to be answerable in terms of tightly designed experiments. However, many of these broad important questions can be broken into a series of more sharply focused questions which can be studied', observes Shock, quoted by E. S. Cohen in his paper presented to the seventh International Congress of Gerontology.[1] The research worker, incidentally, can assist with the formulation, so long as he does not regard the administrator as somebody who 'tends to over-simplify . . . wants to produce results that support preconceived notions, and is unwilling to assume the consequences of unfettered research'.[2]

The second obstacle is the lack of enthusiasm for programmes sometimes shown by the welfare services themselves.

The third is the distrust in which these departments hold the research worker, who, in their estimation, is 'impractical, doesn't understand the political implications of social change, and tends to be obscure, abstruse and theoretical'.[3]

As research workers are afraid of being kept too closely under control, or of having their ideas put into practice without sufficient precautions, it will readily be understood that there is still a long way to go before application can become a matter of course. We are still at the very beginning. Rather paradoxically, the reaction of public opinion against the abuses of 'technocracy' might well induce the public authorities to secure the co-operation of specialists to a greater extent, before embarking upon a particular course of action.[4]

There are several favourable factors, in France, which make it possible to overcome these three obstacles.

To begin with, the public authorities have for a long time commanded the services of the sort of staff who can formulate requests to research workers, either in the research institutions in the public sector of the

1. Elias S. Cohen, 'Cultural and Organizational Factors Affecting the Use of Research Findings in Setting Social Policy for the Ageing in the United States', *Proceedings. 7th International Congress of Gerontology, Vienna, 1966*, Vol. 6, p. 363-6, Verlag der Wiener Medizinischen Akademie.
2. E. S. Cohen, loc. cit.
3. E. S. Cohen, loc. cit.
4. Theoretically, the term 'technocracy', much in vogue in France, denotes the concession of certain powers to technicians who are regarded as abusing them, to the detriment of the democratic processes of consultation and decision making. But what is understood by 'technicians'? Sometimes it is the interested parties who parade this title. As A. Sauvy observes, a 'technocrat' is a 'technician' whose views one does not share!

economy, or within the 'Commissariat Général du Plan'. The existence of the latter eliminates the second obstacle and minimizes the third: despite its limited functions, the Commissariat has done much to foster a state of mind favourable to the confrontation of officials and research workers, and to implant the notion of programming.

To be more precise, it may be noted in this context that one of the Commissions du Plan—the commission on health and social services (responsible for work on behalf of the aged)—has set up a working party on statistics and methods. This working party, which took part in the preparation of the Fifth Plan, operates freely as a 'joint thinking' unit: apart from a small permanent nucleus, it can call upon such and such an expert for advice in considering some particular point. It has applied itself to drawing up a balance sheet of work undertaken on behalf of the weakest sections of the population, including older people. For this purpose, which is what concerns us here, it has the collaboration of the public services and private organizations in ascertaining the numbers of the population concerned, in cataloguing facilities and services, according to the various methods of action (institutions, assistance and home care, etc.), and in drawing up a list of the studies completed or in progress bearing upon the points under consideration. At a later stage, the team will tackle an important question: the evaluation of the effectiveness of the work done, aspect by aspect. For the moment, their endeavours are directed to establishing what the situation is and clarifying the problems. This work should help to fix priorities for the research to be undertaken with the support of the public authorities.

Oriented research also comes under the Délégation à la Recherche Scientifique et Technique, a body responsible for submitting proposals to the Prime Minister for the allocation of funds by reference to a programme, worked out section by section—in liaison, of course, with the Commissariat du Plan—so as to ensure that the aims of the plan, either in progress or under study, are achieved.

Considering the urgency of the needs, the government set up a commission of inquiry into the problems of old age, which, under the chairmanship of P. Laroque, a member of the Council of State, submitted the outlines of a policy in this domain. The work of that commission in 1960-61 foreshadowed the development of oriented research in gerontology, especially as the commission was obliged to note, and deplore, that the information at its disposal was very inadequate.

Conclusion

The prospects for oriented research in gerontology seem promising, for a practical reason: it is, indeed, to be feared that the amount of resources to be allocated will not keep up with the rise in the number of those benefiting from the efforts of the community, considering that there are substantial arrears to be made good. It will thus be necessary to administer a dearth of funds, or, to put it another way, to make the most of the means available —and this, in our estimation implies an inevitable need for planned research.[1] It would surely be a great pity if, prompted by fine intentions but ill informed, we were to squander the modest share of resources apportioned by modern societies to their older citizens.

[*Translated from French*]

1. It was to fill this gap that, at the instance of P. Laroque and Professor Bourlière, and with the assistance of the public authorities and Social Security organizations, the Fondation Nationale de Gérontologie (National Foundation of Gerontology) has just been created, which will, it is hoped, act as the body commissioning and co-ordinating research.

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Sociological studies on mental health and mental disorder

† Arnold M. Rose

We are here concerned with the sub-discipline known as 'psychiatric sociology'. This term is in the process of replacing 'social psychiatry' in respect of the study of social aspects of mental disorder and mental health because in recent decades the psychiatrists have developed a range of therapies involving social relations which they have chosen to call 'social psychiatry'. Rather than dispute with psychiatrists over who has prior claim to the term, the interested sociologists (and recently the interested psychologists) have renamed their discipline 'psychiatric sociology'.

There are two distinct interests among psychiatric sociologists which together define the field: one is to understand the entities 'mental illness' and 'mental health' as social phenomena in their nature, causation and therapy; the other is to study behaviour marginally related to mental illness and mental health in the same way that a medical sociologist studies behaviour marginally related to physical illness and physical health. The latter studies are increasingly being accepted among both the medical profession and the social scientists, as the sociologist merely supplements the psychiatrist in his scientific capacity, but the former will remain controversial as it means the replacement of the psychiatrist by the sociologist in his scientific capacity as well as a complete new form of non-medical training for the therapist. Certain older psychiatrists—such as Harry Stack Sullivan—implied that their training as medical men was largely irrelevant, but it has been left to contemporary psychiatrists and sociologists to state this outright and explicitly. Those who deny the organic basis of functional mental disorders and interpret them solely in sociological and psychological terms include the psychiatrist Thomas Szasz,[1] the anthropologist Ernest Becker,[2] and the sociologist Thomas Scheff.[3]

1. Thomas Szasz, *The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct*, New York, Hoeber-Harper, 1961.
2. Ernest Becker, *The Revolution in Psychiatry: The New Understanding of Man*, New York, Free Press, 1964.
3. Thomas J. Scheff, *Being Mentally Ill: A Sociological Theory* Chicago, Ill., Aldine Publishing Co., 1966.

While the theories of these three men differ somewhat, their general orientation is that what is called mental illness consists of individuals adopting meanings and values for their thought and behaviour which deviate sharply from what is common in the society in which they physically live.

Some of the older psychiatric sociologists adopted partially sociological explanations for specific mental illnesses, which attributed a part of the aetiology to certain social phenomena, but did not go so far as to say that existing psychotherapy would be of no benefit in treatment. For example, H. Warren Dunham's hypothesis that schizophrenia has an important root in social isolation has elicited a good deal of research and has even been discussed objectively by some psychiatrists. The newer writers—like Szasz, Becker and Scheff—hold that medical training provides a wrong orientation for a psychiatrist and that psychiatric training should be based on anthropology-sociology; of course there are few psychiatrists who are willing to discuss this proposal seriously. Their position has been strengthened in recent years by the discovery of the tranquillizers and other 'wonder drugs' which have been found to restore the mental equilibrium and 'contact with reality' of even long-standing mental patients—implying that there is some organic basis to the functional psychoses and that medically-trained personnel are needed to administer drugs and other therapies (e.g., shock) in addition to psychotherapy (e.g., deep interview therapy) and the various social therapies (e.g., group therapy).

A few contemporary psychiatric sociologists (e.g., Arnold M. Rose)[1] have tackled this problem from a third position, which satisfies neither the organicist psychiatrists nor the symbolic sociologists. The argument offered is that some 'unusual' social situation (e.g., a traumatic experience) disrupts body functioning to an unusual extent (e.g., persistent loss of sleep; continuous high nervous tension) over a long period of time, and that the change in body functioning upsets the chemical balance within which the nervous system operates so that there are behaviour abnormalities. Effective therapy, according to this theory, involves two actions taken together: (a) restoration of the chemical balance of the body by chemical or other organic means; (b) removing the mentally ill patient from the social situation which gave rise to his body malfunctioning or aiding him to 'redefine the social situation' so that it is no longer traumatic or otherwise disturbing to his body and mental functioning. In support of this approach, the advocates point out that, while the wonder drugs restore 'contact' and even permit removal from the mental hospital, they practically never provide a permanent cure, and the patient usually returns to the psychiatrist's care within a year after his ostensible 'cure' by the drugs, unless some drastic social or psychological therapy is also used. This 'middle way' approach would require that the psychiatrist be a social scientist, rather than biologically trained, but that the patient also

1. Arnold M. Rose, 'A Social Psychological Theory of Neurosis', *Transactions of the Fourth World Congress of Sociology, Milan-Stresa, 1959*, Louvain (Belgium), International Sociological Association, 1961, p. 250-2.

be under the care and treatment of a medical man for diagnosis of how much his body functioning has deteriorated and deviated, and for administration of wonder drugs to restore the chemical balance of the body. (The evidence seems to indicate that the effects of shock therapy are as readily, but more easily, obtained by oral administration of certain drugs.) The drugs often have unfavourable side effects among many individuals, and it is necessary to watch for and counteract these.

It is quite possible that what we now think of as functional disorders—e.g., schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychoses, involutional melancholia—will later be found to have a partially organic basis. It is equally possible that what we now think of as organic mental disorders—e.g., the toxic psychoses, general paresis, feeble-mindedness—will be found to have a partially sociogenic or psychogenic origin. In fact, some important discoveries of these types have already been made. Thus it seems desirable to maintain a liaison between the sociologist and the biologist in the analysis of the aetiology of mental disorders. In any case, it has been shown that successful therapies require knowledge and technique from both disciplines.

We now turn to the aspects of psychiatric sociology that do not challenge the current organic or psychological interpretation of mental disorder. There are many of them, and we shall illustrate each with a single study rather than a comprehensive survey of all the many studies that have been done. The field of psychiatric sociology dates back to 1915,[1] and empirical research was well under way by the 1920s, so that it is in one of the more established sub-fields of sociology. Further, it has participated in the generous subventions provided by the National Institute of Mental Health since the early 1950s, so that there is considerable research in the field.

The first systematic researches in psychiatric sociology were what today are called epidemiological studies, but which were then considered part of the 'ecological' studies engaged in by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess and their students at the University of Chicago in the 1920s. The classic work here, still valid, was later published by R. E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham under the title, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939). These investigators took all known cases of mental illness, as recorded in the mental hospitals of the city of Chicago, at a certain time period and plotted them on a map of the city—keeping a distinguishing mark for each diagnostic category. They discovered that: (a) schizophrenia was found particularly concentrated in the poorer areas of the city, especially among the recent migrants from the rural area and among some of the children of the immigrants from abroad; (b) manic-depressive psychoses were concentrated in certain middle-class areas of the city (especially where status mobility was great, as in areas occupied by second-generation Jewish adults); (c) general paresis and the alcoholic psychoses were concentrated in areas of the city in which there were concentrations of homeless men and lower-class Negroes. These data were

1. Thomas D. Eliot, in: Arnold M. Rose (ed.), *Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach*, New York, W. W. Norton Co., 1955, Ch. 1.

based on prevalence rates, of course, and it remained in dispute—even after many replicative studies were done in other cities—whether the same patterns would hold up if incidence rates were used.[1]

The outstanding recent work to take up this question in regard to the relation between social class and the incidence of schizophrenia is A. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich's *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York, Wiley, 1958). While the authors find a relationship between high incidence of schizophrenia and lower social class, the relationship is many times as great between prevalence of schizophrenia and social class. This means that the lower social class schizophrenics get less treatment and are less likely to be 'cured' when treated. The authors suggest that there is a significant communication hiatus between psychiatrists and their lower-class, uneducated patients. There is also the lack of financial resources on the part of the poor to pay for expensive psychiatric services. But perhaps most important of all is the fact that there is nothing in the way of life of some poor people that will allow them to be 'cured' in terms of 'normal' American cultural standards. Their way of life is alienated and deviant; they have grown up that way and nothing but a thoroughgoing re-socialization and re-education would make them more socially acceptable.

During the course of their investigations into pre-literate small societies of diverse cultures all over the world, some social anthropologists have noted manifestations of mental illness in these societies.[2] The first impressions left by such casual observations are that: (a) small, 'simple' highly integrated societies have lower incidence and prevalence of mental illness than do our 'mass' heterogeneous and urbanized society; (b) the manifestations or expressions of mental illness are often quite different from society to society; (c) the extended family in the highly integrated community tends to 'absorb' the deviant personality; that is, his potentially disruptive impact on the society as a whole is cushioned by accommodations made by family members and neighbours to his peculiarities, and he is 'protected' by them from the potentially lethal consequences of his social incapacity.

Further study—some of which we shall now proceed to report—indicates that the first conclusion is wrong. It is wrong partly because of the other two conclusions: (a) it is difficult to recognize mental disturbances in some societies; (b) the mentally ill person in the small society is much less likely to be singled out of his social 'context' or to have any damaging impact on his community or on himself. The most comprehensive study by a sociologist of mental illness in a highly-integrated society has been that of Joseph W. Eaton working with the psychiatrist Robert J. Weil.[3] The society they

1. A summary of social epidemiological studies up to 1955 is contained in Arnold M. Rose and Holger R. Stub, 'Summary of Studies on the Incidence of Mental Disorders', in: A. M. Rose (ed.), *Mental Health and Mental Disorder*, op. cit., Ch. 5.
2. Marvin Opler has pulled together most of these descriptions in his edited volume, *Culture and Mental Health, Cross-Cultural Studies*, New York, Macmillan, 1959. Also see M. Opler, *Culture, Psychiatry and Human Values*, Springfield, Ill., Charles Thomas, 1956.
3. Joseph W. Eaton in collaboration with Robert J. Weil, *Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of the Hutterites and Other Populations*, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1955.

studied was that of the Hutterites, a religious fundamentalist group living in west central Canada, who have rigorous standards of conduct for their members, and who estrange themselves from their modernized neighbours. Since these people rarely allowed their deviant members to be institutionalized in the larger Canadian society, the method of investigation included a brief person-to-person psychiatric diagnosis as to the state of mental health. The authors found that the total incidence of mental illness among the Hutterites was about the same as that found in the general Canadian or American societies, but the distribution of illnesses among the usual diagnostic categories was quite different. Sheltering and tolerating behaviour of other members of the society toward the mentally deviant was also found.

Another sociological investigation which helped to shatter the stereotype of the non-existence of mental illness among simpler, more highly integrated societies was that by Herbert Goldhamer and Andrew Marshall.[1] They were able to get prevalence data on mental illness for the state of Massachusetts back to 1840, when presumably it had been a much simpler and more homogeneous society. The statistics showed that, when the increased number of older people now living on in contemporary society was held constant (as was necessary because old people always did have a higher rate of mental illness than did younger or middle-aged people), the recorded rate of mental illness had not changed much over the century since 1840. The study showed no evidence that the strained, industrialized, urbanized life of modern Massachusetts was more productive of mental illness than the society a hundred years earlier. There was one mistaken inference drawn by some readers of this study—that Massachusetts society in 1840 had been one without strain and stress. Actually, Massachusetts in 1840 was at an early stage of the Industrial Revolution and it imposed great stress on its members through long hours of work, low pay and little social security.

As a matter of fact, this type of misconception runs through much of the popular thought about 'primitive' highly integrated societies: the course of life does not usually run smoothly in them, and the strains they impose on the individual may be just as great—although of a different character—as those imposed on the average individual in our contemporary cities. The cities may be more anomic (except for the nuclear family) but modern life affords much more economic security, offers greater freedom of choice and more leisure time. While measures of anomie are not available for periods of time back to the early Industrial Revolution or before it, it seems likely that the alienation of the individual from the groups and institutions of his society was greatest at an earlier phase of the Industrial Revolution, when the old agricultural order was breaking down and the new institutional structure of urban civilization was not yet developed enough to incorporate the masses of people moving into it. As the urban culture has become more diversified and structured during the past one hundred years or more, new

1. *Psychosis and Civilization*, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1953.

forms of mass participation and personal security have developed. There are very definite 'reactions to the mass society' characteristic of contemporary society,[1] of which those who bemoan the strains and stresses of modern life seem to be unaware. It is still unfortunately popular to write of modern urban society as a producer of mental illnesses although such thinking neglects the newer institutional developments and the careful researches bearing directly on the question.[2] The more recent developments and research findings do not mean that modern society does not produce alienated individuals who then become candidates for deviancy and mental illness. While we believe that mental illness is a great deal more complex and more varied than is implied in the statement that the stresses and alienation of modern civilization are the cause of mental illness, it is still possible to recognize the validity of the proposition that those who are most subject to the structural strains and stresses of any society are the ones who—other factors being constant—are most susceptible to mental illness. But there is no reason to believe that our society has more stresses and strains, and no evidence for the contention that our society produces more mental illness.

While all this is true, it remains a moot question as to what mental illness is, and who has it. Psychiatrists frequently disagree over a given patient as to whether he should be called mentally ill, and if so what his diagnosis and prognosis is. It is increasingly recognized that mental illness is a matter of degree, not of kind. The sociologist Leo Srole, working with a team of psychiatrists, directed interviewers who collected information as to symptoms and other evidences or history of disturbed behaviour among a representative sample of persons in Manhattan, New York City. This information was then evaluated by the psychiatrists separately and their findings compared. Different cutting points were used to measure the seriousness of the mental disturbances among these so called 'normal' people, but according to the highest criterion, about 80 per cent of the population could be described as being psychiatrically disturbed in some way.[3]

The study of role relations in mental hospitals considered as social institutions has proved to be a useful part of psychiatric sociology. The earliest studies of this type go back to the 1930s,[4] but the study which had an impact on psychiatrists and hospital administrators was that by Alfred H. Stanton and Morris S. Schwartz, published in 1954.[5] The sociologist was

1. Arnold M. Rose, 'Reactions to the Mass Society', *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 3, October 1962, p. 316-30.
2. Not only careless journalists repeat this stereotype, but it has the sanction of such influential intellectuals as Erich Fromm. See his *Escape from Freedom*, New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1941; *Man For Himself*, New York, Rinehart, 1947; and *The Sane Society*, New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1955.
3. Leo Srole *et al.*, *Mental Health in the Metropolis: The Midtown Manhattan Study*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1962.
4. Howard Rowland, 'Interaction Processes in the State Mental Hospital', *Psychiatry*, Vol. I, August 1938, p. 323-37. Another early study, although it was not published until 1960, was H. Warren Dunham and S. Kirson Weinberg, *The Culture of the State Mental Hospital*, Detroit, Mich., Wayne State University Press, 1960.
5. *The Mental Hospital: A Study of Institutional Participation in Psychiatric Illness and Treatment*, New York, Basic Books, 1954.

listed as junior author in this book, but the contents suggest that be made the major contribution. The study examined the intricate relationships among therapist, clinical and medical director, nurses, aides, special service supervisors and patients. The most significant finding of the study was that when the structure of the hospital staff worked smoothly, the patients' behaviour was calm if not less psychotic, but when there was conflict among members of the staff—often arising from lack of clarity in the formal or informal organization—this reflected itself in greater overt disturbances, including incontinence, among the patients.

This finding has parallels for other large-scale institutions—such as prisons, business firms, military units, and so on, although of course the behaviour of the rank-and-file members takes on a different disturbed form in each different setting. Erving Goffman has studied the remarkable similarities among what he calls 'total institutions': prisons, mental hospitals, military units, convents, in which categories of individuals live their whole daily lives and in which major decisions affecting their lives are made for them by others.[1]

The relationships to mental patients by others have been extended from hospital personnel to others. A group of sociologists at the National Institute of Mental Health[2] has studied the relationship of family members to the mental patients—their willingness to recognize the existence of the disturbed behaviour, their own adjustments of behaviour, how they take steps to bring the patient to psychiatric attention and treatment, how they cope with the financial and status problems associated with having a close relative under psychiatric treatment, the information they give to others about the mentally ill relative. This research has in turn given rise to two other topics for study: (a) the full range of 'paths to the mental hospital,' that is, the diverse ways in which one becomes a patient in private or public hospitals; (b) what happens to the patient, in relationship to his family and community, and in terms of his own changed behaviour, when he is released from the hospital. Howard Freeman and Ozzie G. Simmons[3] have conducted an extensive study on the latter problems, although without finding clues as to what makes for successful living after release from the hospital. Some highly promising therapy within the mental hospital, which has led to an early date of release, has often proved to be non-continuing into the post-hospital phase.[4] Still another study—by Pasamanick, Scarpitti and Dinitz[5] demonstrated the feasibility and efficacy of the home care of acutely ill schizophrenic patients, using drugs and public health nurses. This study used a controlled experimental research design, and found that three-fourths of

1. Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Garden City, N.Y., Anchor Books, 1961.
2. *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1955.
3. *The Mental Patient Comes Home*, New York, J. Wiley & Sons, 1963.
4. See, for example, George W. Fairweather, *Social Psychology in Treating Mental Illness: An Experimental Approach*, New York, J. Wiley & Sons, 1964.
5. Benjamin Pasamanick, Frank Scarpitti and Simon Dinitz, *Schizophrenics in the Community*, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967.

those who would usually be cared for in the mental hospital were satisfactorily cared for in their private homes.

Psychiatrists have come to recognize a category of therapy which can be called 'social'—that is, a deliberate restructuring and manipulation of the patient's social relationships. This has long included such techniques as group therapy, sociodrama and certain kinds of occupational and recreational therapy. More recently, psychiatric sociologists have suggested additional techniques and have seen some of them adopted in various hospitals or programmes: techniques such as Fairweather's method of having the patients make their own decisions as to how rapidly they could resume taking specific responsibilities, use of half-way houses between the hospital and the patient's family home as a period of transition, more effective use of the community mental health centre for both prevention and cure of mental illnesses. Some psychiatric sociologists are studying the effectiveness of these and other techniques of therapy through standard evaluation-research procedures.

We shall next turn to two related categories of studies in psychiatric sociology. One is the ascertaining of public opinion in regard to the nature, causation, prospects for cure, after effects, etc., of mental illness, and the other is the outcome of public health efforts to correct or improve these attitudes. The public's attitude toward mental illness is, in one sense, a part of the context in which a mental illness develops, because a mental illness is not merely a significant distortion of body, mental or behavioural functioning, but an interpretation of that functioning as a mental disorder on the part of the public. Further, part of the chances of getting a programme of prevention or cure depends on the public's understanding and willingness to accept such a programme. For example, a patient discharged from a mental hospital is never going to be a 'normal' person again unless the community in which he lives is willing to accept him as 'cured'.

A number of studies have been undertaken, among samples of both adults and youth, to ascertain public opinion toward mental illness and mental health.[1] We shall single out one of them—that reported by John C. Nunally of the University of Illinois[2]—for closer examination. The

1. Arnold M. Rose, 'Attitudes of Youth Toward Mental Health Problems', *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 41, May-June 1957, p. 343-8; 'Mental Health Attitudes of Youth as Influenced by a Comic Strip', *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 35, summer 1958, p. 333-42; 'Attitudes of Youth Toward Mental Illness: A Comparative Study', unpublished manuscript, 1967. Howard E. Freeman and Gene G. Kassebaum, 'Relationship of Education and Knowledge to Opinions About Mental Illness', *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 44, January 1960, p. 43-7. Gerald Gurin, Joseph Veroff and Sheila Field, *Americans View Their Mental Health*, New York, Basic Books, 1960. John C. Nunally, *Popular Conceptions of Mental Health*, New York, Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1961. Glen V. Ramsey and Melita Seipp, 'Attitudes and Opinions Concerning Mental Illness', *Psychiatric Quarterly*, Vol. 22, July 1948, p. 428-44. Elmo Roper and associates, *People's Attitudes Concerning Mental Health*, New York, private publication, 1950. Shirley Star, 'The Public's Ideas About Mental Illness', unpublished paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the National Association for Mental Health, Indianapolis, 1955. Julian L. Woodward, 'Changing Ideas on Mental Illness and Its Treatment', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 16, August 1951, p. 443-54.
2. *Popular Conceptions of Mental Illness: Their Development and Change*, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961.

'public opinion' in this study was taken from three communities in the United States. The questions asked were selected from a larger pool of possible questions according to whether there was consensus among a group of experts—fifty psychiatrists and fifty clinical psychologists—as to the correct answers. These experts were not only asked for their personal answers to the substantive questions, which were then used as a standard of correctness, but also what they thought the public ought to believe and say in their answers to these questions. The subject matter of the questions was categorized, and these categories were used as classifications in a content analysis of a large sample of the output of the mass media in the three studied communities. Thus, a three-way comparison could be made among public opinion, expert opinion, and the 'messages' or 'images' given out to the public by the mass media. Using the expert opinion as the standard, public opinion was much closer to being correct about mental illness than were the contents of the mass media, which were at the time of the study engaged in positive distortion of the nature of mental illness. It is a matter of speculation as to how the public came to be so well informed. It was not by the oral tradition being passed along from older persons to youth, because young adults had more correct opinions than did older ones. It must have been the meagre educational programme offered by schools and other reliable sources, coupled with the intelligent selectivity of information and experience with mentally ill persons on the part of the public. The Nunally study was a factor in convincing the mass media directors of the United States that they should improve the quality and accuracy of their programmes and other material on mental illness.

A number of efforts have been made to educate segments of the public into a more accurate and more tolerant frame of mind toward mental illness and its treatment. Sociologists have sometimes participated in the public health programmes and have sometimes done systematic evaluation of them. One of the more spectacular efforts and studies of some years ago was that by John and Elaine Cumming.[1] The husband in this team is a psychiatrist who directed a large-scale public health education programme on mental health in a city in western Canada. The wife—a sociologist—assisted in the programme but was mainly responsible for the research evaluation. It was a year-long programme, involving a great variety of adult educational techniques. As the year wore on, it became increasingly evident that not only was little of the education getting across, but that the community was increasingly active in resisting the efforts to inform them about mental illness. Before the year was out, the team was practically asked to get out of town. Elaine Cumming attributed this to a natural resistance on the part of people, through fear and anxiety about their

1. *Closed Ranks: An Experiment in Mental Health Education*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1957. For a general survey of evaluation studies on mental health programmes see: National Advisory Mental Health Council, *Evaluation in Mental Health*, Washington, D.C., National Institute of Mental Health, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1955.

own mental stability and toward any experience with mental illness. While no doubt there are some individuals who go out of their way to shun the mentally ill or any discussion of them, there are also those who are especially curious about mental illness, and a great number who feel sympathy for the mentally ill even if they are partially misinformed about them. While adult education generally in the United States has had a very dubious success, there is no evidence outside the Cumming's study that any effort to educate people about mental illness must necessarily be much less successful than other adult education ventures.

Another study will be reported here on a small-scale effort to educate another segment of the public about mental illness.[1] The programme was simply an episode in a regular syndicated comic strip in which a nice-looking young man develops paranoid delusions, alienates himself from his job and his friends, almost kills his wife, but is successfully treated by a psychiatrist through electro-shock therapy and resumes a normal place in the community. The comic strip, which regularly appears in newspapers throughout the United States, is written by a psychiatrist as a side-business, and the strip consists of a series of episodes about medical problems of all sorts, with continuity provided by the story of the general practitioner and his nurse who handle the various medical cases. The paranoid episode lasted about three months, and a before-and-after study of a cross-section of 15-year-old youths in a large American city where the morning newspaper carried this comic strip was conducted. The study's instrument was a questionnaire including a large variety of questions about mental illness, its causes and cures, its comparison to other illnesses, and the comic strip reading habits of the respondents. Two general conclusions emerged from the study: (a) the specific informational 'messages' of the comic strip had a slight, but positive, effect in increasing the information, and improving the attitudes, of the strip's regular readers; (b) there was no loss of readership; if anything, a slight gain during the period in which the paranoid episode substituted for a narrative about other medical problems. The comic strip, called 'Rex Morgan, M.D.', has had a continuing success in the daily newspapers, and on a couple of occasions since the 1955 episode studied has used cases of mental disturbances for its changing subject matter. It seems obvious that some techniques of education are more effective than others and will have differential effectiveness in different segments of the population.

Another psychiatric topic on which research sociologists have made a definite contribution is psychotic, neurotic or psychopathic reactions under extreme stress. Psychiatrists have not built up much experience with conditions of extreme stress, so that the sociologist who uses his systematic techniques to study these conditions is often making a novel contribution. Sociologists have studied human behaviour under heavy

1. Arnold M. Rose, 'Mental Health Attitudes of Youth as Influenced by a Comic Strip', *Jounalism Quarterly*, Vol. 35, summer 1958, p. 333-42.

bombing in wartime, under the impact of natural disasters, at times of personal catastrophe. We shall illustrate these studies by one conducted in a combat division during the Second World War.[1] The technique of getting data was through a questionnaire, self-administered in most cases, but answered with the aid of an interviewer when the subject was unable —because of illiteracy or of mental agitation—to answer the written questions directly. The questions were designed to test a host of hypotheses about behaviour under stress as well as to measure deviancy in that behaviour itself. Questionnaires were filled out—under conditions of privacy, anonymity and protection from military reprisals—by soldiers who had just been withdrawn from their combat outfits because of neurotic behaviour under fire, by soldiers who had deserted from their active combat outfits, and by a representative sample of soldiers in the same outfits who had neither deserted nor had to be pulled out because of uncontrolled and irresponsible neurotic behaviour. Some of the major findings were:

1. Neurotic soldiers were not distinguished from 'normal' soldiers by a prior history of neurotic behaviour or symptoms, probably because the usual screening processes utilized by the Army had already fairly well screened out the obvious neurotics before the soldiers reached combat.
2. Soldiers who were first thrust into combat as individual replacements had a much higher rate of neurotic behaviour under combat than those who were first thrust into combat as part of a continuing military unit.
3. Soldiers whose first experience with combat was a harsh one—that is, when the pace of combat was severe and dangerous—had a much higher rate of neurotic behaviour than those whose first experience with combat was a mild one. The latter seemed to 'learn' how to adjust to extreme stress, whereas the former had no opportunity to do so and seemed to be partially traumatized from the start.
4. The psychiatrists who screened the neurotics out of the combat outfits were more likely to pull out for permanent reassignment in rear echelon posts those who had responsible leadership positions, whereas they sent back into combat—after a short period of rest and retraining—the ordinary soldiers who might have shown even more initially disturbed behaviour.

1. The director of the study was Arnold M. Rose, then a member of the Research Branch, Information and Education Division, United States Army. The findings have been published in the following articles: 'The Social Psychology of Desertion from Combat', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 16, October 1951, p. 614-29; 'Factors in Mental Breakdown in Combat', in Arnold M. Rose, *Mental Health and Mental Disorder*, New York, W. W. Norton, 1955, p. 291-313; 'Conscious Reactions Associated with Neuropsychiatric Breakdown in Combat', *Psychiatry*, Vol. 19, February 1956, p. 87-95; 'Neuropsychiatric Breakdown in the Garrison Army and in Combat', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, August 1956, p. 480-8; 'Official *vs* Administrative Criteria for Classification of Combat Breakdown Cases', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 3, September 1958, p. 185-94.

We could continue to report different kinds of research in psychiatric sociology, but enough has been presented to indicate the scope of subject matter and the varied methodologies used in making the studies. We shall turn our attention now to the organization of the sub-discipline. It is developing rapidly in output of researches, although not necessarily so in quality or scope, because of: (a) the rapid increase of public interest in mental disturbance generally; (b) the creation during the 1950s of research sponsors with considerable funds to support this kind of research—notably the United States Government's National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) and special programmes of the Ford Foundation and other philanthropic foundations; (c) the growing interest of psychiatrists in the contributions which sociologists can make to their field and their increasing willingness to collaborate with sociologists. While research reports and other articles by psychiatric sociologists continue to find their main publication outlet in general sociological and psychiatric journals, in 1955 the *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* was started in England. In 1965, its editor, Joshua Bierer, sponsored a world congress of social psychiatry in London, and it is expected that there may be others in the future. In 1967, the NIMH started publication of *Mental Health Digest*, to provide brief reports on publications, research in progress and developments in the field of mental health and mental illness.

Most of the psychiatric sociologists in the United States find their professional organizational affiliation in the United States in the Society for the Study of Social Problems, which meets annually, has a journal *Social Problems*, and since 1952 has had a permanent research Committee on Psychiatric Sociology which sponsors an annual programme of papers in the field. Most of the persons in this informal committee are also members of the American Sociological Association, which in some years sponsors programmes of research papers under the auspices of its more comprehensive Section on Social Psychology or Section on Medical Sociology. At the third World Congress of Sociology in Amsterdam in 1956, a group of sociologists met informally and decided to form a permanent group whose main functions would be (a) to publish an occasional newsletter to inform each other of current research activities in psychiatric sociology around the world; (b) to sponsor a programme of papers to be read at the then triennial congresses of sociology. At the fourth World Congress of Sociology in Stresa in 1959, this group became a permanent research committee of the International Sociological Association (ISA), and in 1963, it added the function of sponsoring cross-national researches. The first two of the latter were on: (a) the prevalence of mental disorders as related to differentials in socio-demographic categories; (b) attitudes of youth toward mental illness. The former relied on official schedules, sometimes adopted by the officials of a co-operating country as a result of prodding by a member of the ISA committee. The latter relied on questionnaires administered in the schools. Research on both topics developed slowly but, by 1966, four countries were collaborating on the first study and nine on the second.

There are also influences retarding the development of psychiatric sociology: (a) there is an insufficient number of sociologists outside the United States who are interested in the problems of psychiatric sociology, or they have this as only a marginal interest; (b) when the psychiatrists or psychologists occasionally tackle the problems of psychiatric sociology, they neglect the preceding research done by sociologists; (c) there is also a theoretical gap between the psychiatrists, the psychologists and the sociologists which makes effective collaboration among them difficult; the sociologist generally has a much broader definition of social influences and their role in human behaviour and he has less willingness to come up with immediate, practical solutions to the psychiatrist's problems.

Towards an overview of youth sociology

Leopold Rosenmayr

The notion of youth

For our purposes here it may be useful to indicate which age groups are meant when we use the term youth. Roughly, we have in mind the population between 13 and 24 years but a distinction must be made between adolescents, on the one hand, and 'young people' or young adults, on the other. Sociologically it is meaningful to subdivide 'youth', although different ways of doing this are possible. The period of adolescence with all the physiological changes it involves is practically over at the age of 18; in some social and ethnic groups and in some geographical regions of the world much earlier.

As a rule, it takes some time before the individual's full psychological reaction to physiological change sets in, leading to new attitudes and forms of behaviour which we classify as 'adolescent'.

The age for the onset of physiological and biological puberty, although in itself a complex phenomenon,[1] has come down considerably, during the last seventy-five years; and the variance in certain measurable variables of puberty has probably increased; biological maturation in a relatively homogeneous population is probably less homogeneous than it was fifty years ago. Dating starts earlier, and also premarital sexual activities and relations.[2]

The age of 18 is quite important in the legislation of many countries. It is a result as well as a cause of social demarcations. Within the group from 13 to 18 great differences can be found in size and the external manifestations of biological maturation. The distinctions within these groups are sociologically meaningful according to their participation

1. Cf. J. M. Tanner, *Growth at Adolescence*, Oxford, 1955; A. Schwenk, 'Fragen zur Entwicklungsakzeleration in städtischen und ländlichen Siedlungen', in: F. Wurst (ed.), *Das Landkind heute und morgen*, Vienna, 1963; T. Hellbrügge, 'Über die Situation der heutigen Schuljugend in der Pubertät', *Österreichische Ärztezeitung*, Vol. 19, 1964, p. 1234-48.
2. H. Schelsky, *Soziologie der Sexualität*, Hamburg, 1955, p. 36-9; see also: H. Kreutz, *Jugend: Gruppenbildung und Objektwahl*, Dissertation (mimeogr.), Vienna, 1964, p. 180-260.

in school systems.[1] The age groups from 18 to 24 are less visibly different. In a recent study we proposed several criteria for the systematic subdivision of young people into different status groups according to their marital, occupational and legal status, emphasizing the socio-economic content of the age definition. F. Neidhardt has accepted these categories for a classification system.[2] Yet if we take into consideration the fact that in the United States of America one 18-year-old girl out of four is married, and that the median age of first marriage for women in that country is 20 years (23 for men),[3] we realize that the population between 18 and 24 or 25 is sociologically heterogenous. And here we are only taking into consideration the division into single and married people whom we both classify as 'young people'.

We have already seen that we must view youth as a process, and we must look at it as a segment of the population. The relative size of the age group 15-24 varies from 12 to 21 per cent of the total population, with a clear tendency to be larger in the developing countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia than in the industrialized ones (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. Percentage of population aged 15-19, 20-24 and 15-24, in selected countries[1]

Country	Year	Percentage of population aged		
		15 to 19	20 to 24	15 to 24
France	1961	6.81	6.12	12.93
England and Wales	1961	6.95	6.34	13.29
U.S.A.	1960	7.37	6.02	13.39
Italy	1960	7.30	8.14	15.44
Federal Republic of Germany	1960	7.31	8.64	15.95
Egypt	1960	8.29	6.91	15.20
Pakistan	1961	8.24	7.64	16.88
Venezuela	1961	9.44	8.21	17.65
Cambodia	1959	9.80	8.15	17.95
Mexico	1960	10.12	8.44	18.56
Japan	1960	9.92	8.88	18.80
Tanganyika	1957	10.29	9.24	19.53
Peru	1955	10.69	9.01	19.70

1. *United Nations Demographic Yearbook*, 1962, New York.

Some general trends in the social conditions of youth

Several aspects of the social and economic living conditions of various groups of youth are determined or at least influenced by series of general

1. See L. Rosenmayr and H. Kreutz, *Eltern und Gleichaltrige als Faktoren sozialen Einflusses bei Jugendlichen und 'jungen Erwachsenen'*, 1966 (mimeogr.); to be published in: G. Wurzbacher (ed.), *Familie und Sozialisation*, Stuttgart, 1968.
2. F. Neidhardt, *Die Junge Generation*, Opladen, 1967, p. 16.
3. A. W. Green, *Sociology, An Analysis of Life in Modern Society*, New York, 1960, p. 403. See also W. Beckert and W. Salewski, *Die Frühehen als Wagnis und Aufgabe*, Neuwied, Berlin, 1963.

sociological trends which can only be mentioned here and cannot be discussed in their mutual dependency or causal relationships. Also such generalizations can be contradicted on the basis of some data influenced by factors particularly counteracting the 'trends'. The death rate of adolescent youth, measured in the age groups between 15 and 19, has decreased rapidly;[1] accidents are the main causes of adolescent mortality.

More people in our industrial society get married than fifty years[2] ago. Illegitimacy rates have decreased,[3] and marriages concluded are more frequently marriages where the wife is pregnant.[4] The problem of the marriage age is rather complicated. Data show that it has been getting lower since the sixties of the nineteenth century.[5] But it is clear that this decrease is predominantly a middle-class phenomenon.[6]

The changes in education vary greatly according to countries and regions but the trend is clearly towards longer schooling where there are established school systems, and towards the introduction of formal schooling where it does not yet exist.

Especially in the education of the female sex, drastic changes have occurred.[7] In higher education it may be noted that in Austria, for example, only 6 per cent of the students were girls in 1919, whereas today the proportion is approximately 40 per cent. Legislation for youth of both sexes has been extended and social security, trade union activity, etc., have increased. These examples may suffice to show that there are some general trends of which we must be aware when we discuss more specific problems of youth sociology.

The socio-cultural variation of adolescence

Some forty years ago in Vienna Siegfried Bernfeld developed the idea that youth should be studied as a biological, a psychological and finally as a sociological phenomenon[8] and, in the light of his arguments, we may today claim that more markedly than in any other phase of his life the individual reacts psychologically to the biological changes he undergoes during puberty. This reaction to new biological realities is accompanied by feelings of insecurity. This, in turn, leads to a special susceptibility to

1. H. Czermak and H. Hansluwka, *Gesundheitsprobleme der Jugend. Eine medizinalstatistische Studie über Morbidität und Mortalität im Kindes- und Jugendalter in Österreich*, Vienna, Österreichisches Institut für Jugendkunde, 1963; G. Mackenroth, *Bevölkerungslehre*, Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, 1953, p. 83.
2. G. Mackenroth, *Bevölkerungslehre*, op. cit., p. 85-8.
3. ibid., p. 51-4.
4. *Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien, 1962*, Vienna, p. 40.
5. *Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien, 1884*, Vienna (and following years); see also: H. Kreutz, *Jugend: Gruppenbildung und Objektwahl*, op. cit., p. 261-5.
6. H. Kreutz, *Jugend: Gruppenbildung und Objektwahl*, op. cit., p. 267-8.
7. *Elternhaus und Schule*, Social Science Research Centre, University of Vienna, p. 5 (unpublished paper).
8. L. Rosenmayr, *Geschichte der Jugendforschung in Österreich 1914-1931*, Vienna, 1962, p. 26 et seq.

new values and goals. The infantile value system and world view is not sufficient any more. The adolescent, through a psychological 'rearrangement' becomes open to influences from society, and this is also the period in his life when parental influence in some fields of family interaction starts to decrease.

The relative plasticity of adolescents is one reason why political movements have often catered specifically to them. The leaders of such movements knew that convictions are formed during adolescence and that if they wanted to perpetuate the movements they had to draw youth into their camp. We may generalize to the extent of saying that socio-cultural influence upon the individual is never greater than during adolescence. The child and the old person may depend more on society physically and medically; sociologically, youth in general and the adolescents in particular are the most dependent groups. Young people are not only relatively open to values,[1] they need a certain identification with and attachment to ideals in order to overcome and satisfy their unrest.[2] They need strength, and they are ready to draw it from the imagery, the symbols, the models or idols they turn to—or are led to.

Only to a very limited degree, in most types of industrialized societies, can adolescents realize or give expression to their desire for a full sexual life, for social power, for criticism etc. Being hampered—because of their age and their incomplete education, social maturity and economic independence in obtaining full and real satisfaction, they tend to find security and equilibrium through identification with ideals. Russian studies on identification with national heroes have shown this, according to a report from Professor Menchinskaya[3] of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in Moscow, and E. Erikson made the same point in the White House conference on childhood and youth in 1951.[4]

There is, however, danger in this and any other ideal-identification; namely, over-identification or idolization. In societies where the production of consumer goods is not controlled by the State, forces which manipulate the market may exploit the over-identification of adolescents with their idols.[5] This has been shown particularly in connexion with records. In 1960, 60 million records of songs by Elvis Presley alone were sold.[6] In socialist societies over-identification may lead to ideological stagnation and the political manipulation of the idolism of adolescents.

From the fact that adolescents—and youth in general—cannot be considered today without insight into their socio-cultural transformation

1. W. Ptaszynska, *Zycie psychiezne dorastajecej mlodziezy*, Warsaw, Nasza Ksiegarnia, 1962.
2. V. Prihoda, *Ontogenese lidske psychiky*, *Cast treti*, Prague, Statni pedagogicke nakladatelstui, 1959.
3. Unesco Meeting of Experts, 4-8 June 1962, *La Psychologie de l'Adolescent et l'Inadaptation Sociale*, p. 18-19 (Doc. ED/199).
4. Quoted after the German version: E. Erikson, *Wachstum und Krisen der gesunden Persönlichkeit*, Stuttgart, 1953, p. 57.
5. C. Teindas and Y. Thireau, *La Jeunesse dans la Famille et Société Modernes*, Vol. I, *Enquête*, Paris, 1961.
6. H. Lamprecht, *Teenager und Manager*, Bremen, 1960, p. 85.

we must infer that the study of youth necessarily differs according to certain sets of variables. Youth is not the same in all social or political systems, in all stages of economic development or in all social strata. On the contrary: what makes all discussion of youth problems on an international level so extremely difficult is the variety of social forms of this human phenomenon. Our task will therefore be to discriminate between these variations as we discuss major economic and social problems among the youth of our day.

To recognize and accept the social plasticity of youth, moreover, means to become aware of the special educability of this group of society. And we may further infer that differential diagnosis entails differential therapy: knowledge of conditions and causes of transformation is the first step towards a conscious and responsible steering of educational influence.

We shall now investigate the variations in the social conditions of youth, and it would seem of great importance to turn first to the family, which the Russian pedagogue A. S. Makarenko has called 'the most important area in which man begins in society'.[1]

Before doing so we would like to refer to some general findings on the adolescent attitude toward authority.

Willmott's study demonstrates in detail what has long been known in a general sense: that during adolescence most boys withdraw from the mixed-age society of childhood into a single-age society of their peers, and that as they mature, and particularly as they move towards courtship and marriage, they rejoin the mixed-age society as adults.[2]

The reasons for this withdrawal are obviously complicated, but some of the threads can be disentangled. In any society, the transition from child to adult involves a dramatic change in social roles; during adolescence the child has to prepare to behave himself differently towards others and become a different sort of person.[3] He has to learn to be more independent, more self-reliant, more confident, more authoritative. Authority, in particular, presents a crucial problem of role-change. A child is subordinate to the authority of adults; on the whole children do, and expect to do, what parents and other adults tell them. This relationship of subordination must give way to one in which the adolescent can himself exercise authority. Not only does he find, as he gets older, that he wants to assert his independence; it is actually essential for him to do so, as part of the preparation for his new role as an adult.

The physical changes in puberty and the rapid rate of growth add to the desire to establish independence: the adolescent feels physically 'odd' and 'awkward' and therefore becomes self-conscious.[4] The awareness of these manifest physical and social changes reinforces the big question of his

1. Quoted from the German translation, *Ein Buch für Eltern*, in: *Werke*, Vol. 4, 1958, p. 264.
2. Peter Willmott, *Adolescent Boys of East London*, London, 1966, p. 172.
3. Ten major 'developmental tasks' that adolescents have to undertake are set out by R. J. Havinghurst, *Human Development and Education*, p. 111-58.
4. See, for instance, W. D. Wall, *The Adolescent Child*, p. 5; D. Miller, 'Adolescence'.

future adult role: 'Who am I?' and 'What sort of adult am I going to become?'[1] In simpler societies, where adult roles are clear-cut and settled in advance, and where choice is limited, such questions are seldom posed with any urgency. In complex industrial societies like our own, where choice is, at least in theory, almost infinitely open, there is more of a problem.[2] It is complicated by the awakening of sex; a boy's questionings about his adulthood become mixed up with anxieties about his sexual potency and 'normality'.

Again, when young people are trying to grapple with this problem of 'identity'—assessing and re-evaluating themselves, trying to resolve 'who they are'—what is more natural than that they should withdraw for a while from adult society? As we have seen, they do not merely withdraw: they associate with age-mates more than at any other stage in life, looking to them for company and moral support. Since the age-mates are going through the same processes, they feel they can understand and sympathize with each other. And the informality and equality of the peer group makes it a setting in which its members can assert and test their new independence together. The peer group, in other words, provides a social context in which boys can help each other to work out the processes of adolescence.[3]

Family relations of adolescent youth

The following generalizations may be drawn from comparative international research.

Independent of earlier ideological concepts, the importance of the family as an objectively important force of social influence on children and adolescents has been established empirically. The effects, however, differ according to social class, urban or rural environment and religious, political and cultural variables which make themselves felt in connexion with the family, and modify the scope and quality of its impacts.

Generally it holds true all over the world that, within a given society, family ties and control over the young are stronger in the more isolated rural regions and, in particular, agricultural regions. The family and the small community support each other, and although the big city—the large industrial agglomeration—has generally been too mechanically associated with the dissolution of the family, it is true that the newcomers in particular undergo some heavy strains. For them, especially in Latin America and in Africa, the city has dissolutory effects. However, Indian family life is tending to change even in the smaller communities.[4]

Family functions vary significantly according to social stratification.

1. Erikson in particular has drawn attention to this 'crisis of identity' in adolescence. See, e.g., E. H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, p. 261-2.
2. S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation*, argues that adolescent age groups figure more in societies that are relatively 'open' than in others (see especially p. 52-3 and p. 270).
3. This function of peer groups is described by J. B. Mays, *The Young Pretenders*, p. 46-7.
4. A. D. Ross, *The Hindu Family in its Urban Settings*, Toronto, 1961, p. 137.

A study I undertook in Austria[1] showed that the working-class family (in which the parents are unskilled or skilled workers) fulfils certain basic functions for the adolescent: it offers emotional security, it supports the adolescent economically (although about half of apprentices already earning some money contribute regularly to household and living expenses); the family exerts control, the parents punish, give advice and cover a whole range of topics in daily conversation.[2] In particular, the adolescent's work and future occupation are matters of everyday discussion. But two possible functions of the family are generally not fulfilled in the working-class *milieu*:

1. Coherent educational influence, including religious and political instruction and cultural stimulation. We do not find 'elevated care' in working-class families, by which we understand stimulation, systematic promotion and guidance according to long-term plans. Such differences in aspirations are due, in part, to economic factors but cannot wholly be explained by them.[3]
2. The parents have little or no influence on the leisure behaviour of the adolescents, particularly their sons. In the middle classes both functions are fulfilled much better, and we shall deal with this problem later, in discussing the educational opportunities of youth. In working-class families we do not only find that informal groups of peers of the same sex and girl friends by far outweigh the parents as leisure partners, but also that detachment from parents in actual leisure behaviour and in the wishes for leisure partners increases rapidly between the ages of 15 and 17.

If the leisure time spent together with the parents is limited, and both parental authority and readiness to show guiding interest towards their children decrease as they grow older, what basis for family solidarity is offered? Here we come to the following conclusions. Although leisure partnership is minimized, and educational influences seem to be limited to elementary functions of physical well-being and certain standards of behaviour, the emotional ties persist to an extent that contradicts overt behaviour. Although boy friends and girl friends are the contacts most sought, the boys nominate their parents as the most intimate emotional reference-persons in over half a dozen items that reveal 'depth relations'. The adolescents feel that the parents are 'closer than all other people' to them, have 'more understanding' of them, that they have 'confidence' in the

1. L. Rosenmayr, *Familienbeziehungen und Freizeitgewohnheiten jugendlicher Arbeiter. Eine Untersuchung von 800 Lehrlingen in Wien und Niederösterreich*, Vienna, 1963. See, in particular, the research requested by the Austrian Youth Institute: *Jugend in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Eine Untersuchung an Lehrlingen und Mittelschülern in Österreich, durchgeführt von der Sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschungsstelle der Universität Wien im Auftrage des Österreichischen Instituts für Jugendkunde*. Vol. I: *Soziale Gegebenheiten, Ausbildungswege und kulturelles Verhalten*; Vol. II: *Lebenziele in der Pubertät*; Vol. III: *Konsum, Besitzstücke und Spargewohnheiten*. Vienna, 1962-63 (mimeogr.).
2. C. D'Hoogh and J. Mayer (under the direction of P. Feldheim), *Jeunesse Belge*, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1964, p. 84; J. Duquesne, *Les 16-24 Ans*, Paris, p. 89-90 (research done in 1961).
3. L. Rosenmayr, 'Soziale Schichtung, Bildungsweg und Bildungsziel im Jugendalter', *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, No. 5, 1961, p. 268-83.

parents and can 'rely upon them' if they—the children—should 'get into trouble'.[1] The fact that strong depth relations continue to exist has often been overlooked by too hasty generalizations about the so-called 'detachment from the parents' in adolescence. The correlation matrix of eighteen interaction variables and the factor analysis of this matrix[2] showed that in spite of the differences between father- and mother-relations they are strongly interconnected, and the only two important factors resulting from the factor analysis are parental affinity and parental restriction. The data obtained from the analysis of the sentence-completion items and the ranking questions support the findings of the correlation matrix and the factor analysis. The parents emotionally dominate the 15- and 17-year-old adolescents' depth relations, and the mother outweighs the father in this respect. In addition to the area of research which yielded the results on parental affinity (in both directions: from the adolescent to the parents and vice versa) we find here a basic confidence or trust in the mother, who appears to retain these from childhood experiences right through to adolescence.

We therefore feel that our results supplement and extend those of René Spitz[3] and Melanie Klein[4] on the particular closeness between mother and child and tend to confirm the theories of Erik H. Erikson[5] on the notion of trust as the basis of personality identity and the special role of the mother during early childhood in establishing this trust on the basis of biological and depth-psychological relations.

To adolescents the mother seems to be the central figure in the family, and although this tends to be true in the lower strata of society more than in the upper it is borne out by data from various parts of the world.[6] It is interesting to note that this mother-centrism is documented by research on closely knit family life in India[7] as well as by studies in Europe[8] and in North Africa. In some countries of Latin America, because of the high incidence of male abandonment of mothers and children in the lower social strata, the trend toward mother-centred families is accentuated and takes quite a special form.[9]

1. L. Rosenmayr, *Familienbeziehungen und Freizeitgewohnheiten jugendlicher Arbeiter . . .*, op. cit. p. 117-34.
2. ibid., see appendix p. 360-79.
3. R. Spitz, 'Genèse des Premières Relations Objectales', in: *Revue Française de Psychoanalyse*, Paris, 1954. (2nd ed.: *La Première Année de la Vie de l'Enfant.*)
4. M. Klein, *Envy and Gratitude*, London, New York, 1957.
5. E. H. Erikson, *Wachstum und Krisen der gesunden Persönlichkeit*, Stuttgart, 1953, p. 51. (Original English in Supplement II, *Transactions of the Fourth Conference on Infancy and Childhood*, New York, Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation, 1950.)
6. J. Duquesne, *Les 16-24 Ans*, op. cit., p. 85.
7. A. D. Ross, *The Hindu Family in its Urban Settings*, op. cit., p. 137.
8. See the review of the literature in: L. Rosenmayr, *Familienbeziehungen und Freizeitgewohnheiten jugendlicher Arbeiter . . .*, op. cit., p. 394-402; and for earlier studies: K. Leichter and P. Lazarsfeld, 'Erhebungen bei Jugendlichen über Autorität und Familie', in: M. Horkheimer (ed.), *Studien über Autorität und Familie*, p. 379 et seq., Paris, 1936.
9. O. Lewis, *The Children of Sanchez. Autobiography of a Mexican Family*, New York, 1961, p. 26; also: C. M. de Jesus, *Tagebuch der Armut, Aufzeichnungen einer brasilianischen Negerin*, 3rd ed., Hamburg, 1962.

A phenomenon which does not receive the attention it seems to deserve is the absence of any general attitude of revolt against the parents on the part of youth. Even where young workers come from agricultural families, and definitely reject many aspects of the living conditions and the ways of life of their parents, no general protest against the parents could be found, according to an interesting Yugoslav study.[1] This 'lack of revolt', underlined by many studies,[2] may be considered surprising, at least to many Europeans who have experienced or studied the youth movements of the first third of the twentieth century. We shall deal with it shortly in our discussion of youth organizations.

Peers and dating behaviour

In order to cement his ego-identity and his feeling of independence, the adolescent has to orient himself to a new social role, which, in turn, is to a large extent based on the acceptance and recognition he gets from persons who are not his parents.[3] The pressure to win friends and to associate outside the sphere of direct parental control leads the young only to a rather small extent to more formally organized youth associations with educational aims. Roughly, less than two-fifths of Western European adolescents are members of youth organizations with political, humanistic or religious value-profiles. Thus, behind the rudimentary social function of the family which, as we have already seen, continues in spite of the lack of 'elevated care', we find a broad sphere opening up, determined largely by the cinema and cinema magazines, which, from the point of view of higher educational and cultural values, sets hardly any important goals. There is the social frame of peer association, but the frame is not filled with a content of educational values. The association with peers leads more to 'fun and excitement', as Charlotte Bühler has recently called it, than to ideals and long-range goals.

An interesting result of youth research in the United States is that, according to James Coleman,[4] in spite of all declared opposition to certain trends of juvenile behaviour, the parents emotionally seem to support their adolescent children when these children, in the youth culture of high school life, aspire to be good athletes and glamorous 'popular' girls. Thus, the parents unconsciously legitimize the predominance of the peer system, and they do so because this system reflects an important feature of American society at large: competition for visible goals and marked social acceptance.

Coleman points out two findings: There is an important conflict in the United States, not so much between parents and peers as between the value

1. I refer to research undertaken by Pavle Novosel from the University of Zagreb.
2. For further literature see: H. Schelsky, *Die skeptische Generation*, Düsseldorf, 1957, p. 157-8.
3. N. S. Eisenstadt has underlined the need for ego-involvement of adolescents in his book *From Generation to Generation*, Glencoe, 1956, p. 132.
4. J. S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society*, Glencoe, 1961, p. 34.

system of the school and the values of peer society.[1] If you ask the boys, Coleman writes, whether they would rather be nationally famous athletes or atomic scientists, many more would prefer to be the former. School as an institution to transmit values and skills meets the resistance of peer society. The latter rejects the individual who shares the values of adults who run the schools, and the peers ridicule the individual oriented to learning and achievement. Coleman even uses the prison with its double value systems (that of the institution and that of the inmates) as an example to illustrate his point.

What are his conclusions? The result of the school-peer society conflict is: a majority of non-intellectual group oriented adolescents and a minority of intellectual non-group oriented adolescents, ostracized by the peer society. Clearly, what he wishes is to create group-oriented intellectuals and he therefore feels that peer-society structures should not be counteracted by the school systems but that cliques should be made educationally fruitful. Two changes ought to be made, according to Coleman: an infiltration of scientific and artistic values into the network of peer society should take place and musical competitions by whole schools, scientific contests, political 'games' should occur side by side with basketball or baseball competition. Evaluation and grading on the basis of group successes should, on the other hand, avoid excessive individualistic competition.

This interesting idea suffers from the shortcoming which D. Matza[2] detected, namely that sports for many reasons have a unique attraction for adolescents. This criticism, however, should not completely invalidate Coleman's idea. It would be interesting to consider some of the consequences of the group-type socialization advocated with differing emphasis by some leading Soviet theorists, according to whom peer pressures are used to achieve favourable competitive standings within the classroom. Feelings of success and failure have continuous group reference. This method is frequently coupled with public criticism by peers, yet it is questionable whether this is a necessary correlate of the group method.

More generally we must also ask where early and intensive group association during childhood and adolescence leads. What are its consequences in terms of structural effects on personality, and its motivational and aggressional types of force?

Bronfenbrenner[3] and others have theorized that early and strong peer association tends to create conformism in adulthood. Early domination by parents and stronger parental authority prolongs identification with them, furthers non-conformism and readiness to consider innovations, provided parental pressures have not overstabilized the value system of the child. It is

1. J. S. Coleman, *Adolescents and the Schools*, New York, London, 1965.
2. David Matza, 'Position and Behavior Patterns of Youth', in: R. E. L. Faris (ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, Chicago, 1964.
3. E. C. Devereux, U. Bronfenbrenner and G. J. Suci, 'Patterns of Parent Behaviour in the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany: A Cross-national Comparison', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. XIV, 1962, p. 488-506.

interesting and perhaps even politically important to deal with such aspects of youth sociology.

Let us now turn to one particular phenomenon in the heterosexual relations of adolescents. Early dating is spreading in Europe, though perhaps not as fast nor publicly as was predicted ten years ago by visitors returning from the United States of America. Also, the type of prestige-game connected with dating in the United States which Willard Waller,[1] Margaret Mead and others have described, is quite limited in Europe. What is spreading, however, is the system of 'going steady', a form of social and erotic relationship between adolescents and young people in general which may be called an 'engagement for a limited period'. Whilst an engagement was originally a publicly accepted social relation agreed to by the parents, with controlled erotic relations and implicitly the firm intention of getting married, the going-steady relation is more and less at the same time: more, inasmuch as it does not in principle exclude sexual relations, and less, as it does not claim to be linked with any public recognition of a firm decision to marry subsequently. Of course, the contents of the going-steady relation vary greatly according to the aesthetic, educational and moral standards of the couple, but regularity and duration connected with basic permissiveness and long-term interchangeability is a typical phenomenon of the peer system in our society. Ira L. Reiss has given good reasons for the establishment of going steady as a social institution: 'Our culture looks more favourably upon sexual behaviour when it occurs in such a stable, affectionate context as going steady affords.'[2]

It is another feature of this system that boys going steady are more frequently members of an informal group of adolescents and go out with their friends more frequently. The two types of social relations, with boys of the same age and with girl friends, do not exclude each other but have a tendency to cumulate. This cumulative effect is probably more forceful in the cities than in the country. Boys with regular girl friends are more often members of informal peer groups than those who have little or no contact with girls. They also differ in their leisure-time behaviour from the rest of the group.[3]

A study by Michael Schofield[4] showed that more teenage boys than girls have experience of sexual intercourse. In Schofield's sample 11 per cent of the younger boys (aged 15 to 17) and 30 per cent of the older boys (aged 17 to 19) have had premarital intercourse; the relevant figure for the younger girls is 6 per cent and for the older girls 16 per cent. By using the accumulative incidence concept, he estimated that, by the age of 18, 34 per

1. W. Waller, 'The Rating and Dating Complex', in: L. Wilson and L. Kolb (ed.), *Sociological Analysis*, New York, 1949, p. 611 et seq.
2. I. L. Reiss, 'Sexual Codes in Teen-age Culture', in: J. Bernard (ed.), *Teen-age Culture*, special edition of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, 1961.
3. L. Rosenmayr, *Familienbeziehungen und Freizeitgewohnheiten jugendlicher Arbeiter . . .*, op. cit., p. 180-204.
4. Michael Schofield, *The Sexual Behaviour of Young People*, London, 1965, p. 247 et seq.

cent of the boys and 17 per cent of the girls are sexually experienced.

Sexual intercourse before 14 was rare but by 16 14 per cent of the boys and 5 per cent of the girls had started. The first experience of sexual intercourse was usually with someone who was already experienced; the first partner was often older and in the case of the girls was quite often an adult. Coitus usually took place with a friend and frequently in the parental home of the beginner or the partner. The first experience was often unpremeditated and unplanned, and a majority said they did not enjoy it.

Although more boys than girls have intercourse, when incidence and frequency are taken together, we find the total 'sexual outlet' to be very similar. Fewer girls have intercourse, but those who are experienced indulge more often. The boys have more sexual partners; the girls prefer a more enduring relationship. Girls are slower to agree to intercourse, but once they have agreed they are more active sexually.

Some of the teenagers still hold attitudes which support the traditional double standard according to which premarital intercourse is forbidden for women but for men. Apart from these attitudes there is another difference between boys and girls. The girl is looking for a romantic relationship while the boy is seeking a sexual relationship. The girl is in search of security, but the boy is in search of adventure. Premarital intercourse is most likely to occur when either one modifies his or her attitude so that it comes closer to the other's aspirations. If the boy gives the impression of being in love with the girl, she is more likely to agree to intercourse; or if the girl is persuaded that sexual activities are an extension of romantic feelings, intercourse is likely to take place.

Table 2, with selected data, presents an overview of some of the most interesting of Schofield's findings.

TABLE 2. Percentage of boys and girls who have participated in an activity at least once (by age groups)[1]

Activity	Younger (15-17)		Older (17-19)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Dating	78	91	93	96
Kissing	78	91	92	96
Breast stimulation over clothes	49	60	74	79
Breast stimulation under clothes	36	38	63	61
Sexual intercourse	11	6	30	16
	(N = 478)	(N = 475)	(N = 456)	(N = 464)

1. M. Schofield, *The Sexual Behaviour of Young People*, op. cit., p. 29 et seq.

Youth movements, youth organizations and youth centres

Sociological studies and pedagogical documentation both tend towards a critical diagnosis of the rather limited interest of young people in youth organizations,[1] as far as Europe is concerned.

The reduction in some areas of interest in youth organizations may be inferred partly from a reduction in the number of members, but becomes above all apparent in the changing spirit of membership, in the transformation of what used to be European youth movements (between 1900 and 1930) into youth organizations. A review of early studies[2] shows that it was not so much high membership figures but rather the spirit and the intensity of participation (frequency and emotional adherence to the organization) which gave those earlier bodies the character of a movement.

Youth movements in European history all had an ideological content, they were nourished by the teachings of oppositional left and right wing forces, or by religious reform ideas. With the decline of protest against the parents and certain tendencies towards 'de-ideologization' (the weakening influence of abstract political ideas and 'principles' in wide areas of political action in Western European countries since the end of the Second World War), some youth movements have certainly lost a good deal of their appeal.

An analysis of the development of the participation of youth in society through youth organizations in socialist countries was offered by Dagmar Cahová.[3]

Observations are now being made, and some research results indicate that small groups of adolescents, whether in the form of clubs or simple gangs outside youth organizations, are gaining importance. One may argue that this corresponds to certain basic trends in industrial society, which needs closely-knit and semi-private social sub-systems to compensate the individual for the frustrations experienced in the large institutions and organizations which manipulate him without giving him many opportunities for personal response or protest. The incorporation of interest in small groups is therefore of crucial importance to youth organizations today.

In addition, youth centres hold a certain promise for the future; they are mostly local institutions with facilities theoretically open to all young

1. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Tendences Nouvelles des Organisations de Jeunesse, Étude Comparative*, 1960, p. 26 et seq. (Études et Documents d'Éducation, No. 35); also the report of the German Unesco Institute for Youth, *Stellung und Rolle der Jugendorganisation in der modernen Gesellschaft*, No. 12, Gauting, Munich, 1963; Research Bureau, Ministry of Education, Government of Japan, *Youth Education in a Changing Society*, Japan, 1961, p. 27 (Table 20).
2. H. Sierks, *Jugendpflege*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1913; L. Fick, *Die deutsche Judendbewegung*, Jena, 1939.
3. Dagmar Cahová, 'K vymezeni kista mládeze v sociálni strukture spolecnosti', in: *Prehled*, Prague, No. 1, 1966. See also an outline of Cahová's work in: *Summary of the publication 'The Social Structure of Socialist Society'*, Prague, Prague University, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, 1966.

people, and designed to attract them on a less restricted basis than the organizations which strive for regularity of participation.[1]

Many studies show that it is of great importance for 'youth work' comprising all sorts of activities in youth organizations or centres to be intensified and expanded. The family and the school are both strongly motivated to educate, to lead, to teach; family life and school, and still more the exigencies of the work place, continuously put specialized demands on the adolescent which represent at least temporarily inescapable obligations. Certain areas of free activities are, therefore, necessary to young people: opportunities for relaxation, sports, cultural creativity, self-motivated communal or educational action, individual expression of talent and ability, all within the frame of goals and norms set relatively freely by the group, the centre or the organization.

There are signs that in some Latin American and African countries, especially where the reaction against earlier colonial administration and politics or political conflict is strong, the political quest for independence and self-determination leads to a value system of opposition which unites youth movements.[2] In these countries, therefore, youth movements and their leaders may take on many functions: teaching before schools are established, initiating communal and social action before a given area is reached by the administration, and channelling and shaping processes of political maturation before legal knowledge and experience in modern democracy have had a chance to develop fully. All these seem to be tasks for youth organizations and their leaders in the societies of Africa and Asia which are now entering into international life.[3]

On the basis of our present knowledge two questions should be answered: what are the main subtypes of organized youth work? what are the functions of organized youth work?

I use the term 'organized youth work' to include what I think are different subtypes of such youth work, namely:

1. Youth organizations, regional or centralized bodies of a political, religious and/or specialized character (sports, mountaineering, etc.)
2. Youth centres (local institutions with facilities theoretically open to all young people with the purpose of attracting on a freer basis than the organizations which strive for regularity of participation, membership, structured information and transmission of values).[4]
3. Youth services (educational and social activities on a regional or central basis to assist culturally or socially deprived or endangered groups of

1. L. Trichaud, 'Cultural Youth Centres in France', *International Journal of Adult and Youth Education*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1962, p. 82 et seq.
2. Unesco, *Tendances nouvelles...*, op. cit., p. 25; see also: C. Dikoumé, 'Young People's Problems and Activities in West and Equatorial Africa', *International Journal of Adult and Youth Education*, Vol., 13, No. 4, 1961, p. 204 et seq.; P. Heintz, *Soziologie der Entwicklungsländer*, Cologne, 1962; N. S. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation*, op. cit., p. 177.
3. A. Dickson, 'Training of Youth Leaders for Work in Fundamental Education', *Adult Education*, 1958, p. 46 et seq.
4. See, e.g., L. Trichaud, 'Cultural Youth Centres in France', *International Journal of Adult and Youth Education*, Vol. XIV, 1962, No. 2, p. 82 et seq.

youth; these services are on a public basis, run by adults with at least some experience, if not special training, e.g., in social work, medicine, etc.)

Overlapping occurs of course and sometimes co-ordination is even a prerequisite for the successful activities of the subtypes.

As to my second question concerning the functions of organized youth work I should like to emphasize: (a) the need to 'step into the breach' left open by the other social institutions which educate and mature youth; (b) the leading role in actually creating and organizing a temporal and social refuge or, as E. Erikson and Margaret Mead call it, a 'moratorium', an 'as if-period in which heights of aspirations and depths of despair can both be experienced without final economic, social or personal psychological consequences'.[1]

Youth and politics

Research on the participation of adolescents in politics is not yet sufficiently developed. Numerous studies, especially those carried out in Central Europe, remain limited to surveys on the extent of various spheres of political participation by adolescents. Little knowledge has been gained of the impact of individual sources of influence and on the stability of political attitudes. Theoretical conceptions will have to be evolved within which the data on participation are considered and which try to explain the present as well as future political behaviour as adults under different economic and power conditions.[2]

As for adults, so also for a majority of adolescents: little interest in politics and little actual knowledge has been ascertained. Only very small minorities are politically active and the desire to gain information is also weak.[3] Knowledge and interest are positively correlated to school education. Frequently a personal attitude is taken towards political problems, but this phenomenon declines with increasing age.[4] Preferences as to party-adherence seem to be already established in childhood.[5] The influence of the family is very important. General agreement between parents and adolescents on political issues was found in a majority of adolescents.[6] However, family influence seems to be primarily normative. Parents decide on a great number of information sources for adolescents; yet the

1. M. Mead, *The Young Adult, Values and Ideals of American Youth*, New York, 1961, p. 46.
2. For criticism see: S. Höllinger, 'Politische Einstellugen von Jugendlichen und die Wirkungen von Erziehungseinrichtungen', in: Leopold Rosenmayr and Sigurd Höllinger (eds.), *Wozu Soziologie?* Vienna, 1968.
3. German investigations are summarized in: W. Jaide, *Die jungen Staatsbürger*, Munich, 1965; *Junge Menschen*, 1964; *Tabellarischer Bericht zur Untersuchung: Die Generation der Unbefangenen*, EMNID, Bielefeld, 1966, p. 188 et seq.
4. J. Adelson and R. P. O'Neil, 'Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 4, 1966, p. 297 et seq.
5. F. I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics*, New Haven, London, 1965, p. 25 et seq., p. 73.
6. Unpublished data of the Social Science Research Centre of the University of Vienna.

family depends on a number of organizations to achieve a socializing effect.[1] Much attention is paid to civics in schools. Though investigations on acquired knowledge of national organizations and historical facts have been carried out,[2] the effects of organizational characteristics of schools—with few exceptions[3]—need much more study.

Organized youth work and the role of international organizations

Documentation, exchange of ideas and personnel, statistical and sociological studies of the types, levels and roles of organized youth work in Asia, Africa and Latin America are badly needed. Another area where information is not readily available to educators and organizers in all parts of the world is the effect of youth work in general and youth organizations in particular in the socialist countries.

The challenge presented to youth by youth organizations in the socialist countries, with their educational potential, deserves comparative research in relation to youth organizations in Western European, American and other countries. A whole series of questions might be asked: what, for instance, is the effect of mass youth organizations in terms of their relationships to sub-groups and 'in-groups' to which most adolescents gravitate? How do such organizations channel and make constructive use of the inherent energies of youth for independence?[4]

In dealing with youth, as an area of field-induced research, it should be noted that we need well-established knowledge about the impact of the different types of youth organizations on youth and consequently, as time goes by, on the structures of societies. It is quite possible that the existence or non-existence of organizations for children and adolescents which include a majority of the youth of a society has important consequences for the formation of social attitudes and social structures.

It might also be interesting to exchange information on a related question, namely the different types of governmental support for youth work, including even the methods of distribution of financial means to youth organizations. The relationships between governments and youth organizations vary widely. I should like to mention the problems of Italian youth organizations. After a period of State control, the Italian Government after the Second World War was unwilling to interfere in any way with

1. Leopold Rosenmayr and Henrik Kreutz, 'Eltern und Gleichaltrige als Faktoren sozialen Einflusses', in: G. Wurzbacher (ed.), *Familie und Sozialisation*, Stuttgart, 1967.
2. Summaries in: L. v. Friedeberg and F. Hübner, *Das Geschichtsbild der Jugend*, Munich, 1966.
3. For example, R. Tausch, 'Soziale Interaktion Lehrer-Schüler und Sozialklima in Schulen—Erziehungsfaktoren für Diktatur und Demokratie', in: *Politische Erziehung als psychologisches Problem*, Frankfurt, 1966.
4. See Professor Zazzo's statement in: *La Psychologie de l'Adolescent . . .*, Unesco report, op. cit., p. 8.

what it then considered to be an exclusively private sector. It has only recently assumed a larger role in the development of youth activities.[1]

Elsewhere youth organizations are seen as organs which must increasingly assume the functions of the State and fit into the category of public organs of self-government. Government participation in youth work, and particularly in youth organizations, may very well be a topic to be fruitfully discussed.

To many it might be interesting to learn whether the lack of ardent participation in youth organizations observed and studied in some Western European countries is also true for some eastern countries—and if so, under which social conditions. As in many other areas where the social sciences, over the last decade, have begun to uncover and investigate similarities and parallels amongst such social problems as rapid industrialization and urbanization, female labour, automation, leisure, etc., in countries with different economic and political systems, it may very well be that we also have in common problems concerning organized youth work.

Aspects of adolescent consumer behaviour

The business and advertising sectors in many industrialized countries are well aware that there is a specific teenage market. There is a general notion that nowadays young people have large amounts of money at their disposal, and spend it predominantly on their 'entertainment'. But very little serious research has been done on the actual spending power of adolescents and the reasons why their purchases have so different a structure from these of the older age groups.

First of all, it must be borne in mind that adolescents hardly ever constitute independent consumption units before their marriage. This holds true not only when they are still at school, or working within the family business (e.g., on their parents' farm). Adolescents who already have incomes from their own work hardly ever buy the basic necessities of life for themselves as long as they live in their parents' household but rather hand over some of their income to the parents for these purposes, especially once these earnings become considerable.[2] Data relating to this period of the youth cohort in comparison with others have contributed to the formula: the teenage market is predominantly working class.[3] Since, on the other hand, those not as yet engaged in extra-familial productive work usually receive some pocket-money, and thus also have some spending power, we may consider the majority of adolescents, economically speaking, as semi-independent sub-units of their parents' household as long as they live there.

1. See: *Trends in Out-of-school Education in Some Member States.* (Document JUVCO 10, 1964.)
2. Cf. the Crowther Report, *Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, Fifteen to Eighteen,* Vol. 2, London, 1960, p. 28.
3. M. Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer,* London, 1959, p. 13.

A recent study in Austria has shown that the amount of money left or put at the adolescent's disposal by his parents depends not only on the financial situation of the family but also on the parents' educational intentions, i.e., how much independence they already want to grant their children. This is achieved by varied and quite elaborate systems of intra-familial monetary arrangements. Among apprentices of equal age, and receiving equal pay (approximately a quarter of adult wages), we found, for example an already very independent group who were allowed to keep all their earnings but had to buy their own clothes, midday meals, etc., while the group of least autonomous respondents handed in all their earnings at home, and then received modest sums of pocket-money to be used for discretionary spending only.[1]

The fact that adolescents are in a position of economic semi-independence also offers a major explanation of why the structure of their budgets is so different from that of adults. As the primary goods required for board and lodging are hardly ever bought by the adolescents themselves teenage spending may centre heavily on items connected with their own activities and interests: clothing and cosmetics occupy a prominent place with girls, the same holds for bicycles, motor cycles and expenditure connected with sports for boys. All mechanical devices to produce music, as well as cinema admissions and soft drinks, are bought much more frequently by adolescents than by adults.[2] In England it was even estimated that nearly half of all records are sold to persons under 24.[3]

Consumer behaviour is, of course, again distinctive according to age and socio-economic status. Our Austrian data, for instance, show considerable differences between high-school students and young workers. Young workers drink more alcohol and smoke more cigarettes per day (and show a smaller proportion of non-smokers) (see Table 3). Fifty per cent of the 15-year-old apprentices but 'only' 37 per cent of the students in higher education (who are of the same age) drink beer, wine or liqueurs. Of the 17-year-old boys, 77 per cent of the apprentices and 57 per cent of the students drink alcoholic beverages.[4]

The most remarkable feature of these data is the stability of non-smokers amongst the students in higher education, whereas diminishing parental control leads the young workers to follow adult patterns in certain elements of behaviour which are connected with dating, prestige, virility. They take out their dates more regularly to pubs, coffee bars and dances than

1. Cf. *Jugend in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Vol. III: *Konsum, Besitzstücke und Spargewohnheiten*, op. cit., p. A.62; see also: C. D'Hoogh and J. Mayer (under the direction of P. Feldheim), *Jeunesse Belge*, op. cit., p. 45.
2. Details regarding adolescents' budgets are provided mainly by the studies cited under the preceding footnote, and M. Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, op. cit.; they are supplemented by data on adolescents' possessions available for several more countries which also show the prominence of the items mentioned, e.g., R. Münster, *Geld in Nietenhosen, Jugendliche als Verbraucher*, Stuttgart, 1964, p. 53 et seq.
3. M. Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, op. cit., p. 10.
4. *Jugend in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Vol. III, *Konsum, Besitzstücke und Spargewohnheiten*, op. cit., p. A.72-A.85.

TABLE 3. Data on the frequency of smoking among Austrian adolescents[1]

	Apprentices aged		Students aged	
	15	17	15	17
	%	%	%	%
Regular smokers				
More than 10 cigarettes a day	3	15	1	7
4-10 cigarettes a day	10	21	7	14
Less than 4 cigarettes a day	0	2	5	1
Occasional smokers	42	26	40	30
Non-smokers	45	36	47	48
	100	100	100	100
	(183)	(204)	(234)	(281)

1. Data for Vienna.

the students do, although the rate of going steady (about 40 per cent of the 15- and 17-year-olds) is the same for both apprentices and students.[1]

An interesting details of this research is the fact that, with the development of a regular dating pattern, the boy spends less money on sweets for himself while his expenses for cigarettes increase.[2]

Leisure and leisure patterns of young workers

The amount of free time available on work days to our 800 respondents in Vienna and Lower Austria[3] was arrived at by subtracting working time (including lunch hour), time spent on getting to and from work, getting ready in the morning and sleeping; this gave a median of 3 hours and 40 minutes (in the city 4 hours and 26 minutes). However, only a part of this can be considered as genuine leisure time, because time for the evening meal, personal hygiene, helping with household chores, and doing homework for the vocational school, has still to be deducted. From Monday to Friday, the mean amount of genuine leisure amounts to between 2½ and 3 hours. Much more leisure time is of course available at the weekend, and the four weeks' annual holiday, statutory for juveniles in Austria, should also be taken into consideration. The picture we get is neither one of youths overburdened with work nor that of a 'leisure society'. As compared with adult and married persons, there certainly remains for the adolescents a larger measure of free time, since grown-up persons, because of family duties in addition to their work, are much more restricted.

When we go on to ask where the evenings out are spent, the cinema has to be considered first, as three-quarters of our respondents attend at least

1. L. Rosenmayr, 'Sozialbeziehungen und Milieu als Faktoren in der Pubertät männlicher Jugendlicher', in: *Österreichische Ärztezeitung*, Vol. 19, No. 7, 1964.
2. *Jugend in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.* Vol. III: *Konsum, Besitzstücke und Spargewohnheiten* op. cit., p. A.82.
3. L. Rosenmayr, *Familienbeziehungen und Freizeitgewohnheiten jugendlicher Arbeiter . . .*, op. cit., p. 268 et seq.

one show a week, and 40 per cent go to the cinema more frequently. Cinema-going increases, the more urban the community, the better the financial situation of the family, and the more limited the boys' religious practice. High cinema attendance frequency also has a specific relation to age. Other investigations[1] indicate that adolescents in general go to the cinema three to four times as frequently as adults, but by the age of 18 attendance figures already begin to drop. Thus, the great frequency of cinema visits observed for the apprentices is limited to their age group, and perhaps also to their specific background and cultural standards.

The choice of films appears to be strongly influenced by popular film magazines (read by 62 per cent of the apprentices). Conversely, films seen often determine which books or magazines are read. The apprentices prefer 'tough' films, which portray adventure, war stories, crime, etc. The urge to see such films may be one of the reasons why nearly all of them had, at least occasionally, ignored legal restrictions limiting the showing of films to adult audiences.[2]

After going to the cinema, there usually follows a visit to some place for refreshments, especially by those who are 'going steady' and have adequate financial means. Dancing is also important: one-quarter of the apprentices go dancing regularly. It is interesting to note that all such social activities are undertaken more frequently by boys in the middle-sized town than by those living in the big city.

Sports rank nearly as high as the cinema, among the interests and among the activities, but here the role of the adolescents is not confined to being mere 'consumers'. Our results dispose of the thesis that sport has become a matter of looking on. It is true that 84 per cent of the young workers watch sporting events, predominantly soccer matches and motor-cycle racing, but 90 per cent are themselves engaged in at least one kind of sport; here again soccer predominates. Apparently there is little opportunity for, or interest in, practising sports other than soccer, swimming, cycling and skiing. The whole area of track and field sports is largely neglected; this contributes to a certain monotony in athletics.

A study by Gerhard Maletzke[3] showed that the idea that adolescents in families owning a television set are excessively devoted to that medium, that they sit daily in front of the screen for hours on end without selecting their programmes and thus neglect all other leisure activities, is obviously least true for adolescents between the ages of 15 and 20. The ratio of adolescents who in fact watch the major part of the television programme daily amounts to 4 per cent, while the ratio of the corresponding self-

1. For example, E. Feldmann and W. Hagemann (eds.), *Der Film als Beeinflussungsmittel*, Emsdetten, 1955, p. 50; *Grossstadtjugend und Kino, Untersuchung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft 'Jugend und Film' beim Landesjugendreferat Wien über den Kinobesuch der Kinder una Jugendlichen im Jahre 1953*, Vienna, 1959; M. Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, op. cit., p. 14.
2. Recently, one of my collaborators, Eva Köckeis, studied this problem in great detail: E. Köckeis, 'Kinobesuch und Filmwahl österreichischer Lehrlinge und Mittelschüler', *Sehen und Hören*, Vol. 24, No. 6, 1966, p. 3 et seq.
3. Gerhard Maletzke, *Fernsehen im Leben der Jugend*, Hamburg, 1959, p. 140.

owning families amounts to 49 per cent. Excessive television-watching hence occurs more amongst children and adults than adolescents.[1]

It has sometimes been held that the appearance of new mass media does not significantly change previous leisure patterns. Table 4 shows that there is competition between the media in which the new one, television, has a decisive advantage and—more important still—that non-specific free time becomes occupied by media.[2]

TABLE 4

Activities	Respondents 15-20 years (N = 306) Not regular television viewers	Respondents 15-20 years (N = 306) Regular television viewers
	%	%
Home work	44	42
Reading	37	30
Active sport	25	34
Television	2	54
Outdoor activities	29	14
Cinema	18	20
Walking	19	13
Boy and girl friend	13	15
Clubs	13	10
Working in the house	12	11
Radio	16	6

1. Every respondent had the opportunity to give as many answers as he liked.

These data, derived from a small sample, support the hypothesis that media have a 'pervasive capacity'. They tend to penetrate and fill free time and, as Lazarsfeld and Merton have shown,[3] they do not activate by themselves.

Aspects of behaviour concerning symbolic culture

Recent culture theory has defined symbols, ideas and 'artifacts connected with these ideas and resulting from them' as the 'core of culture'.[4]

Symbols present themselves in the various media of language, script, sound and physical form. Symbolic culture means significative and expressive content, mediated for purposes of information, artistic expression, entertainment and education on differential levels of knowledge and art.

1. The investigation carried out by the Nuffield Foundation showed that already the 13- to 14-year-olds are rather independent from the television, while the 10- to 11-year-olds are still rather dependent on it.
2. Gerhard Maletzke, *Fernsehen im Leben der Jugend*, op. cit. p. 105.
3. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, 'Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action', in: B. Rosenberg and D. M. White (ed.), *Mass Culture*, Glencoe, 1959, p. 464.
4. Cf. C. Kluckhohn, *Culture and Behavior*, Glencoe, 1962, p. 73.

For the purposes of sociology of youth we are interested in the processes of social mediation of symbolic culture. It is through this that we define socialization, which is the socially mediated effect of culture on the individual, and occurs as a long-range process of influences within the various environments and social structures to which an individual belongs. Cultural values, norms and symbols are the content of socialization, mediated through the agents of socialization.[1]

We may here briefly describe different modes of socialization, related to different types of mediation and reception of 'symbolic culture' using a study on 'cultural activities' of Austrian youths.[2] We defined as 'cultural activities' our respondents' (mainly receptive) participation in symbols. The study is based on the measurement and analysis of several areas of such activities. For each of these areas—reading, cinema-going, music, theatre-going, etc.—we investigated certain relevant factors. We also studied the interrelationships between the different activities. We particularly attempted to ascertain the respondents' position on the dimension of 'cultural level' in terms of their attitudinal preference for, or factual participation in, sets of symbols of different quality represented by the various works of literature, theatre, music and art.

The research was designed as a comparison between boys who start work at the age of 15 and those who receive a full secondary education. We therefore drew random samples among adolescent males of 800 apprentices and 897 high-school students[3] of equal age—15 and 17. The samples covered the same geographical area: the city of Vienna and the province of Lower Austria. High school finishes with a diploma (*Matura*)—required for entrance to Austrian universities—and therefore lies at the summit of the whole range of training and occupational possibilities open in Austria to male adolescents between the ages of 14 and 18. Conversely, apprenticeship lies nearly at the bottom of that range.[4] Apprentices constitute the largest group among boys aged 14 to 18. They work four days a week in a workshop or factory, receiving on-the-job training lasting for about three years, which is supplemented by attendance at a trade school (*Berufsschule*) for one day per week.[5]

As was to be expected in the light of research in other countries, apprentices and high-school students differ in their education and social origin.

1. Cf. W. Brezinka, 'Die Pädagogik und die erzieherische Wirklichkeit', in: H. Röhrs (ed.), *Erziehungswissenschaft und Erziehungswirklichkeit*, Frankfurt, 1964, p. 192-220; see especially p. 193-4.
2. L. Rosenmayr, E. Köckeis, H. Kreutz, *Kulturelle Interessen von Jugendlichen*, Vienna, Munich, 1966.
3. We are here using the term 'high school' as a translation for the Austrian *Höhere Schule*. (Age groups from 11 to 18 at the time when the investigation was carried out.)
4. Except for the group receiving no formal training whatsoever after 14; this has become very small among boys of urban background.
5. Our sample consisted of engineering and woodworking apprentices because these may be considered, within the multiplicity of trades, as a medium group with regard to work-prestige and intelligence, and because they are employed both in factories and in small workshops.

In fact, there were so few high-school students from working-class homes (only 7 per cent) that we had to define the three social classes used for main analyses throughout this study somewhat differently from Anglo-American practice. Classifying by parental occupation gave the results shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Social origin of the respondents	Apprentices	High-school students
	%	%
Lower class (manual workers, low-grade sales and clerical workers)	85	19
Middle class (small business proprietors, medium administrative grades, semi-professions)	15	39
Upper middle and upper class (big business proprietors, top administrative grades, professions)	—	42
	100	100
	(681)[1]	(488/347)[2]

1. The difference between these totals and the figures quoted above is due to some deficiencies in the responses and to the fact that the farmers' sons in our sample have not been included in this social stratification model.
2. Because the total number of high-school students is very much lower in Lower Austria than in Vienna, different sampling fractions had to be used. Therefore the number of cases from which aggregated percentages have been calculated has to be quoted in two figures, e.g., N = 488/347.

The geographical spread of our samples permits regional comparisons according to the size of the community in which the respondents live (city of Vienna, towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants, small towns and villages), and the distribution of the cases along the rural-urban continuum.

Our data were collected in 1959, 1960 and 1961 through written questionnaires filled in by the boys in their class-rooms under the immediate supervision of our research staff, no teachers being present. In the following paragraphs, one area of cultural activities, book reading, is described.

The analysis of book reading: type and quality

The analysis of book reading by age-group suitability proved particularly interesting in its developmental aspects. Our results tally with the general pattern evolved by psychologists, and first discovered by Charlotte Bühler.[1] During early puberty interest is focused on adventurous heroes, preferably far removed in time or space from one's own sphere of life. The second stage of puberty, however, is characterized by a return to realism, and a specific interest in learning what the adult world is really like.

We found, however, that the turning-point between the first and the second stage occurs much earlier with high-school students than with apprentices. For instance, among those aged 15, 39 per cent of apprentices

1. C. Bühler, *Das Seelenleben des Jugendlichen*, 5th ed., Jena, 1929.

had read as their last book an adventure story as against only 23 per cent of students. By 17, the percentage whose most recent reading came into this category had decreased to 24 for apprentices and to 7 for students. This led us to introduce a concept of 'literary age' to denote the stage an individual child or adolescent has reached in his reading interests.

The accelerated development of the high-school students would seem to be confirmed by the results on age-group suitability.

The percentages having last read a book of definitely adult character were: apprentices: 29 at age 15 (N: 269), 38 at age 17(N: 335); high-school students: 38 at age 15 (N: 224/131), 53 at age 17 (N: 223/127).

This is by no means meant to imply that boys staying on at school generally mature quicker than those who start to work early. We found other areas where the apprentices definitely behave more as 'adults' than the students (e.g., money management, avoidance of direct parental control, evenings out, smoking, alcoholic drinks). Possibly, adolescents receiving a full secondary education advance more quickly in respect of a kind of critical independence ('intellectual autonomy'), while the working-class adolescents seem more forward with regard to independence in practical matters of everyday life.

Very clear evidence of one effect of continued education was afforded by our variable 'literary standard of last book read' which we considered an indicator for the dimension we termed 'cultural level'. We believe cultural level to be distinct from, although not orthogonal to, the dimension represented by 'literary age'. Between the ages of 15 and 17, the percentage of students reading books of low literary standard decreased from 17 to 9, and the percentage reading books of high standard increased from 23 to 35. Among the apprentices, however, there is no such development; their standards do not rise at all.

The students' development towards a higher literary standard of books read mainly depends on the influence of the school; yet schooling received only partially accounts for this influence. In the selection of books for private reading, peers are important, particularly because of the exchange and borrowing of books among classmates. The fact that the majority of students come from families with a high cultural level thus probably has —to use Lazarsfeld's term—a strong 'group effect' on the book-reading choice of their peers from less cultured families.[1] The participation in other media—e.g., the frequency of visits to theatres, concerts, art exhibitions, and also the types of newspapers and periodicals read—seems to be much more directly influenced by family habits, and thus depends a good deal on social origin.

Our extensive comparisons with data on adolescent reading collected in the 1920s suggest that, parallel to the well-known acceleration in physical maturity, an acceleration in 'literary age' also seems to have taken place

1. Cf. K. Ikeda, 'Extra-classroom Factors and Formal Instruction in Art and Music: A Case Study', *The School Review*, Vol. 72, No. 3, 1964, p. 319-51.

during these last four decades; i.e., certain types of books are being read by comparable groups at a somewhat lower demographic age now than thirty or forty years ago.

Types of adolescent socialization: 'privileged' and 'underprivileged' adolescence

Several studies carried out by us have shown a detachment of apprentices from their parents in leisure behaviour, and the tendency for shortening adolescence and the adoption of an adult status: relatively more apprentices drink alcoholic beverages, more of them smoke, more of them save their money for concrete purchases.[1]

With regard to occupational expectations, students connect achievement more frequently with work than is the case in respect of the group of apprentices. The latter emphasize the profit of work and the security of position more strongly.[2] Furthermore, students understand achievement as something 'special' and 'difficult', while apprentices understand it as the fulfilment of concrete demands of their work.[3]

Students appear to be more certain about their choices in matters of leisure. They 'feel at home' in cultural systems of symbols extending into the fields of literature and art and thus they are less frequently induced to escape boredom by engaging in activities determined by the casual peer-group.[4]

Interaction and common activities with parents are more frequent with students; apprentices on the other hand go out more frequently. Two-fifths of the apprentices go out four to seven evenings per week, while with students, the proportion is only one-sixth.[5]

A comparison between the most frequent leisure partners of students and apprentices shows that more than half of them are friends and same-sex friend groups with both students and apprentices; the other, somewhat smaller half is made up of parents and girl friends, with parents predominating amongst the students in the ratio 3 : 1. With apprentices the ratio is 1 : 3.

Classmates play a leading role in friendships among high-school students; the parents know these classmates or have at least better opportunities to come to know them as compared with parents of apprentices who are hardly able to inform themselves of their sons' social circle at their working place. In fact, serious, if not insurmountable limits are set to the co-operation between family and organizations and institutions working in the interest of apprentices.

1. Cf. *Jugend in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Vol. III: *Konsum, Besitzstücke und Spargewohnheiten*, op. cit., p. C11 et seq.
2. *Jugend in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Vol. II: *Lebensziele in der Pubertät*, op. cit., p. L71.
3. ibid., p. L74.
4. ibid., p. L29-L33.
5. L. Rosenmayr, E. Köckeis, H. Kreutz, *Kulturelle Interessen von Jugendlichen*, op. cit., p. XLVII.

As to the wishes for the preferred leisure partner, about half of the answers in both groups indicated the friend and same-sex friend groups. This wish structure corresponds to the actual distribution of the most frequent leisure partners: there is a certain balance between reality and desire. Girl friends, however, 'dominate' the parents as preferred leisure partners in the other half of the answer, but the discrepancy between reality and desire in relation to girl friends is more pronounced among students than among apprentices. This is due to the fact that relatively more apprentices have occasional (and casual) girl acquaintances.[1] Both groups are equal in going steady. Moreover, they are not so much controlled. Frequently they carry their own keys and do not have to anticipate control questions concerning their evening activities, and they may relatively freely dispose of their money for satisfying their consumer wishes. Hence, they are able to invite girls more frequently to coffee bars, dances, etc.[2] Comparative studies on leisure spending on two Sundays lead to results which fall in line with the above data. On the average, 50 per cent of the students spent the two 'last' Sundays alone—this means, according to our schedule of leisure activities, at home[3]—or together with the family and relatives, while with apprentices the corresponding figure only amounted to 20 per cent.

Before concluding, let us briefly glance at some aspects of the differences in the structure of idols. Cinema actors, pop singers and athletes play an important role (they make up the relatively greatest group of idols) with apprentices, while with students they are less pervasive and yield to the group of persons active in political, religious, social and scientific work—a group which is absolutely missing in the consideration of apprentices.[4]

Summing up our results it may therefore be said that students in secondary education experience a supported privileged puberty in the following sense: elevated socialization methods of the parents (greater extent of control, more time spent on the children, different attitudes toward their learning and symbolico-cultural development, possibly more interest in the children, etc.) facilitate internalization[5] or, respectively, transposition of parental authority into the sphere of guiding images. Intensity and duration of socialization efforts leave their marks.[6]

Privileged puberty results in guidance and encouragement to solve problems in a specific way. It supports the motivation to engage in leisure

1. H. Kreutz, *Jugend: Gruppenbildung und Objektwahl*, op. cit., p. 180.
2. L. Rosenmayr, 'Sozialbeziehungen und Milieu als Faktoren in der Pubertät männlicher Jugendlicher', op. cit.; also cf. L. Rosenmayr, *Familienbeziehungen und Freizeitgewohnheiten jugendlicher Arbeiter*, op. cit., p. 107-16.
3. L. Rosenmayr, *Familienbeziehungen und Freizeitgewohnheiten jugendlicher Arbeiter*, op. cit., p. 309, and further data of the Social Science Research Centre which are unpublished as yet.
4. Detailed information is contained in unpublished materials of the Social Science Research Centre of Vienna University.
5. Cf. the theoretical studies of D. Claessens, *Familie und Wertsystem*, Berlin, 1962.
6. See also: Arnost Bláha, *Sociologie detstvi*. III: *Ausgabe*, Brno, 1946; and Frantisek Kahuda, 'Problémy sociologického veku mládeze', in: *Problémy vyzkumu osobnosti vysokoskolského studentstva*, Olomouc, Pedagogická faculta, 1965.

activities, which satisfy culturally higher aims. These processes might also be referred to as the development of a cultural capacity to select.

Underprivileged adolescence in the developing countries is characterized by a continuous fight for survival, unemployment, low wages, unskilled labour, absence of food supplies, insufficient possibilities for privacy, child labour and numerous forms of escapism such as alcoholism and drugs, etc. Oscar Lewis[1] excellently characterized the main feature of this system: strong relationship to the present[2] and the inability to defer gratifications.

It is our thesis that some traits of this attitude of what might be called 'fatal immediacy' are still present within the highly industrialized societies with well-organized school systems.[3] Many studies have proven that the lower social strata only exceptionally bring forth the type of family for which Jean Floud[4] has coined the most appropriate term of *famille éducogène*. This refers to families which provide their children with 'elevated care' by means of manifold educational and cultural stimuli adjusted to each other. Families who know about the value of education and continuously perceive the educational opportunities and institutions, will strive to a greater degree of benefit from educational and cultural facilities over a long period.

Mass society and aspects of physical and mental health of youth

Finally some habits of modern mass society and their bearing and influence on the development of youth should be discussed. By mass society, I do not mean the conglomeration of great numbers of people in large cities, but a society which, because of the industrial character of at least part of its economy, is characterized by mass products, in the area of consumer goods as well as of cultural communications, information, etc.

What are the special conditions which such a mass society creates for adolescents and young people in general? Mass society offers a great diversity of patterned goods; the further it develops, the more alternatives it offers, and the more persuasive are the forces mobilized for keeping consumption going. We may say that mass society thus forces choices upon youth and creates intense attraction through constant change, fashion, etc.

Mass society has an inherent tendency towards stimulating speedy exploitation of objects and goods (and perhaps also of human individuals), and towards quick fulfilment.

1. O. Lewis, *The Children of Sanchez*, op. cit.
2. Cf. D. Caplovitz, 'The Problems of Blue-collar Consumers', in: A. B. Shostak and W. Gomberg (eds.), *Blue-collar World; Studies of the American Worker*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964, p. 112.
3. Cf. *Die unterentwickelten hochindustrialisierten Gesellschaften*, Bergedorfer Gesprächskreis zu Fragen der freien industriellen Gesellschaft, Protokoll Nr. 21, Hamburg, Bergedorf, 1966.
4. J. Floud, 'Social Class Factors in Educational Achievement', in: A. H. Halsey (ed.), *Ability and Educational Opportunity*, p. 102. Report on the conference organized by the Office for Scientific and Technical Personnel, in collaboration with the Swedish Ministry of Education, in Kungälv, Sweden, from 11 to 16 June 1961.

It is one of the important conflicts of our time that, on the one hand, we find these pressures towards abbreviation and, on the other, we notice the trend to deferment. Modern industrial society, we know, pushes up thresholds of entrance into active occupational life, and the further industrialization and technology and their administration develop, the more and the longer will be the education required for the performance of the jobs in production in an industrial society.

The question of how this conflict might be resolved leads to what I think are some fundamental notions for youth work. It appears to me that in view of the cross-pressure of quick fulfilment, on the one hand, and the demand for deferred gratification[1] on the other, a considerable amount of personal firmness and maturity is needed.[2]

Let us trace here certain characteristics which may be looked upon as indicators of the restlessness, which probably is both cause and effect of the desire for quick fulfilment we have just discussed. Many studies on the lack of concentration amongst children and adolescents have tried, with varying degrees of success, to connect results with phenomena of mass civilization. One of the difficulties lies in the fact that such studies have psychological, psychiatric and sociological aspects, and are hardly ever all of them adequately covered in a single piece of research. The aim should be to work out syndromes of behavioural and attitudinal elements in a given population which would allow for a diagnosis of the interrelation of various symptoms of the desire for 'quick fulfilment'. Without giving the full data here I will sketch some results below which have grown out of our research.

There are relatively extensive data available on perception of 'nervousness' in schoolchildren by teachers. Half of the boys and one-third of the girls in a population of 3,500 elementary schoolchildren in West Berlin[3] were classified by their teachers as emotionally unbalanced and nervous. However, of the children between 10 and 14 only about 25 per cent were thus classified. As there are no results available from this study taking into account the variables suggested above which would allow theoretical propositions aiming at models in the sense mentioned, and as the statements of teachers are not controlled as to the varying characteristics of the teachers themselves, the significance of these data must not be exaggerated. Additionally, results from our own research in Austria which did not specifically aim at an analysis of health aspects of youth are mentioned here to illustrate in which direction sociological research dealing with health problems of youth might proceed.

Studying insomnia on samples of more than 2,000 apprentices and high-school students aged 14 to 18, little variation was found according to age,

1. Because of long-term learning and preparation for complex occupational tasks requiring higher technical skills, greater administrative abilities, and increased psychological tact, versatility, etc.
2. J.-J. Rousseau pointed to the pedagogical necessity of deferring maturation and fulfilment (*Emile*, Part II, Book IV).
3. E. Wolf, *Lebensumstände grossstädtischer Schuljugend in heutiger Zeit*, Berlin, 1960,p. 12 and p. 15.

region and many other variables. Only the disturbance (physical and psychological) arising from sleeping in the same bedroom with the parents can be fairly safely inferred from the fact that insomnia in these cases was significantly above average (26 per cent of the young workers sleep in the same room as their parents; in Vienna, the percentage even rises to 34). Although frequent and regular insomnia was complained of by no more than 5 per cent of the students and 7 per cent of the apprentices, only half the adolescents said that they never suffer from it.

A question which proved to be more fruitful in its results was the one concerning pains. Let us first look at the general distribution of major types of pain in the two groups of adolescents studied (see Table 6).

TABLE 6

Ailment	Apprentices aged		High-school students aged	
	15	17	15	17
	%	%	%	%
Headache	14	13	14	15
Stomach-ache	5	3	3	3
Heart pains	4	3	2	3
Eye pains	3	4	3	5
Other	6	9	4	3
None	68	68	74	71
	100	100	100	100
	(313)	(396)	(273/157)	(213/187)

Nine-tenths of the students complaining of pains experienced them during school hours, whilst of the apprentices mentioning pains only one-sixth felt them during working hours. This leads to several speculations about the nervous strain in higher education which may, among other factors, be due to the anxieties experienced and to the relatively restricted opportunities for relaxation through motor activities. Positive correlations were found between pains and feelings of boredom during leisure.

The syndrome which presented itself connected variables in such a way that we may deduce the following: young people who have little interest in cultural activities—e.g., reading literary or popular scientific books, going to the theatre, painting, music, creative writing, visits to museums, because of their low intelligence or because of the incapacity of their parents to lead them to an appreciation of cultural values—show a much higher rate of boredom than others. Boredom, as we have seen, is connected with an increased rate of sensations of physical pains; on the other hand, it is linked with an increased frequency of means to fight this boredom through sensation: namely low quality, mainly 'tough' films, as described above. Such high cinema-going frequency is behaviour closely associated with activities which more deeply engrain a certain type of cinema world,[1] its

1. Cf. L. Rosenmayr, E. Köckeis, H. Kreutz ,*Kulturelle Interessen von Jugendlichen*, op. cit., p. 171-91.

stars, its fictitious and exaggerated pleasures. I mention this because the stereotyped imagery of film heroes and stars plays an important role in the emotional life of those who are incapable of certain 'elevated activities', and the heroes tend to become reference figures for adolescent identification. The correlation between the low level of cultural activities and the high frequency of low-quality films, and the connexion of these findings with an increased amount of identification with film stars (measured by sentence completion questions and other techniques) led me to think of a special type of identification quite outside the sphere of personally attainable aims and values. It may be called an identification without activities to raise ego-standards. The special characteristic of this type of identification is that it develops no creative aspirations and yet satisfies adolescent needs for ideal formation.

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The world of the social sciences

American history and social science: a trial balance[1]

Edward N. Saveth

Not long ago, discussion of the theme of balance between history and social science would have been largely in terms of philosophy and theory. I mean to suggest no history-theory dichotomy, nor to deny that certain philosophical positions, like that of Karl Popper, present a background for social science explanations in history [1].[2] At present, however, analysis of history-social science relationships can be pursued with reference to a fairly sizeable historical literature influenced by the concepts of social science.

This presentation will be concerned with a small portion of that literature, related mainly to group structure and group political behaviour.

First, what is meant by a social science approach to history? This can be defined as an extension of the historian's traditional process of conceptualization. As such, it is not unrelated to three centuries of American historiographic evolution during which historians borrowed from theology, philosophy, natural science—in addition to ordering the data of history itself—in order to infuse meaning into their narratives.

In abeyance, even if it cannot be bypassed entirely, is a mainly philosophic problem which has been discussed again and again: the nature of history and the nature of social science and the differences between them. Emphasis on this theme has caused us to think too much in terms of the relationship between whole bodies of knowledge: history and social science, history and one or another of the social science disciplines. Philosophic inquiry could have been geared more profitably to the concept rather than the discipline. I say this because the concept is the more fundamental unit in terms of which integration between history and social science, and among the social sciences themselves, actually takes place [2].

1. Volume XVII, No. 4, 1965, of the *International Social Science Journal* contained a series of studies under the title 'History and Social Sciences'. This article, which was originally presented before the American Historical Association on 29 December 1966, is a further contribution to the debate.
2. The figures in brackets refer to the notes at the end of this article.

Certain nineteenth-century historians, prior to the rise of the social sciences, made instinctive use of social science concepts in the ordering of their data [3]. The rise of the New History around 1910, paralleled by the growth of the social sciences, promoted greater awareness among historians of concepts developed in social science theory. Charles A. Beard, considering that he did it as early as 1913, presented a rather remarkable, if partial and incomplete analysis of class, in terms of amount and kind of property owned and using the analytic tool, original with him I believe [4], of economic biography [5]. Turner stressed the importance of 'related fields' to the historian's work. However, more in terms of the data of history itself than with reference to a significant body of social science literature on the subject, Turner explained to Merle Curti how one should go about the study of leadership and the relationship of the leader to the group [6].

Much of the revision of Turner and Beard has been in terms of social science concepts that seemed to offer more insight into behaviour than did 'class' or the frontier process [7]. Simultaneously, David Donald, Oscar Handlin and Richard Hofstadter drew upon a social science literature that was increasing in size and sophistication. This is apparent in Handlin's ideal type formulation of immigrant group behaviour [8], Donald's use of *élite* displacement and reference group theory to explain the behaviour of the abolitionist leadership group [9] and Hofstadter's use of the theory of status politics applied to the Progressives [10]. The conceptual usage of these historians has also come under attack in terms of what the concepts can and cannot explain about group behaviour [11]. In this controversy, statement and counterstatement alike fail to take into account the variety of group behaviour; the number of variables to be taken into consideration; and the inability of a theory of group behaviour to encompass all of the data [12].

There are at least two focal problems in the explanation of group behaviour. The first is identification of the group structure and the second is derivation of ideas and behaviour from structure. Bernard Bailyn writes of the difficulties in establishing group identity in the colonial period: 'groups form, dissolve, and re-form, leaders appear first on one side and then on another, issues precipitate formations without apparent relationship to succeeding groupings' [13]. Defining the composition of the Progressive group has troubled Arthur Link, Richard Hofstadter, and George Mowry, while Robert Wiebe has difficulty in identifying not only the Progressives but the business group as well [14]. According to J. R. Hollingsworth, 'the most important task facing the historian of the Populist movement is to establish who the Populists were and the kind of people they were' [15].

Even if group structure could be defined, proof of a nexus between structure and behaviour is complex. To demonstrate a determining relationship, it is necessary to show that others with the same group characteristics behaved in the same way; that people with different group characteristics did not act in the same way as the first group. Finally, assuming that relationship between group structure and behaviour can be established, how is the diffusion of a behaviour pattern throughout society to be accounted for? [16]

A study that I have been making of the American patrician encountered similar difficulty in the definition of patrician group and in relating group to behaviour. The study has as its framework the Weberian conception of class centred in economic status, social status and the expression of both in the quest for political power. In that context, social science theory yielded an open-ended and proximate guide to patrician group structure in W. L. Warner's designation of an upper-upper class [17]. This construct is re-enforced and also modified by the data of history. It did not harden into a formal typology.

Group structure, qualified in the ways I have mentioned, is related to behaviour by relevant social science concepts, two of which—reference group theory [18] and status politics—had been used before. Another concept, reference ancestry [19], has not to my knowledge been applied to the data of American history. Efforts towards evolving patrician types, whether real or ideal, were unsuccessful because of the need to qualify them owing to the wide variety of career lines derivative from the same *milieu*.

Even less rewarding was the effort to establish a distinctive patrician ideology with the expectation that it might serve as a group determinant. Also, I was not particularly successful in attempting to identify the patrician group in terms of what patricians were involved in. This concern with 'content' which enabled Wiebe to identify the Progressives as a group, proved less successful with the patrician group which was involved in a wide range of behaviour in politics and in other areas of power.

Seeking a concept more focal than any I have mentioned to group structure and behaviour, I concentrated upon family and family culture. Bailyn had stressed the importance of family as a micro-unit and as a 'primitive' unit of history [20] and Joseph Schumpeter had written of family as the 'true individual of class theory' [21].

The rich promise that this concept seemed to offer did not materialize fully. First, the sources of family history, especially family papers, are not organized. Secondly, family papers and genealogies—apart from a few obvious exceptions like the Adams family records—are more revealing of the minutiae of family existence than of group identity, political motivations and the inner working of family political 'connexions' [22]. Third, while sociological theory about the family is abundant, it has thus far failed to establish criteria in terms of which group character can be deduced from family structure. Fourth, the family histories that we have are not very useful for analytical purposes, nor is modern historical scholarship anxious to meet the difficult challenge of family history [23]. Finally, the 'family style' is not always easy to characterize and its relationship to group and class is even more difficult.

Family, conceived as a micro-unit focal to structure and behaviour, turned out to be something less than that. It was possible to discern regularities in political behaviour derivative from family culture of the sort that Herbert H. Hyman, David McClelland and Robert E. Lane have pointed out in their studies of political socialization as a contemporary phenemenon [24]. Yet, the variety of behaviour also sustained D. M. Potter's view that a microcosm can be as cosmic as a macrocosm and the relationships within it just as difficult to describe [25].

My research in the area of family history is insufficiently advanced to venture a definite conclusion as to the relative strength of centrifugal and centripetal forces in the family culture. Yet, the balance has an important relationship to group behaviour. If the individual should prove to be the only viable micro-unit, concepts related to individual behaviour assume added importance. How well they will serve as determinants of group behaviour is another matter. John Neale warns against the interpretation of group behaviour as the 'arithmetical sum of individual wills' [26].

In my own work, the history-social science balance, centred in what the key concepts can and cannot explain, leans towards historical uniqueness rather than social science uniformities. Perhaps, a future scholar will be able to describe the balance more precisely by using quantitative techniques, in the spirit of the advice offered by G. Kitson Clark to those who would generalize about group or class: 'do not guess, try to count, and if you can not count admit that you are guessing'. That is, assuming the data permit of quantification. Meanwhile, as my own study progressed, the conceptual framework became less significant as a determinant of group structure and behaviour than as so many props for a rather flexible framework for a history that became increasingly narrative [27]. Knowledge of the patriciate is communicated less in terms of analysis than with reference to narrative and description, the traditional techniques of the historian.

Other historians have pushed the balance further in the direction of social science. In the early 1930s, reacting against the hodge-podge that was social history's inheritance from McMaster, Schlesinger Sr. demanded of social history that it reveal 'the behaviour patterns of society' and 'the working of processes' [28]. In 1960, one of America's more astute social historians argued, ill-advisedly in my opinion, for the reduction of social history to sociology, and identified social structure, especially mobility, as the dominant theme [29]. Cushing Strout, defending David Riesman against Carl Degler's admirable critique, explained that Riesman was dealing in 'ideal types'. [30] My experience with the practical uses of the ideal type concept leads me to regard it as even less meaningful analytically than does G. Kolko [31].

Nevertheless, some rather successful history has been geared closely to the social science concept. D. M. Potter has developed national culture as an explication of group culture [32] and, more recently, Richard Merritt has applied quantification and sampling to the same problem [33]. Sigmund Diamond, in two articles, has exploited to advantage the concept of social structure [34] and S. Thernstrom has done well with the concept of mobility [35].

Criteria for good and bad applications of social science concepts to history are difficult to formulate in categoric terms. The ability of the historian to balance concept and data effectively is crucial. In this balance, the data factor is the more important element because it is in terms of data that the concept separates from the broad extension open to it in terms of theory and achieves the kind of definition that makes its use meaningful to historians [36].

Thernstrom's explication of class in terms of occupation and property is the kind of effective usage that I have in mind, because it is conditioned by the data available to him [37]. Note, however, that if Thernstrom had shifted his emphasis from the working people who were 'without tongues' to the patricians of that same period who were very 'verbal', his conception of class would have to assume new dimensions [38].

Studying railroad entrepreneurs as a group and their behaviour, Thomas Cochran has attempted to define 'norms of thought and attitude'. Wisely, in my opinion, Cochran noted the limitations of the 'role' concept in achieving this goal, and called for 'more mature social hypotheses than now exist' to describe the relationship between thought and action [39]. This was in 1953 and, since then, hypotheses have been advanced, centred mainly in non-ideological and non-rational factors affecting human behaviour.

Thus, Richard Hofstadter has recently explained use of the concept of status politics as a departure from what he described as the 'excessive rationalism that imbued the work' of earlier historians and political scientists [40]. Hofstadter's position is still too ideological to suit Samuel Hays who has attacked Hofstadter for an excessively rational approach to political behaviour [41]. Perhaps both Hofstadter and Hays have focused too narrowly upon grand ideas and not enough upon commonplace views which affect the behaviour of mass publics. Besides, even if ideas do not correspond to behaviour, the reason for their expression is still a problem which students of group political behaviour cannot afford to overlook.

Against this background, Martin B. Duberman's assertion of the role of ideas and of values in influencing the behaviour of abolitionists, is refreshing [42], especially to those of us who are employed as teachers of intellectual history. It also suggests that the role of ideas is more important in the behaviour of some groups than others. Or, at certain times in our history, ideas enter more importantly into behaviour.

Bernard Bailyn, for example, has examined ideas prior to the American Revolution in terms of their inner structure, their relationship to society and their impact upon events transcending their original expression [43]. Bailyn's position, as he realizes, presents its own data-concept problems, centred in the need to explain individual and group reactions to ideas in the context of social structure [44].

Explanations of group behaviour in terms of non-quantitative concepts are rooted in individual and social psychology. Rarely does the documentation available to historians penetrate to these areas. Despite the glowing promise of William Langer's 'The Next Assignment' [45] and Bruce Mazlish's introduction to *Psychoanalysis and History* [46], in all too many instances conceptual formulations centred in individual and group psychology founder on data insufficiency. Nor is the situation improved by Hofstadter's references to what impress me as unproven and unprovable assumptions concerning frustration-aggression patterns in American society in the late 1890s and undefined and undefinable entities like the 'psychic economy' of the nation [47]. Merritt's use of symbolic analysis with quantification has at least the potential of a more accurate reading of the social psyche than the subjective impressions of the historian [48]. In the field of individual behaviour, psychoanalytic concepts are more useful as devices for literary analysis than as explanations of the motivation of the behaviour of political personalities. Attempts at the latter, it is my impression, made better reading a decade ago than today [49].

Another reason why we are no further along in the use of non-quantitative social science concepts has to do with the lack of formal apparatus to deal with the problems they pose and absence of a real dialogue between historian and social scientist. Few specialists in American history contribute to *History and Theory* which has a philosophic rather than a social science orientation. Fewer still, contribute to *Comparative Studies in Society and History* [50]. Reviews of books by social scientists dealing with American history in the *American Historical Review* and the *Journal of American History* approach a real type which admits that the volume at hand offers some stimulating insights, but adds that the concept has been stretched too far and the source materials are secondary [51].

Not that the reviewers are wrong. The fact is that not many social scientists are interested in history. A very few are concerned with developmental factors and show it in their work [52]; others pay lip service to the importance of history but ignore it in their work [53]; and there are still others who are ahistorical and anti-historical [54], celebrating the liberation of social science from history even as Wilhem Dilthey once hailed the liberation of history from theology.

Relatively recent use by historians of quantitative concepts brings into bold relief those criteria traditionally identified as characteristic of a social science approach: the priority of the problem over the narrative, and the mingling of data and theory in problem solution. The balance is now heavily on the side of social science. Fritz Redlich has distinguished the 'new' economic history from previous economic history in terms of the emphasis of the former upon 'purely "economic" problems of economic history', especially upon economic problems expressed mathematically and statistically [55].

Not all of this is 'new'. Earlier historians, among them Henry Adams, recognized the importance of statistics. However, the present emphasis is unmistakable and statistical techniques have advanced beyond anything Adams imagined [56].

Does quantification make historical knowledge more precise? The debate over the Cochran thesis concerning the impact of the Civil War on industrialization indicates that use of statistical series and quantitative data, while supplementing what we know, does not render conclusions less open to dispute [57]. Statistics, like other of historical data, can be interpreted variously [58]. In addition, especially for the early period of our history, statistics are far from precise [59]. Finally, according to Conrad and Meyer, 'statistical inference occurs in the framework of a "stochastic" or probabilistic universe in which neither historical process, social process, nor scientific relationships are precisely determined' [60].

Quantification has also entered into efforts to explain the political behaviour of groups. The importance of the data collection efforts of the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, the techniques for data storage and retrieval, and the machine processing of data can be assumed. More open to challenge is the context in which this is done. There is this difference between the new economic history and the new political history, not unrelated, perhaps, to the fact that the new economic history is about ten years old, while the new political history is about two or three years old. It is the new political history's almost total neglect of theory which, according to William Fogel, plays an integral part in the quantitative work of economic historians. Not that the latter agree among themselves as to the theoretical implications of their work. However, the debate over theory both sharpens problems and turns up new evidence, while making the historian sensitive to the danger of what Douglass C. North described as the substitution of econometric techniques and the computer for 'theory and imagination' [61].

Samuel P. Hays, who has written most about the work of the consortium, has done so with only passing reference to behavioural and historical theory. With much of what Hays advocates there can be no disagreement. There is need, as he says, to examine the structure of political groups; to study trends rather than episodes in voting behaviour; to relate voting behaviour to demography and population characteristics and to 'what people do—their occupation, their income, their patterns of consumption, their residential locations . . . ' [62]. However, once correlations between demography and voting behaviour are made, if they can be developed as satisfactorily as Hays thinks they can, what is their implication for a theory of voting behaviour and of political behaviour generally? At this point, Hays' empiricism fails to tie into theory—either into historical theory that would advance his present effort by relating it to what went before; or to social science theory, especially behaviour theory that conceives of 'political life as a system of behaviour operating within and responding to its social environment' [63]. True, neither historical theory regarding group behaviour nor social science theory is as highly developed as one would wish. Hays' significant contribution could be even more meaningful if it were more intimately related to theory, admitting the inadequacies of the latter.

This lack of *rapport* with theory is particularly apparent in Hays' efforts to deal with the relationship between ideology and political behaviour. Hays' concern with this problem is manifest mainly in an attack upon Hofstadter and the ideological emphasis of the 'liberal framework' of social analysis [64]. Hays seems to be unaware of the conceptual implications of ideology developed in recent years by political scientists [65], especially the relationship between élitist ideas and 'the belief systems of mass publics' [66]. Political theory may not have solved this problem, but it has contributed a dimension to it neither Hays nor any other historian can afford to neglect.

None of this is intended to minimize any part of the present programmes of the consortium. Still, the consortium's work should be set within the context of theory that would tell us what is to be measured, the strengths and limitations of measurement, and something of the area beyond which the machine, at least thus far, has not been able to reach. Much needed, is an extension of William Aydelotte's remarks on quantification with specific reference to the work of the consortium [67].

A recent attempt at theory by another prime mover in the consortium, Lee Benson, was not a happy one. Benson related the work of the consortium to the ideas of Henry Buckle who, in 1857, maintained that it was the task of the historian to develop 'general laws of human behaviour'. The consortium is a long way from that goal and this excursion into 'grand theory' is more than a little premature [68].

Emphasis on quantification in political and economic history has influenced proposals for the training and retraining of historians. The consortium has on its agenda summer seminars in Quantitative Political Analysis and Mathematical Political Analysis. The American Council on Learned Societies *Newsletter* lists a number of computerized studies now under way by historians who, it can be assumed, will interest their students in quantitative problems [69]. As for the rest of us, Edmund A. Bowles of the IBM corporation estimates that a one- or two-week course in computers would permit a historian 'to communicate effectively with a professional programmer' [70].

Stress upon quantification raises the question of the balance within the balance; whether within the context of the social science approach to American history there might be too much emphasis upon quantitative as opposed to non-quantitative concepts. It is difficult to predict the future implications for historiographic practice and theory, of quantification and machine processes. At present, however, relatively few historical data can be quantified meaningfully and training ought to reflect this situation.

My ideas about training in social science for historians reflect the argument of this article. They involve bypassing the discipline and focusing upon the concept, especially the non-quantitative concept which bears the burden of the bulk of historical explanation. Training should emphasize the data dimension of the concept while not neglecting theory [71]. Admittedly, my sense of the balance between data and theory, heavily on the side of data, derives from my own experience in writing about the American patrician. Others, no doubt, have different views of balance, and there are some to whom the idea of a history-social science balance is irrelevant to being either an historian or a social scientist. To leave the balance in this uncertain state is not to endorse a subjective or relativist view of where to place the fulcrum. Rather does it suggest that historical situations project their own unique balance with social science, and that the perception of this is a test of the historian's skill.

NOTES

1. Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, Boston, 1957, p. 27-8.
2. A recent volume based on departmental archives, edited by Dr. Paul Buck, entitled *Social Sciences at Harvard 1866-1920*, Cambridge, 1966, indicates how vague and chancy are these disciplinary divisions apart from the administrative purposes they serve. At the same time, disciplinary divisions are so much part of our daily lives as teachers and scholars, so much of our identity is associated with them, that the discussion of history-social science relationships has taken place all too frequently within an artificial disciplinary framework.
   On the role of the concept and its relationship to theory building, see: Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York, 1937, p. 39; Morton B. King Jr., 'Some Comments on Concepts', *Social Forces*, Vol. XXXVI, October 1955, p. 1-4; Arnold Brecht, *Political Theory*, Princeton, 1959, p. 59.
3. Edward N. Saveth (ed.)' 'The Conceptualization of American History,' in: *American History and the Social Sciences*, New York, 1964, p. 10-11. For a highly tentative effort to examine the nature of the concept and its classification, see p. 18 of this work.
4. D. W. Brogan, 'The Quarrel over Charles Austin Beard and the American Constitution', *Economic History Review*, Vol. XVIII, August 1965, p. 203.
5. John Neale, 'The Biographical Approach to History', *History*, n.s., vol. XXXVI, October 1951, p. 193-203. Neale overlooks Beard's idea of economic biographies, but does not suggest that Beard had a predecessor in this general area.
6. W. R. Jacobs, J. W. Caughey and Joe B. Frantz, *Turner, Bolton and Webb*, Seattle, 1965, p. 22.
7. See, for example, Allan G. Bogue, 'Social Theory and the Pioneer', *Agricultural History*, Vol. XXXIV, January 1960, p. 21-34.
8. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, Boston, 1951.
9. David Donald, 'Toward a Reconsideration of the Abolitionists', in: *Lincoln Reconsidered*, New York, 1956.
10. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, New York, 1960.
11. John J. Appel, 'American Negro and Immigrant Experience: Similarities and Differences', *American Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, spring 1966, p. 95-103; Rudolph J. Vecoli, 'Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of *The Uprooted*', *Journal of American History*, December 1965. This criticism overlooks Handlin's use of ideal type as a literary device, analogous to Parkman's usage. See David Levin, *History as Romantic Art*, Stanford, 1959, p. 50.
    R. A. Skothiem, 'A Note on Historical Method', *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. XXV, 1959, p. 356-65; Richard B. Sherman, 'The Status Revolution and Massachusetts Progressive Leadership', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXXVIII, March 1963, p. 59-65; N. M. Wilensky, *Conservatives in the Progressive Era*, Gainesville, 1965.
12. G. C. Homans, *The Human Group*, New York, 1950, p. xii; M. R. Stein, *The Eclipse of Community*, Princeton, 1960, p. 333-4.
13. Bernard Bailyn, 'The Beekmans of New York: Trade, Politics and Families', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, October 1957, p. 601.
14. Robert Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement*, Cambridge, 1962, p. viii, 206-11.

15. J. R. Hollingsworth, 'Populism: The Problem of Rhetoric and Reality', *Agricultural History*, Vol. XXXIX, April 1965, p. 81-5.
16. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLVIII, March 1962, p. 715-6.
17. W. L. Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America*, Chicago, 1949, p. 16-17; *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven, 1941, p. 123-5, 352-3.
18. Harold A. Nelson, 'A Tentative Foundation for Reference Group Theory', *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XLIV, April 1961, p. 280.
19. Herbert H. Hyman, 'Reflections on Reference Groups', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, autumn 1960, p. 392.
20. Bailyn, 'The Beekmans of New York', op. cit., p. 598-608.
21. Joseph Schumpeter, 'Social Classes in an Ethnically Homogeneous Environment', in: *Imperialism and Social Classes*, New York, 1951, p. 158.
22. David H. Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism*, New York, 1965, p. 221. I think that Fischer overestimates the contribution that genealogy can make to an understanding of the role of family in politics.
23. Richard S. Dunn's statement at the outset of his account of the Winthrops that he was not attempting 'a balanced family history or group biography' enabled him to bypass many of the difficult concepts involved in family history. *Puritans and Yankees*, Princeton, 1962, p. vii.
24. Herbert H. Hyman, *Political Socialization*, Glencoe, 1959, p. 92-3. David McClelland, *The Achieving Society*, Princeton, 1961, p. 373-6; Robert E. Lane, *Political Ideology*, New York, 1962.
25. 'Explicit Data and Implicit Assumptions in Historical Study', in: Louis Gottschalk (ed.), *Generalization in the Writing of History*, Chicago, 1963, p. 191.
26. Neale, 'The Biographical Approach to History', op. cit., p. 195.
27. J. H. Hexter, *Reappraisals in History*, Evanston, 1961, p. 14-25.
28. 'An Editor's Second Thoughts', in: W. E. Lingelbach (ed.), *Approaches to American Social History*, New York, 1937, p. 84.
29. Roland Berthoff, 'The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis', *American Historical Review*, Vol. LXV, April 1960, p. 495-514. For an attack on the kind of reductionism practised by Berthoff, see: Karl Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies*, Princeton, 1950, Chapter 14.
30. Carl N. Degler, 'The Sociologist as Historian, Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*', *American Quarterly*, Vol. XV, Winter 1963; Cushing Strout, 'A Note on Degler, Riesman and Tocqueville', *American Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, spring 1964, p. 100.
31. Gabriel Kolko, 'Max Weber on America: Theory and Evidence', *History and Theory*, Vol. I, 1961, p. 243-60. My conclusion derives also from evaluation of the discussion of ideal type in Frederic C. Lane and Jelle C. Riemersma (eds.), *Enterprise and Secular Change*, Homewood, Ill., 1953, p. 431-63 and Don Martindale, 'Sociological Theory and the Ideal Type' in: L. Gross (ed.), *Symposium on Sociological Theory*, New York, 1959, p. 57-88.
32. David M. Potter, *People of Plenty*, Chicago, 1954.
33. R. L. Merritt, 'The Emergence of American Nationalism: A Quantitative Approach', *American Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, part 2, summer 1965, p. 319-35.
34. Sigmund Diamond, 'From Organization to Society: Virginia in the Seventeenth Century', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LXIII, March 1958, p. 457-75; 'An Experiment in "Feudalism": French Canada in the 17th Century', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, January 1961, p. 3-34.
35. Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress. Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*, Cambridge, 1964.
36. For the weakness of theory alone in defining a concept, see: Donald W. Olmstead, *Social Groups, Roles and Leadership: An Introduction to the Concepts*, East Lansing, Mich., 1961, p. 46; Charles M. Bonjean, 'Community Leadership: A Case Study of Conceptual Refinement', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LXV, May 1963, p. 672-81.
37. Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*, op. cit., p. 84.
38. See, for example, the concept of class held by Charles Francis Adams. Aida Di Pace Donald and David Donald (ed.), *Diary of Charles Francis Adams*, Cambridge, 1964, Introduction, p. xv-xxxiv. When Charles Francis married Abigail Brooks, it is a case of an upper-upper marrying a lower-upper that would warm the heart of a professor of sociology of the Warner persuasion.
39. Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890*, Cambridge, 1953, p. 13-15. Paul Goodman, 'Ethics and Enterprise: The Values of the Boston Elite, 1800-1860', *American Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, Fall 1966), p. 451, leaves the problem of integrating business 'ideals and behavior' to 'future studies'.

40. Richard Hofstadter, 'Fundamentalism and Status Politics on the Right', *Columbia University Forum*, Vol. VIII, autumn 1965, p. 24.
41. Samuel P. Hays, 'The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era', *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. LV, October 1964, p. 158.
42. Martin B. Duberman, 'The Abolitionists and Psychology', *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XLVII, July 1962, p. 183-91.
43. Bailyn's use of ideas should be understood against the background of the historiography of ideas in America. See particularly John Higham, 'Intellectual History and its Neighbors', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, June 1954; Rush Welter, 'The History of Ideas in America: An Essay in Redefinition', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March 1965. Norman Birnbaum, 'The Sociological Study of Ideology', *Current Sociology*, Vol. IX, 1960.
44. Gordon S. Wood, 'Rhetoric and Reality in the American Revolution', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, January 1966, p. 24.
45. William L. Langer, 'The Next Assignment', *American Historical Review*, Vol. LXIII, January 1958, p. 283-304.
46. Bruce Mazlish, *Psychoanalysis and History*, Englewood Cliffs, 1963, p. 1-19.
47. Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*, New York, 1965, p. 161.
48. Richard L. Merritt, *Symbols of the American Community*, New Haven, 1966.
49. Paul Goodman, 'David Donald's *Charles Sumner* Reconsidered', *New England Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVII, September 1964, p. 384. Norman Kiell, *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans, The Civil War Era*, New York, 1964.
50. Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery*, Chicago, 1959, and Seymour M. Lipset, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley, 1959, are examples of efforts to present American themes in comparative perspective.
51. This is based on a survey of the review pages of the *American Historical Review* and the *Journal of American History* in the last six years. I do not know whether Kai T. Erickson's *Wayward Puritans. A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* will be reviewed in these journals, but I venture to guess that the content of the review is predictable. See: *American Historical Review*, Vol. LXV, July 1960, p. 900; ibid., p. 921-2; Vol. LXVIII, July 1963, p. 1077; Vol. LXX, October 1964, p. 181; *Journal of American History*, Vol. LI, 1964, p. 140, 329.
52. Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* New Haven, 1961.
53. Peter L. Berger, *Invitation to Sociology*, New York, 1963, p. 168.
54. Peter Odegard, 'A New Look at Leviathan', in: Lynn White Jr. (ed.), *Frontiers of Knowledge in the Study of Man*, New York, 1954, p. 94; Hannah Arendt, 'Understanding and Politics', *Partisan Review*, Vol. XX, July-August 1953, p. 377-92.
55. Fritz Redlich, '"New" and Traditional Approaches to Economic History and their Interdependence', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XXV, December 1965, p. 480-95.
56. Edward N. Saveth (ed.), *Henry Adams*, New York, 1963, p. 54, 66, 165-71; *American History and the Social Sciences*, p. 12.
57. Harry N. Scheiber, 'Economic Change in the Civil War Era: An Analysis of Recent Studies', *Civil War History*, Vol. XI, December 1965, p. 396-411.
58. Henry J. Young has described the limitations of the statistical method in accounting for the evolution of opinion. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLIX, June 1962, p. 115-6.
59. On the unreliability of early statistics, see: Thomas C. Cochran, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLVIII, June 1961, p. 116.
60. A. H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, *The Economics of Slavery*, Chicago 1964, p. 32. Bernard and Lotte Bailyn describe the strengths and limitations of quantification and machine processing: 'We found that machine tabulation opened important areas for historical investigation, but we found also that it was full of unexpected problems whose solutions were exceedingly time-consuming and not always completely satisfying.' *Massachusetts Shipping*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 135-41.
61. Douglass C. North, 'The State of Economic History', *American Economic Review*, Vol. LV, May 1965, p. 90; William Fogel, 'The Reunification of Economic History with Economic Theory', ibid., p. 96. For an illustration of a controversy over theory, see: Douglass C. North and Stuart Bruchey, *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, Vol. I, winter 1965, second series, p. 145-63.
62. Samuel P. Hays, 'The Social Analysis of American Political History, 1880-1920', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXXX, September 1965, p. 373-94; 'Archival Sources for American Political History', *The American Archivist*, Vol. XXVIII, January 1965, p. 18.

63. J. C. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Limits of Behavioralism*, Philadelphia, October 1962, p. 17-18, 23-4, 43.
64. 'Social Analysis of Political History', op. cit., p. 375; 'The Politics of Reform', op. cit., p. 158.
65. David Minar, 'Ideology and Political Behavior', *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, Vol. V, November 1961, p. 317-31; Philip Converse, 'The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics', in: David Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*, Glencoe, 1964, p. 206-61; Robert E. Lane, *Political Ideology*, op. cit.
66. Samuel H. Barnes, 'Ideology and the Organization of Conflict: On the Relationship between Political Thought and Behavior', *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. XXVIII, August 1966, p. 515, 521-2, 529.
67. William O. Aydelotte, 'Quantification in History', *American Historical Review*, Vol. LXXI, April 1966.
68. Lee Benson, 'Quantification, Scientific History, and Scholarly Innovation', *American Historical Association Newsletter*, June 1966, p. 11-13. Richard P. McCormick has called attention to Benson's concern for '"potentially verifiable hypotheses" which he does not purport to verify'. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLVIII, December 1961, p. 512.
69. *ACLS Newsletter*, June 1966, p. 10-16.
70. Letter to the author from Mr. Edmund A. Bowles, Manager Professional Activities of the International Business Machines Corporation, 6 October 1966.
71. The problem that confronts the historian in the use of concepts is not so much to make himself a master of the theoretical development of individual concepts, but to determine which aspect of theory is relevant to his research. My own position resembles Professor Dahl's: 'We are not likely to produce—certainly not for some considerable time to come—anything like a consistent, coherent "Theory of Power." We are more likely to produce a variety of theories of limited scope, each of which employs some definition of power that is useful in the context of a particular piece of research or theory but different in important respects from the definitions of other studies.' 'The Concept of Power', *Behavioral Science*, Vol. III, July 1957, p. 202. See also footnote 36 above.

Research and training centres and professional bodies[1]

Contributions to this section are invited. Statements not exceeding 1,500 words should be submitted in two double-spaced typewritten copies, in English, French, Spanish, Russian, German or Italian. Particular emphasis on current or planned research activities is desirable.

New institutions and changes of name and address

New institutions

United States of America

Center for the Study of the Causes of War and Conditions for Peace, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

Institute of International Crime and Delinquency Studies, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, College of Liberal Arts, Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts 02154.

Changes of name and address

International

European Institute of Business Administration/Institut Européen d'Administration des Affaires (INSEAD), boulevard de Constance, 77 Fontainebleau (France).

[Formerly: 3, rue du Père-Jacques, Fontainebleau-Avon, Seine-et-Marne (France).

1. For cumulative index to this section see Vol. XVI, 1964, No. 1, p. 117.

International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP), 6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1 (United Kingdom).
[Formerly: 3 Hendon Avenue, London N.3 (United Kingdom).]

Federal Republic of Germany

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswartige Politik e.V. (German Society for Foreign Affairs), Adenauerallee 133, 53 Bonn.
[Formerly: Koblenzer Strasse 133, 53 Bonn.]

Sozialpsychologische Forschungsstelle für Entwicklungsplanung an der Universität des Saarlandes, Stadtwald, 66 Saarbrücken 15.
[Formerly: Forschungsstelle fur Entwicklungshilfe-Erziehungshilfe.]

German Democratic Republic

Deutsches Institut für Zeitgeschichte (German Institute for Contemporary History), Otto Grotewohlstrasse 5, 108 Berlin.
[Formerly: Hessische Str. 12, 104 Berlin.]

Italy

Centro Studi Terzo Mundo, Via G.B. Morgagni 39, 20129 Milan.
[Formerly: Via Omboni 3, Milan.]

Istituto per gli Studi sullo Sviluppo Economico e il Progresso Tecnico, Via Nomentana 92, Rome.
[Formerly: Via del Caucaso 49, Rome.]

Sweden

Socialhögskolan i Lund (Graduate School of Social Work and Public Administration), S. Södergatan 25, Fack 80, Lund 1.
[Formerly: Kiliansgatan 12, Lund.]

United States of America

American Society for Information Science, c/o The Galton Institute, 8717 West Third Street, Los Angeles, California 90048.
[Formerly: American Documentation Institute (ADI).]

Zambia

National Institute of Public Administration, P.O. Box 1990, Lusaka.
[Formerly: Staff Training College and Law School.]

International

Association pour le Développement de la Science Politique Européenne

61, rue des Belles-Feuilles, 75 Paris-16e (France)

The Association pour le Développement de la Science Politique Européenne (ADESPE), established in May 1964, was originally intended to be a purely French organization, but the increase in its membership—it now has members in some ten countries—and, more than anything else, the nature of the problems with which it deals have gradually led it to extend its activities beyond the national limits.

The establishment of ADESPE may be said to have placed political science on an international footing in Europe for the first time, although no other discipline is harder to define or has had to struggle longer for recognition. It has been given a new dimension, as it were, by the creation of European bodies and even more so by the creation of the European Community; for, while the study of national or international politics has lost none of its interest, scholars and observers can now study the workings of bodies where the power to make decisions is shared and organized in quite an original manner and where social integration is ensured by processes which are unique owing to their pace and phasing.

AIMS AND METHODS

Much could be said about the association's two basic assumptions, but they may be summarized as follows. First, because of its special interest, scope and original character, European political science should be studied as a separate subject, not to the neglect of the achievements of political science as a whole, but rather in order to apply them more effectively to a new field. Secondly, as political science is essentially interdisciplinary, this task cannot be done by political experts alone, but will require the collaboration of all experts who are interested in European questions and whose work contributes to political science: jurists, economists, sociologists, historians, geographers, psychologists, etc.

The association's aims are as follows:

1. To develop teaching about European questions, particularly about European political science, at all appropriate university establishments, especially faculties of law, faculties of letters and institutes of political studies, either as part of the normal curriculum or, where appropriate, at interdisciplinary centres for European studies.
2. To improve the documentation of European questions, especially at higher educational establishments and centres for European studies.
3. To make special documentation on European political science available to its members.
4. To promote the study of European political science, as an additional subject for the *licence*, *doctorat du troisième cycle* and *doctorat d'État* and through the setting up of interdisciplinary and/or inter-university research teams—and even, in due course, international teams (especially inside the Common Market).

The association's activities include the following in particular: supplying teaching and training establishments, both public and private, with documentation on European questions, especially on the various activities of the European communities; organizing symposia, seminars and training courses on questions relating to European political science; awarding research or study grants to teachers, research workers and students; preparing a permanent index of public and private higher educational establishments in which European questions may be studied.

MEMBERS

The association consists of active members and benefactor members. Candidates for membership must be proposed by two existing members and approved by the Governing Board. At present, the association has members in the six countries of the European Community as well as in Great Britain, Switzerland and Canada, and it is an associate member of the International Political Science Association.

STRUCTURE

The association is governed by a Board composed of six members elected for a four-year period by the General Assembly from its members of all categories. Half of the Board's members are elected every two years.

The Board selects among its members a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary-general and treasurer. The present chairman of the association is Mr. Daniel Pepy, Conseiller d'Etat and professor at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris and in Lyons.

ACTIVITIES

To encourage research on European integration, ADESPE, *in conjunction with* various universities, has organized symposia, including one in Lyons in November 1966 on 'Decision-making in the European communities' and another at Caen in December 1966 on 'Great Britain and the Common Market'. In December 1965, a post-electoral survey on European questions was carried out in seven French university towns. The association's current projects include: a symposium on 'EEC and the developing countries, in connexion with the renewal of the Convention of Association between Europe and Africa' (Berlin, spring 1968); a symposium on 'Joint decision-making in the European Community' (Grenoble, 1968); a symposium on 'Public opinion and the construction of Europe' (Strasbourg, 1968 or 1969).

International Centre for the Study of Intergroup Relations

4, rue de Chevreuse, 75 Paris-6e

AIMS

The International Centre for the Study of Intergroup Relations devotes itself to intercultural and interdisciplinary studies dealing with the relations between different ethnic groups, at the national and international levels, with problems relating to social and ethnic identity and with the means of transforming antagonistic attitudes into co-operative attitudes.

BACKGROUND

The centre began to operate in Paris at the beginning of 1965 under the auspices and with the financial support of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (Sorbonne) and of the International Social Science Council. In 1965-66, it was able to make a slight increase in its staff and intensify its efforts thanks to grants from two American foundations, the Aquinas Fund and the New World Foundation. The first project to be undertaken is a study of the way in which African students view the problems confronting them; the purpose of this study is to assess the impact of university life in a number of African countries (Ivory Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda, etc.), with due regard to certain social, economic, political and psychological factors. This study will be continued in certain European and Latin American countries for purposes of comparison.

ORGANIZATION

The centre forms part of the École Pratique des Hautes Études and of the International Social Science Council. It is directed by Professor Otto Klineberg, assisted by Mrs. M. Zavalloni. An Executive Committee consisting of specialists from various countries supervises the centre's activities. The centre also collaborates with the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation, the Institute of Race Relations (London), the social psychology and social psychiatry sections of the Laboratoire de Psychologie of the University of Paris and with various other universities, especially in the United States.

FIELDS OF INTEREST

In addition to the research mentioned above, the centre ensures the training of research workers in the fields within its competence. This training, which is methodological, stresses the interdisciplinary aspects of the problems studied. The centre also evaluates the results of current surveys and selects the problems that have as yet been insufficiently explored.

PUBLICATIONS

Apart from the publications dealing directly with the centre's activities, it is planned to publish regularly critical reviews of the research carried out on the main aspects of intergroup relations or on certain local situations. The publication programme includes the following items in particular: an article by Professor O. Klineberg on research which should be carried out in connexion with international exchanges; another article by the same author on research problems raised by the study of national stereotypes; a work by M. Zavalloni and O. Klineberg entitled *Identité sociale et Ethnique*; a monograph by M. Zavalloni on the personal and social attitudes of young people in Trinidad; a critical study of research on intergroup relations in the Federal Republic of Germany, by O. Klineberg and Urd Beck; a critical study of research on relations between Indian castes, by Professor B. Kupuswamy of the India International Centre.

Republic of China

Institute of International Relations

1795 Chung Cheng Road, Taipei

The Institute of International Relations was founded in 1962 by the past Director and Board Chairman, Pu Tao-ming, to encourage intensive research on the great international issues of the modern world and to promote the co-operation of scholars concerned with these matters. Stress is more particularly laid on the field of communist studies—on the communist system, policies and actions, the relation of communist regimes with their peoples, with each other and with the outside world and the manner in which they deal with the forces of science and technology. The aim is to provide policy makers with specific data upon request and to provide the reading public and other research organizations with systematic and up-to-date information on communist and international affairs.

OBJECTIVES

A staff of more than fifty specialists, each with particular qualifications in some field of communist or international affairs, under the direction of Professor Wu Chen Tsai (who is also the Chairman of the Board of Directors) and the two Deputy Directors (also Board members), Professor Teng Kung-hsuan and Professor Kuo Chien-hui, seek to achieve the above aims through studies and contact with academic research organizations, scholars and specialists in Taiwan and abroad. It undertakes research on its own behalf and also agrees to undertake research for both the public and private sectors, local and foreign.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The Institute has a Board of Directors which appoints the Director and two Deputy Directors with the approval of the Central Government of the Republic. The Director, in turn, appoints the staff of researchers, the Chief of the publication section, the Chief Librarian and the administrative and clerical staff. The Institute comprises the following sections: the International Problems Research Section; Soviet Russia Bloc Research Section; the Chinese Communist Problems Research Section; the Economic Affairs Research Section; the library; the Publication Section; the Secretariat.

RESEARCH

Research is the major concern of the members of the Institute, and the Board of Directors is vitally concerned that the standards of intellectual inquiry should be most rigorous. Actual research is handled by the first four sections. Where topics overlap or are of concern to more than one section, provision is made for close collaboration.

The main issues studied by the first section concern: (a) International organizations, including the United Nations, NATO, OAS, SEATO, Organization of African States and the Commonwealth; (b) Regional politics: the United States of America; Japan and Korea; South and South-East Asia; the Middle East and Africa; West Europe; and Latin America; (c) Domestic situation of foreign countries: analysing and commenting on important elections, budgets, and domestic aspects of the major nations of the world which have a bearing on the international scene or which may be regarded as matters of international concern.

The main issues covered by the second section, among others, are the organization of the Soviet Communist Party and Government; ideological polemics; culture, education and science; foreign relations. Similar issues in respect of Chinese communism are studied by the third section, while the fourth studies economic relations as well as the situation in Taiwan.

CONFERENCES, FORUMS, LECTURES

The regulation governing the Institute's organization empowers the Director to convene conferences, special subject forums and public academic lectures in order to promote the activities of the Institute, encourage research and publication activities, and strengthen its relations with other research organizations and scholars in Taiwan and abroad. Weekly research discussions are held to report progress and exchange ideas on problems and findings. The Academic Forum is one of the highlights of the Institute's activities and enables government officials, Chinese and foreign diplomats, noted foreign scholars as well as the senior members of the Institute to meet together. Here, following the presentation of a report or a lecture, the speaker and members of the Institute share a free exchange of ideas and points of view. The lively discussions have frequently served to stimulate further research projects.

DOCUMENTATION

The library of the Institute contains original source materials as well as periodicals and specialized monographs in Chinese, Japanese, Russian and other languages. More than 30,000 titles are catalogued.

The Board of Directors recognized from the outset that one of the most valuable aspects of the Institute's work would be the opportunity for exchange of publications, data, and even personnel with top-ranking research institutes abroad. Already working arrangements have been concluded with almost fifty such institutes, governmental and private, and further co-operation with additional centres for the study of international affairs is under negotiation.

The Data Centre takes charge of implementing the arrangements made.

PUBLICATIONS

All the assembled data, completed research studies, analysis of current problems and conference proceedings are published in the monthly *Issues and Studies* (Chinese and English editions), *Chinese Communist Affairs Monthly* (Chinese), *Analysis of Current Chinese Communist Problems* (English) and other pamphlets and series.

PROGRESS AND FUTURE

In the short period since its foundation, the IIR has gone far towards achieving its objectives with the help of advice, observations and criticisms from scholars abroad. It now plans to expand its activities so that it may become a major data collection and library centre and a location to which interested scholars from all over the world can come for research, exchange of views and conferences.

India

Institute of Economic Growth

University Enclave, Delhi 7

The Institute of Economic Growth was established in May 1958 by the Delhi School of Economics Society after it had been decided, with the agreement of the University of Delhi, that the Delhi School of Economics would operate exclusively as the university's Department of Economics and that its functions as an all-India centre for economic research would be transferred to a separate research body.

The Institute devotes itself to basic analytical studies in the field of economic development, and more specifically to developing appropriate economic concepts and categories for the analysis of available data on important aspects of the economy with a view to studying the structure of different sectors, structural changes, and intersectoral relationships. It is also interested in the study of economic development in other countries whose experience might be relevant to India.

The research staff of the Institute consists of senior fellows of professorial status, associate fellows of the status of reader, junior fellows, and complementary staff of research analysts, research assistants, field investigators, etc. Over-all administration and co-ordination of the research and other activities of the Institute is in the hands of its Director.

The research activities of the Institute are organized into the following divisions: economic growth; economic planning; industrial development; rural and urban demography; labour economics and agricultural economics.

Research work is carried out by members of the Institute mainly on an individual basis but invariably as part of the planned research programme of the Institute.

The Institute registers a limited number of candidates for the Ph.D. degree in economics of the University of Delhi. Twice a year the Institute also offers a five-month post-graduate course in social science research methodology which is attended by economists and sociologists sponsored by various academic and governmental organizations, as also as by other research workers some of whom hold scholarships awarded by the Institute. Foreign students are also admitted under the Government of India Reciprocal Scholarship Scheme.

The Institute likewise undertakes research projects sponsored by the various ministries of the Government of India and by private industry. Many national and international seminars and conferences have been held at the Institute. It publishes its work in the form of research papers, monographs and reports. Research papers are published as a series entitled *Occasional Papers*; monographs form another series called *Studies in Economic Growth*. Some research reports are issued only in mimeographed form and copies are made available to academic bodies and government departments on a limited circulation basis.

A major development was the organization in January 1967 of a new division devoted to sociological research. This was made possible by the merger of the Unesco Research Centre on Social and Economic Development in Southern Asia with the Institute on 31 December 1966. The Unesco Research Centre had shared the same building with the Institute since 1961. The new research division, under the name of Research Centre on Social and Economic Development in Asia (or briefly, Asian Research Centre), will endeavour to strengthen and develop the Institute's interests in social and economic development in other Asian countries. The Institute's regional programme will be supported by Unesco through grants for regional seminars, regional research, etc. Unesco will also station experts with the Institute from time to time. Of these, the most important is a regional social science research adviser. Associated with the Institute's regional programme are the following countries of the region: Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Viet-Nam.

A Regional Consultative Committee meets annually to advise on the various research activities of the Centre. The present members of the committee come from Ceylon, Denmark, Iran, Japan, the Philippines, U.S.A. and Viet-Nam. The first meeting of the committee was held in July 1967.

The Asian Research Centre has launched a number of research projects on food habits and economic growth, rural change, urbanization and the family, social and economic aspects of peasant behaviour, and agents of modernization (bureaucrats, business executives, medical practitioners, and politicians). While most of the research projects will in the first instance be begun in India, at least some of them are to be extended to other Asian countries.

Following on the merger of the Institute and the Unesco Research Centre, the library resources have been pooled and the combined collection now totals about 35,000 books. The library also subscribes to about 1,000 periodicals. The library specializes in the field of economics and sociology, and has a good collection of work on many Asian countries.

The library's sources and Unesco assistance are being used to publish an annual Asian social science bibliography.

Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Institute of Economic Growth Society: Professor V. K. R. V. Rao, Minister for Transport and Shipping, Government of India.

Director of the Institute of Economic Growth: Professor P. N. Dhar.

Senior Fellow-in-Charge of the Asian Research Centre: Dr. T. N. Madan.

Regional Social Science Research Adviser: Dr. Ralph Pieris (Ceylon).

Institute of Economic Research

Vidyagiri, Dharwar-4

DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH CENTRE

The Government of India established a Demographic Research Centre at the Institute in 1961. This is one of the six centres set up throughout India and is designed to cover the whole Mysore State.

The centre proposes to study the demographic features of different regions of Mysore State against their specific social and economic backgrounds. Attitudes and practices in respect of family planning are also being studied and the two sets of studies together are expected to furnish information of the greatest value for a clear understanding of the problems involved.

Projects undertaken by the Demographic Research Centre of the Institute are:

Demographic survey in Dharwar Taluka. In the first year of the Centre's existence, a demographic survey was conducted in Dharwar town and twenty villages of Dharwar taluka and the draft report has been completed.

Family planning inquiry in Dharwar Taluka. This study was carried out in the same twenty villages and in Dharwar town with the aim of assessing the extent of knowledge of and attitudes towards family planning.

General demographic survey in Shimoga district. Twelve villages from three different talukas of Shimoga district were chosen for this survey. In all 1,330 households were covered.

A study of seasonal in-migrants in Shimoga district. The Malenad areas receive a fairly large number of seasonal in-migrants during the busy agricultural season—and particularly the harvest period. It was therefore considered worthwhile to conduct a study of the characteristics of such migrants. The field work for this study was carried out in the second round of the Shimoga survey in the same twelve selected villages. The survey covered 170 persons in all.

Historical study of migrants in Shimoga district. The rate of growth of the population in Shimoga district between 1951 and 1961 has amounted to 53 per cent. In the previous decades, there had been a decrease. Migration has played a very important part in the demographic situation of Shimoga district. Our general demographic survey in 1963 indicated that 45 per cent of the population in twelve villages of Shimoga district consisted of in-migrants. (Not all these persons, of course, had necessarily migrated to the particular villages from outside the district.) All those in-migrants who were available have been covered in this survey. The number of in-migrants households actually covered is 1,102 and the number of individuals 2,930. Data have been collected on the number of total movements, distance covered, occupations followed, motivation for migration, duration of stay, etc. The field work was conducted from May 1964 to the end of August 1964. The same twelve villages of Shimoga district were selected for the purpose of this study.

Family planning inquiry in rural Shimoga. The family planning inquiry was conducted in the same twelve villages of Shimoga district. The survey covered 310 currently married husbands.

A monograph on Kogilageri village. A monograph on Kogilageri village in Malenad tract of Dharwar district has been undertaken and the draft report of the study completed.

A SURVEY OF HANDICRAFTS IN SOUTH MYSORE

The Government of Mysore entrusted the Institute with the Handicrafts Survey Scheme. The main object of the survey was to inquire into the socio-economic conditions of the artisans engaged in handicrafts in 491 establishments in the southern district of Mysore State. The report of the study has been published.

A SURVEY OF RURAL CARPENTERS AND BLACKSMITHS IN DHARWAR DISTRICT

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Commission entrusted the Institute with the task of making a survey of rural carpenters and blacksmiths. The survey covered 603 persons in twenty-four villages of Dharwar district. The main aim was to examine the economic position of the carpenters and blacksmiths with special reference to the structure of organization and capital, etc. The report of the study has been completed.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PANCHAYATI RAJ

Public Co-operation in Developmental Programmes. The Government of Mysore sanctioned a grant-in-aid for the study of Public Co-operation in Developmental Programmes. The survey covered forty-one villages in Dharwar taluka and the study has now been completed.

Evolution of Panchayati Raj in India. Shri. R. V. Jathar, an associate worker of the Institute, has written a book entitled *Evolution of Panchayati Raj in India* which has been published by the Institute.

A Seminar on Panchayati Raj. The Seminar on Panchayati Raj was organized by the Institute with a grant of Rs.1,000 from the Lokamanya Tilak Purse Fund, Karnatak Branch. A book containing articles on various aspects of Panchayati Raj has been brought out in the Kannada language. Both this book and the one mentioned above were officially launched on publication by Shri. S. K. Dey, Minister for Community Development and Co-operation, Government of India, on 1 February 1964.

PLANNING

Planning at the Block Level. The Government of Mysore entrusted to the Institute the Study of Planning at the Block Level. This covered twenty villages of Dharwar Block and has already been completed.

RURAL EMPLOYMENT SURVEY

The Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission, Government of India, have sanctioned the project 'A Survey of Employment Conditions of Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Labourers in Shirhatti Taluka of Dharwar District in Mysore State'. Six villages have been selected for this study and data have been assembled on the basis of twelve monthly inquiries. The report is currently under way.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Lectures, talks, symposia, etc., by distinguished experts have been arranged by the Institute on current economic, demographic and social problems.

Seminar. Under the auspices of the Demographic Research Centre of the Institute of Economic Research, a Seminar on Demographic Aspects of Mysore State and Family Planning was organized on 19 and 20 March 1967. In all, sixteen papers were submitted and participation was extensive and broadly representative.

The seminar was inaugurated by Lt.-Col. B. L. Raina, Director, Central Family Planning Institute, New Delhi, on 19 March 1967. In his opening address he emphasized the importance of research in the successful implementation of the Family Planning Programme and stressed four main points: (a) framers of the policy and the general public should have faith in the programme; (b) qualified workers and adequate equipment and finance were needed; (c) proper planning was essential; (d) organization was required to implement the programme successfully.

Papers on the following topics were selected for the seminar: Family planning; Migration in Mysore State; Urbanization in Mysore State; Fertility in Mysore State; Projection of primary school-age population for Mysore State; Role of family and economic development.

The State Family Planning Officer, selected District Family Planning Officers, District Health Officers, Family Planning Education Leaders, university and college lecturers, representations of Family Planning Training, the Ramanagaram Government Demonstration and Experimental Centre, the Bangalore Census Office, research workers and others participated in the seminar.

Hukerikar Memorial Lecture Series. Beginning in 1964, the Governing Body of the Janata Shikshana Samiti, the parent body of the Institute, instituted an Annual Lecture Series named after the late Shri. R. S. Hukerikar, founder of the Janata Shikshana Samiti and the Institute. It is planned to invite an eminent social scientist every year to deliver lectures in this series. Professor N. V. Sovani of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, delivered three lectures for the year 1964, on 27, 28 and 29 November 1964, on the European Economic Community. These lectures were subsequently published in book form.

The second talk in the series was delivered by Lt.-Col. B. L. Raina, Director, Central Family Planning Institute, New Delhi, who spoke on 'The Family at Cross Roads'.

Journal of the Institute of Economic Research. The Institute started issuing the bi-annual journal as from January 1966. The first three issues have already appeared.

Publications

A Survey of Handicrafts in South Mysore, by B. D. Kale.
Evolution of Panchayati Raj in India, by R. V. Jathar.
Panchayati Rajya (in Kannada), edited by B. D. Kale.
The European Economic Community (Hukerikar Memorial Lecture Series, 1964), by N. V. Sovani.
The Village Society in Transition (a collection of articles in Kannada), edited by B. D. Kale.

Forthcoming Institute publications

Public Co-operation in Developmental Programmes.
Planning at the Block Level.
A Survey of Rural Carpenters and Blacksmiths in Dharwar District.
A Study of Mysore State Population (a collection of articles in Kannada).
Family at Cross Roads, by Lt.-Col. B. L. Raina.

Other reports of the Demographic Research Centre of the Institute

Family Planning Inquiry in Rural Shimoga.
A Study of Seasonal In-migrants in Shimoga District.
Family Planning Inquiry in Dharwar Taluka.

Reports under preparation

A Demographic Survey in Dharwar Taluka.
A Demographic Survey in Shimoga District.
Historical Study of Migrants in Shimoga District.
A Monograph on Kogilageri Village.

Niger

Centre Nigérien de Recherches en Sciences Humaines (IFAN)

B.P. 318, Niamey

As its title indicates, the Niger Centre for Research into the Human Sciences has the task of co-ordinating and facilitating the basic or applied research undertaken in the Republic of Niger in the field of the human sciences.

In order to be able to perform its task and serve research as a whole with the maximum efficiency, the Centre would be grateful if research workers intending to work in Niger would send it the following information before their arrival in this country:

1. *Personal information:* name, address; post; university qualifications; previous publications (the Centre should like to receive a copy of publications concerning previous research work, as well as particulars about the research project to be undertaken).
2. *Research project:* title of the project; subject; detailed description (including as far as possible, precise particulars concerning the region where the research is to be carried out); linguistic preparation; sponsoring body—research institute, foundation, university, etc.; draft budget.

Research workers who come to the Niger will be required to deposit a provisional report with the Centre's Library at the end of their stay and send the Centre at least one copy of any subsequent publication based on their work in the field (article, book, thesis, dissertation).

The Centre will be happy to receive visiting research workers and hopes that their stay in the Niger will be beneficial to all concerned.

Furthermore, the Centre will gladly answer all requests for information concerning research in the Niger and is prepared to give research workers whatever assistance it can.

Trinidad and Tobago

Institute of International Relations

University of the West Indies,
St. Augustine, Trinidad, W.I

FOUNDATION

After negotiations initiated by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, an agreement was entered into by that Government and the Government of Switzerland on 7 January 1966, for the setting up of an Institute of International Relations in Trinidad. This agreement is valid for three years and will probably be extended for another three years.

Under the agreement, the Swiss Government undertook to supply three Swiss professors on the staff of the Institute, one of them to be the Director. In addition, that Government agreed to make an initial contribution to the library of the Institute and to provide a number of scholarships, one of which enables the holder to work at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago, on the other hand, was to meet the costs of building and equipping the Institute and the recurrent costs, and also provide accommodation for the three Swiss professors. It was also to supply funds for the emoluments of a lecturer in Caribbean studies and establish scholarships for students from Trinidad and Tobago.

Another agreement was made between the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, which was entrusted by the Swiss Government with the implementation of the inter-governmental agreement, and the University of the West Indies. Under this agreement, the Institute of International Relations is affiliated to the University of the West Indies, so that the staff of the Institute are considered as members of the staff of the university and the diplomas for the Institute's one-year course are issued by the University of the West Indies.

ACTIVITIES

Teaching

The main purpose of the Institute of International Relations is to provide a post-graduate course leading to a diploma. This course covers the following subjects: international law and international institutions, international politics, international economics, Caribbean politics, diplomatic and consular law and practice, and the diplomacy of development. The method of instruction places great emphasis on the synthesis between academic and practical work in order to supply the Governments concerned with trained personnel for their Foreign Ministries. The course is open to English-speaking students from Caribbean countries and to students of the neighbouring mainland countries. Private students, as well as Government-sponsored ones, are accepted. In general, they must hold a university degree. In the first year 1966-67, sixteen students from Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Barbados and Guyana attended the one-year course. It is hoped that it will be possible to increase the number of students in the next year to twenty-five and that other Governments will submit applications.

In addition to the one-year diploma course, the Institute from time to time conducts crash programmes and other short courses. In January 1967, for instance, it organized a week-end seminar on international politics in collaboration with the Cipriani Labour College, Port of Spain. From April to June 1967, the Institute also organized a seminar in diplomacy which was sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The ten-week seminar in diplomacy is designed for civil servants who cannot be released for a longer period.

Research

Besides the teaching programme, the Institute of International Relations was created from the very outset as a centre for research and documentation in international relations in the Caribbean area.

The need for a research programme in this field stems from the observation that existing research on the Caribbean has been centred mainly around anthropology and sociology, whereas relatively little attention has been devoted to the political, economic and legal aspects of relations among Caribbean territories, or of such territories with the outside world. Yet the diversity of this area makes the Caribbean one of the world's most fascinating workshops in international relations.

Although the Institute takes the Caribbean region in the broad sense of the term, it gives priority to and puts stress on the following areas, in order of importance:

1. Main emphasis on West Indian States (Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Barbados), Guyana, the French and Dutch Antilles and Guianas, and the Associated States of the Leeward and Windward Islands.
2. Considerable emphasis on the other Caribbean countries (Dominican Republic, Haiti, Cuba, Puerto Rico).
3. Interest in Central and South American countries of the circum-Caribbean area (Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Venezuela).

With respect to the first group, the limits within which research may be conducted are:

1. Inter-Caribbean relations. (a) Bilateral relations. Among West Indian countries, with Guyana; and relations with countries which have a special status (Puerto Rico, French and Dutch Antilles) or a very different type of evolution from the other territories (Haiti, Cuba). (b) Efforts towards regional co-operation and economic integration. (i) From a historical point of view: the Caribbean Commission, the Federation of the West Indies; (ii) at present: the Caribbean Organization, the Guyana-Barbados-Antigua Union; (iii) in the future: the chances of a Caribbean Economic Union and of federation among the 'Little Seven'.
2. International relations of West Indian Territories. (a) Bilateral relations; (b) economic groupings, with the Central American Common Market, the Latin American Free Trade Association and the European Common Market; (c) relations with political organizations like the Commonwealth, the OAS, the United Nations; (d) relations with the countries of origin of the West Indian people.
3. Comparative studies on political, legal and economic problems in West Indian countries which are essential to research in its international relations.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH STAFF

The teaching and research staff consist of three Swiss professors, a lecturer in Caribbean studies, provided by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago and a member of the university's Faculty of Social Sciences, who voluntarily takes over the course in international economics.

For the academic year 1967/68, the teaching staff comprises: Dr. Roy Preiswerk, Professor, Geneva Graduate Institute, Dr. Christian Dominice, Director of Diplomatic Training Programmes at the Geneva Institute; Mr. Yves Collart, Director of

Studies at the Geneva Institute; Dr. Krishna Bahadoorsingh; Mr. Alister McIntyre, Chairman, Division of Social Sciences, U.W.I., St. Augustine; Mr. James Millette, Vice-Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, U.W.I.; Mr. Roland Wermuth, Secretary at the Swiss Embassy in Caracas, Venezuela.

For the first academic year, 1966/67, the staff consisted, in addition to Professor Preiswerk, Dr. Bahadoorsingh and Mr. McIntyre, of the first Director, Professor Ulrich Haefelin, as lecturer in international law, and Professor Heinz Meier as lecturer in diplomatic and consular law and practice in diplomacy of development.

For the duration of the Carnegie Seminar in Diplomacy, April-June 1967, the United Nations Institute of Training and Research (UNITAR) supplied the Institute with an expert in international organizations: Professor Alastair M. Taylor, Queen's University, Kingstown, Ontario, Canada.

The Institute has just completed its second year and its first Director, Professor Haefelin, has left. Professor Preiswerk took over the directorship from the end of August 1967.

United Kingdom

British Institute of International and Comparative Law

1 Temple Gardens, Temple, London E.C.4

FOUNDATION AND PURPOSE

The British Institute of International and Comparative Law was founded in 1958 to bring together and expand the work of the Society of Comparative Legislation and International Law (founded in 1894) and the Grotius Society (founded in 1915). The Institute provides an international centre for studying the practical application to current problems of public international law, private international law and comparative law (with particular reference to Commonwealth and Common Law and the legal problems of the European communities).

ORGANIZATION

The Institute is organized under a Council of Management, of which the Chairman is the Rt. Hon. Lord Denning, M.R., and an Advisory Board with sections in Public International Law, Private International Law and Comparative Law, each under a Chairman; the Rt. Hon. Lord Shawcross, Q.C., the Hon. Mr. Justice Scarman, O.B.E., and the Hon. Mr. Justice Cross, respectively. The Director of the Institute is Dr. K. R. Simmonds. The assistant Directors are Mr. H. H. Marshall, C.M.G., Q.C. (Commonwealth Law) and Mr. Dennis Thompson (European and Common Market Law).

MEMBERSHIP

Membership of the Institute is open to individuals, firms and corporations without restriction of nationality. In June 1966, it had 1,400 ordinary members and 32 corporate subscribers from all over the world.

PUBLICATIONS

The Institute publishes the *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, a widely circulating and comprehensive journal publishing an extensive range of articles, comments, notes, summaries of current legal developments and book reviews. The Director of the Institute is the General Editor assisted by the Librarian as Assistant General Editor.

Others series of books being published by the Institute are: *British Institute Studies in International and Comparative Law*, which includes *British International Law Cases*; the *British Digest of International Law* and the *British Practice in International Law*. As a documentation service it issues monthly a mimeographed bulletin, *U.K. and International Programmes of Lectures, Conferences and Courses*, a selected list of activities primarily in the fields of international and comparative law, and the fortnightly *Bulletin of Legal Developments*.

CONFERENCES

The Institute organizes courses, meetings and conferences at which the lecturers or speakers are leading authorities on current problems of public and private international law. The lectures, addresses and proceedings that result are published in the *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* or in separate publications. Most of these gatherings take place in London. The Institute also co-sponsors with other groups similar conferences abroad like the one with the Institute of International and Comparative Law of the Free University of Berlin and the Berlin Branch of the Deutsch-Englische Gesellschaft held at the Free University of Berlin from 9 to 13 June 1965.

RESEARCH

Research work is carried out by the professional staff of the Institute and by its full-time research officers supported by an administrative and secretarial staff of eight. Projects are undertaken on its own initiative or jointly with universities and individuals. A few of the studies under consideration, in progress or completed, are: International law as interpreted by English Courts; Regional organizations outside Europe, the first phase of which is devoted to Central and Latin American organizations; Sovereign immunities; Problems of harmonization of laws as influenced by developments in the European Economic Community and the Council of Europe; and Legal aspects of economic development, for Unesco.

One of the most important activities of the Commonwealth Department of the Institute involving research work is the Commonwealth Legal Advisory Service. This service is extensively used as a means of obtaining and exchanging information by the member States of the British Commonwealth on a large number of legal subjects such as legal developments in the Commonwealth, interpretation of laws, etc., decisions, legal education, preparations of laws and codes, law reforms, etc.

The Institute has maintained and extended the close relationships established with a large number of universities and similar institutions, professional bodies, government offices in the United Kingdom and throughout the world. It has collaborated in various ways with Unesco and the ILO. As mentioned earlier, it gives assistance in various ways. Research fellowships are granted to scholars for study in such countries as France and Germany under co-operative arrangements. The Institute is pleased to receive visiting authorities from overseas and within the limits imposed by its resources welcomes the continued expansion of its relationships, which serve as a bridge between different sectors of the legal community and different spheres of legal activity throughout the world.

Meetings

Approaching international conferences

1968 or 1969	Tananarive	International Association of Legal Science: Colloquium on the Teaching of International Law *Professor F. H. Lawson, Secretary-General, University of Houston College of Law, Cullen Blvd., Houston, Texas 77004 (U.S.A.)*
	Italy	International Union of Peace Societies: Thirty-fifth Universal Peace Congress *Dr. Theodore C. Pontzen, 12, rue Dohis, 92 Vincennes (France)*
1968		
July		
1-5	Glasgow	International Sociological Association, Committee on Political Sociology: Conference on Comparability in Voting Studies *Professor Richard Rose, Department of Politics, McCance Building, Richmond Street, Glasgow, C.1 (United Kingdom)*
1-5	Paris	Unesco: Symposium on the Inequalities of Development and Peace *Mr. M. Makagiansar, SHC, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris-7e (France)*
1-28	Cologne	Unesco: International Seminar on the Use of Mathematics in the Social Sciences *SCH/SS, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris-7e (France)*
8-12	Dublin	International Bar Association: Twelfth Congress *Eric A. Plunkett, Esq., Inc. Law Society of Ireland, Solicitors' Bldgs., Four Courts, Dublin 7 (Ireland)*

1. No further details concerning these meetings can be obtained through this *Journal*.

10-31	Rio de Janeiro	Unesco: Training course for Latin American sociologists *SHC/SS, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris-7e (France)*
14-19	Hannover, Federal Republic of Germany	International Humanist and Ethical Union: International meeting, European Conference (Theme: protection of human rights) *Oudegracht 152, PO Box 114, Utrecht (Netherlands)*
15-27	Pavia	Italian Pugwash Movement: International Summer School on disarmament and arms control, Second course *Ghislieri College, Pavia (Italy)*
15/23 August	The Hague	Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Co-operation: Sixth International Summer Course on Industrialization *NUFFIC, 27, Molenstraat, The Hague (Netherlands)*
July	Antigua, Guatemala	Central American Higher Universities Council: Central American Seminar for Social Sciences University Teachers *CSUCA, Universidad de Costa Rica, Ciudad Universitaría Rodrigo Facio, San José (Costa Rica)*

August

5-10	Kuala Lumpur	International Association of Historians of Asia: International Conference on Asian History *The Secretary, Organizing Committee, Department of History, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia)*
5-10	Drienerlo-Enschede, Netherlands	International Committee for Co-operation in Rural Sociology/European Society for Rural Sociology: Second World Congress (Theme: Development and rural social structure) *Dr. A. K. Constandes, Landbouwhogeschool, Herenstraat 25, Wageningen (Netherlands)*
11-17	Stuttgart and Munich	Thirty-eighth International Congress of Americanists *Otto Zerries, Museum für Völkerkunde, Maximilianstrasse 42, Munich (Fed. Rep. of Germany)*
12-17	London	World Federation for Mental Health: Twenty-first Annual Meeting and Seventh Congress (Theme: Keys to progress—Mental health education) *Mrs. Morgan, NAMH, 39 Queen Anne Street, London W.1 (United Kingdom)*
12-17	Helsinki	International Federation of Settlements and Neighbourhood Centres: Conference (Theme: Man in modern society) *Esko Koivu, Sturenkatu 11, Helsinki 51 (Finland)*
14-17	Helsinki	International Association of Schools of Social Work: Fourteenth International Congress *Dr. K. A. Kendall, 345 East 46th Street, Room 615, New York, N.Y. 10017 (U.S.A.)*

18-22	Amsterdam	International Association of Applied Psychology: Sixteenth International Congress (Theme: Interaction of theory and practice in psychology) *S. Wiergersma, Nederlands Instituut von Praktiserende Psychologen, c/o Holland Organizing Centre, 16 Lange Voorhout, The Hague (Netherlands)*
18-22	Rome	International Conference of Sociology of Religion: International Congress *Silvano Burgelassi, primo CIRIS, Piazza Pilotta 3, 00187 Rome (Italy)*
18-24	Helsinki	International Council on Social Welfare: Fourteenth International Conference *Miss Ruth M. Williams, ICSW, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017 (U.S.A.)*
18-24	Nyborg, Denmark	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: International Congress *Danish Section of the League, Købenagergade 69 4, Copenhagen K (Denmark)*
19-31	Amsterdam	Europa Instituut of the University of Amsterdam/Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Co-operation: International Summer Course on Legal Aspects of European Integration *NUFFIC, 27 Molenstraat, The Hague (Netherlands)*
25-30	Washington, D.C.	International Union of Psychological Science: International Congress *Wallace O. Fenn, Secretary-General, IUPS, Department of Physiology, University of Rochester School of Medicine, Rochester 20, N.Y. (U.S.A.)*
25-31	Moscow	International Committee of Historical Sciences: Fifteenth International Congress *270, boulevard Raspail, 75 Paris-14e (France)*
25-31	Buenos Aires	International Law Association: Fifty-third Conference *J. B. S. Edwards, 3 Paper Building, The Temple, London E.C.4 (United Kingdom)*
26/20 Sept.	University of Essex	United Kingdom National Commission for Unesco: Third European Seminar for Training in Data Processing in Social Science Research *Professor Jean Blondel and Dr. Ian Budge, Department of Government School of Social Studies, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex (United Kingdom)*
28/4 Sept.	Zürich	International Association for Analytical Psychology: Congress *Dr. jur. Rudolf Michel, Gemeindestrasse 27, 8032 Zürich (Switzerland)*
August	Yugoslavia?	International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace: Seminar on the Third World *6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1 (United Kingdom)*
August	Agape, Italy	International Fellowship of Reconciliation: Youth Conference (Theme: Human rights) *Hedi Vaccare, MIR, via Rasella 155, Rome (Italy)*

September

2-6	Dublin	Fourteenth International Institute of Administrative Sciences: Congress (Theme: Adaptation of administration in a changing society) *Institute of Public Administration, 57-61 Lansdowne Road, Dublin 4 (Ireland)*
2-7	Montreal	International Economic Association: Third Congress (Theme: The future of international economic relations) *Professor H. C. Eastman, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto, Toronto 5 (Canada)*
2-21	Tunis	International Institute for Labour Studies: Regional African Seminar on Labour Problems in Economic and Social Development *154, rue de Lausanne, CH-1211 Geneva 22 (Switzerland)*
3-10	Tokio and Kyoto	International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences: Eighth International Congress *Professor Masao Oka, Science Council of Japan, Ueno Park, Tokyo (Japan)*
5-13	Lima	Inter-Parliamentary Union: Conference *Carlos Carillo Smith, Senado Nacional, Congreso Nacional, Lima (Peru)*
9-13	Bloomington, Indiana	International Economic History Association: Fourth International Congress *Professor Frederic C. Lane, c/o Department of History, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 21218 (U.S.A.)*
15/5 Oct.	Ann Arbor, Michigan	Inter-University Consortium for Political Research: International Data Confrontation Seminar *Professor Warren Miller, Executive Director, P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106 (U.S.A.)*
16-21	Vienna	International Council of Group Psychotherapy: Fourth International Congress of Group Psychotherapy *Sekretariat, IV. Internationaler Kongress für Gruppen-Psychotherapie, Stadiongasse 6-8, A-1010 Vienna I (Austria)*
16-24	Beirut	Unesco: Regional Seminar on Investment in Education in the Arab States *SHC/OEA, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris-7e (France)*
19-20	London	The Institute of Race Relations: Third Race Relations Conference (Theme: Incipient ghettos and the concentration of minorities) *Simon Abbott, Assistant Director, 36 Jermyn Street, London S.W.1 (United Kingdom)*
23-26	Prague	International Council of Group Psychotherapy: Third International Congress of Psychodrama *Czechoslovak Medical Society, J. E. Purkyne, Rue Sokolska 31, Prague 2 (Czechoslovakia)*

26-28	Prague	International Council of Group Psychotherapy: First International Congress of Sociometry *Czechoslovak Medical Society, J. E. Purkyne, Rue Sokolska 31, Prague 2 (Czechoslovakia)*
Sept.	Lima	Hispano-Luso-American Institute of International Law: Seventh Congress *Limite No. 5, Ciudad Universitaría, Madrid (Spain)*
October		
2-6	Neuchâtel, Switzerland	Association internationale des sociologues de langue française: Seventh Colloquium (Theme: Sociology of change) *54, rue de Varenne, 75 Paris-7e (France)*
20-24	New Orleans	Public Personnel Association: International Conference on Public Administration *Kenneth O. Warner, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, Ill. 60637 (U.S.A.)*
20-25	Lima	Seventh Inter-American Congress on Planning *Secretaria Ejecutiva del Instituto Peruano de Estudios del Desarrollo, Casilla postal 6125, Lima (Peru)*
21-25	Geneva	International Institute for Labour Studies: Symposium on International Collective Bargaining *154, rue de Lausanne, CH-1211 Geneva 22 (Switzerland)*
27/1 Nov.	Vienna, Mariazell	Institut für Leibeserziehung der Universität Wien/Institut für Soziologie der Universität Wien/International Committee for Sociology of Sport: Second International Seminar for Sociology of Sport *Institut für Leibeserziehung der Universität Wien, Sensengasse 3, 1090 Vienna (Austria)*
Oct. Second fortnight	Paris	Society for International Development: European Conference *M. de Merleir, Centre Rogier 14-101, Brussels 1 (Belgium)*
November		
2-3	Spire, Federal Republic of Germany	Pax Christi International: Congress (Theme: Peace planning) *C ter Maat, Celebesstraat 60, The Hague (Netherlands)*
15-18	Ann Arbor, Michigan	University of Michigan: International Meeting on the Problems of World Population *Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104 (U.S.A.)*
December		
First half	Quito?	Unitar/Unesco: Regional International Law Seminar *Mr. Oscar Schachter, Director of Research, UNITAR, 801 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017 (U.S.A.)*
		International Social Science Council: International Symposium on Inter-Cultural Research in Social Psychology *6, rue Franklin, 75 Paris-16e (France)*

1969	Netherlands	European Committee for Rural Law: Fifth European Symposium *9, rue de l'Arbalète, 75 Paris-5e (France)*
	Amsterdam	European Society for Opinion Surveys and Market Research: Twenty-second Congress *17, rue Berckmans, Brussels 6 (Belgium)*
	United Kingdom	Institute of International Law: Session (Theme: International law, public and private) *88, rue de Grenelle, 75 Paris-7e (France)*
	Europe	International Association of Penal Law: Tenth International Congress of Criminal Law *Pierre Bouzat, Secretary-General, 43, avenue Aristide Briand, 35 Rennes (France)*
	—	International Association for Research in Income and Wealth: Eleventh General Conference *Box 2020, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520 (U.S.A.)*
	France?	International Conference of Sociology of Religion: Tenth International Conference *Professor Emile Pin, General Secretary, Piazza della Pilotta 3, Rome (Italy)*
	—	Unesco: Conference on Models of Nation Building *SHC/SS, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris-7e (France)*
	New Delhi	Gandhi Peace Foundation: World Peace Conference *Mr. R. R. Diwakar, 2 Residency Rd., Bangalore 25 (India)*
	India	Third World Religionists' Conference for Peace *Japanese Religionists' Council for Peace, Shickiken-cho, Ueno-Ikenohata, Taito-ku, Tokyo (Japan)*
Early	Athens	International Union of Local Authorities: Nineteenth Congress *Paleistraat 5, The Hague (Netherlands)*
May or June	Rotterdam	European Cultural Foundation: Congress (Theme: Urbanization 'City and citizen in the year 2000') *Emmastraat 30, Amsterdam (Netherlands)*
7-12 July	Rio de Janeiro	Inter-American Bar Association: Sixteenth Conference *Mr. W. R. Vallance, Secretary-General, 704 Federal Bar Bldg., 1815 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (U.S.A.)*
14 July-22 Aug.	The Hague	Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Co-operation: Seventh International Summer Course on Industrialization *NUFFIC, 27 Molenstraat, The Hague (Netherlands)*
27 July-2 Aug.	London	International Union of Psychological Science: Seventh International Congress on Scientific Psychology *Bristish Psychological Society, Tavistock House South, Tavistock Square, London W.C.1 (United Kingdom)*

Summer	Mexico	Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología: Ninth Congress *Professor P. Gonzalez Casanova, Director del Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Torre de Humanidades—5º piso, Villa Obregon, Mexico 20, D.F. (Mexico)*
4-11 Sept.	London	International Union for the Scientific Study of Population: Sixteenth Congress *E. Grebenik, Department of Social Studies, The University, Leeds 2 (United Kingdom)*
Sept.	Paris	International Social Science Council: Symposium on the Ethnology of Industrialized Complex Societies *Jean Cuisenier, Maître de recherches, CNRS, 15, quai Anatole France, 75 Paris-7e (France)*
Autumn	Europe	Institute of Management Sciences: Sixteenth International Meeting *PO Box 273, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570 (U.S.A.)*
Oct. ?	Washington, D.C., or Baltimore	International Association of Gerontology: Eighth International Congress *Professor N. W. Shock, Gerontology Branch, Baltimore City Hospitals, Baltimore, Md. 21224 (U.S.A.)*
1970	Spain	European Society for Opinion Surveys and Market Research: Twenty-third Congress *17, rue Berckmans, Brussels 6 (Belgium)*
	Athens	International Academy of Comparative Law: Congress *Professor Wagner, University of Indiana, School of Law, Bloomington, Ind. 47401 (U.S.A.)*
	Switzerland	International Association for Social Progress: Congress *Rue Louvrex, 47, Liège (Belgium)*
	New York	International Humanist and Ethical Union: Fifth Congress *Oudegracht 152, POB 114, Utrecht (Netherlands)*
	Madrid	International Society of Criminology: Sixth International Criminological Congress *Dr. Georges Fully, Secretary-General, 2, place Mazas, 75 Paris-12e (France)*
	—	International Sociological Association: Seventh World Congress *Professor Angelo Pagani, Secretary-General, Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, Palazzo di Giustizia, Via Freguglia, Milan (Italy)*
	Asia	United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Asian Population Conference *Sala Santitham, Rajadamnern Av., Bangkok (Thailand)*
July	Tokyo	International Bar Association: Thirteenth Congress *Japan Federation of Bar Associations, Hoso Kaidan Bldg., 1-1 Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo (Japan)*

Aug. or Sept.	Manila	International Council on Social Welfare: International Conference of Social Work *J. R. Hoffner, 22 W. Gay St., Columbus, Ohio 43215 (U.S.A.)*
Aug.- Sept.	Leningrad	International Economic History Association: Fifth Congress *Professor J. F. Bergier, Faculté des sciences économiques et sociales, Université de Genève, Geneva (Switzerland)*
Sept. (3rd week)	London	International Political Science Association: Eighth World Congress *43, rue des Champs Elysées, Brussels 5 (Belgium)*
Autumn	Tokyo	United Nations: Fourth Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders *New Ohtemachi Building, Room 411/412, 4 2-chome, Ohtemachi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo (Japan)*
1972	Tokyo	International Union of Psychological Science: Eighth International Congress on Scientific Psychology *British Psychological Society, Tavistock House South, Tavistock Square, London W.C.1 (United Kingdom)*

International appointments vacant

This section is open, free of charge, to international or national institutions or organizations seeking to recruit social scientists at the international level. The language in which notices appear indicates the chief linguistic requirement for the post in question, but other desirable languages may also be mentioned.

Summary notices for insertion, in two double-spaced typewritten copies, including appropriate details and full contact address, should reach the Editor, International Social Science Journal, *Department of Social Sciences, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris-7e, no later than 10 November, 10 February, 10 May and 10 August for publication, respectively, in the March, June, September and December issues of this* Journal. *Where deadlines for the receipt of applications are fixed, due account should be taken of the time needed in order to reach an international readership.*

Under no circumstances should applicants address themselves to this Journal, *but always directly to the contact specified.*

Unesco

Applications and inquiries should be directed to the Recruitment Division, Bureau of Personnel, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris-7e, France, quoting the reference code and this *Journal* as the source.

The levels indicated are the international civil service gradings to which the post is assimilated. Gross salaries, net of national income tax, corresponding to these grades are as follows:

P3: $11,270.
P4: $13,900.
P5: $17,400.
D1: $20,000.

Travel costs, installation and repatriation grants as well as other benefits are also offered.

Sociologist

Reference. REG/CHILSOC 1.

Location. Chile.

Functions. Within the framework of the pilot project on the access of women to technological careers in Chile, and in close co-operation with other experts appointed to this project, the incumbent will:

(a) Assess the participation rate of girls in technological training at different levels.

(b) Assess the proportion of girls with technological training who pursue technological careers and the levels and types of their employment.

(c) Identify the social and socio-psychological factors which effect (a) and (b); and

(d) Provide technical advice as regards the social science aspects of the project.

Qualifications.

(a) Advanced degree in sociology or in social and cultural anthropology.

(b) Several years' experience of field work in Latin America.

Language qualifications. Fluent Spanish, good knowledge of French or English.

Duration of appointment. One year.

Level. P4.

Specialist in transport economy and planning

Reference. COLOMES/SF/3.

Location. School of Engineering, National University, Bogotá, Colombia.

Functions. The holder of the present post will be expected, in consultation with the Dean of the School of Engineering:

To initiate, organize and teach courses in the Department of Civil Engineering within his field of specialization.

To advise on the installation of laboratories and the purchase of equipment.

To train local counterpart teaching personnel, who will continue the programme initiated by the expert.

Qualifications. University degree in civil engineering and specialization in planning and economy of transportation, with several years experience of teaching this subject at university level.

Language qualifications. Spanish and/or English; French desirable.

Duration of appointment. One year.

Level. P4.

Specialist in engineering economics

Reference. VENEZES/SF/8.

Location. School of Industrial Engineering, Central University Caracas, Venezuela

Functions.

(a) To act as adviser to the Director of the School of Industrial Engineering with regard to all matters relating to economic aspects of engineering which fall within the scope of this project.

(b) To initiate, organize and teach courses on economic aspects of engineering in consultation with the appropriate authorities.

(c) To advise on the installation of laboratories and the purchase of equipment, as the case might be, and their utilization by the school.

(d) To train local counterpart teaching personnel, who will continue the programme initiated therein.

Qualifications. Appropriate engineering economics or management degrees at university level, as well as several years of professional experience in economics of engineering, operations research, and related fields. The candidate should have had several years of teaching experience at university or college level and be able to assist in the development or revision of course curricula.

Language requirements. English acceptable, provided a working knowledge of Spanish is acquired before taking up duties.

Duration of appointment. One year.

Level. P5.

Expert in educational planning and administration

Reference. NICARAGUED 6.

Location. Managua, Nicaragua, with possible visits to the interior.

Functions. The Ministry of Education plans to draw up a general plan for the development of the country's various educational services, to train personnel for the Office of Educational Planning and to reorganize the Ministry itself. The duties of the expert will be:

(a) To suggest the main outlines for a general plan of educational development, on the basis of careful analysis of the state of education in the country.

(b) To put forward recommendations and suggestions for the reorganization of the Ministry of Education and for improving its statistical services.

(c) To organize systematic staff training courses in techniques of educational planning at the School of Educational Studies of the National University.

(d) To co-operate in training staff for employment in the Office of Educational Planning.

The expert will work in close liaison with the expert in school supervision.

Qualifications. University degree in education, preferably specializing in school organization and administration. Wide experience of educational planning at national level. Knowledge of the main features of educational development in Latin America. Ability to work as a member of a team and carry out educational research.

Language qualifications. Spanish indispensable, knowledge of English or French desirable.

Duration. One year.

Level. P5.

Senior lecturer in education (sociology)

Reference. NIGERED/SF/19.

Location. Secondary Teacher Training College, Zaria, Northern Nigeria.

Background and functions. Unesco acts as participating and executing agency for the Special Fund in the establishment of a Secondary Teacher Training College in Zaria. The project involves the setting-up of a residential college for the training of teachers in secondary school subjects who will be employed, after the successful completion of the three-year course, in one of the secondary schools of the Northern Territories. A certain number of successful students will be used as tutors in primary teacher training colleges. Under the general supervision of the Principal of the College, and the technical guidance of the Chief Technical Adviser the incumbent will be required to:

(a) Plan and co-ordinate within the general curriculum structure of the college a course in education covering principles, history and educational psychology.

(b) Conduct tutorials and seminars in education.

(c) Train students in modern methods of teaching and stimulate further research into local educational needs and problems.

(d) Organize in-service courses for serving teachers in secondary schools and for tutors in primary teacher training colleges.

(e) Be responsible for the organization of teaching practice in the demonstration school and other local schools and for the assessment of the teaching marks of the students.

(f) Generally take part in the communal life and activities of the college.

(g) Carry out such duties as may be assigned to him on an *ad hoc* basis, by the Secretariat (Headquarters) and the Chief Technical Adviser, which are considered necessary for the execution of the project.

Qualifications. A good university degree in education and sociology, postgraduate certificate or diploma or other professional qualification, and/or teaching experience in an institute of education, university department of education or a teacher training college. Experience of teaching overseas would be desirable.
Duration of appointment. Eight months, with possibility of extension.
Level. P4.

Senior lecturer in educational development, planning and administration

Reference. KENYED/SF/2.

Location. Department of Education, University College, Nairobi.
Functions. The expert under the direction of the Chief Technical Adviser, who is the head of the team of international experts appointed to this project, will perform the following duties:

(a) Teaching both undergraduate and postgraduate students, and carrying out research in the problems of educational development planning and administration and their place in over-all economic and social national plans of development.

(b) Assisting in the recruitment and training of a suitable Kenyan counterpart to take over the duties of the post.

(c) Assisting the Chief Technical Adviser in that area of his work which involves dealing with the Ministry of Education, the Kenya Institute of Education and the Curriculum Development and Research Centre.

(d) Participating in the research programme of the project with special responsibility for those aspects relating to the productivity of education and development needs.

(e) Preparing and co-ordinating syllabuses in educational principles, development planning and administration for use in training colleges, special in-service courses for teachers, and courses organized outside the framework of the college.

(f) Participating in the in-service teacher training programme of the project.

(g) Assisting in other aspects of the work of the department as the need arises.

(h) Carrying out such duties as may be assigned to him on an *ad hoc* basis, by the Secretariat (Headquarters), which are considered necessary for the execution of the project.

Qualifications.

(a) A university degree followed by research in comparative education or educational administration. Relevant experience either through research or work on educational problems relating to development planning will be an advantage.

(b) Considerable experience in teaching at the second and third levels of education and in national or regional educational administration. Experience relevant to education in rural areas of developing countries will be an advantage.

Duration of appointment. Two years, with possibility of renewal.
Level. P4.

Educational planning (technical education and vocational training)

Reference. INDONED 14.

Location. Djakarta, Indonesia.
Functions. The expert in close collaboration with the rest of the Unesco team and his counterpart(s), will:

(a) Assist the Ministry of Education in making a quantitative and qualitative survey of the country's technical education and vocational training.

(b) Help establish or improve the technical and research services needed to develop technical and vocational education.

(c) Promote liaison between the unit administratively responsible for technical and vocational education and the services responsible for educational planning and other services of the Ministry of Education and other Ministries which may be concerned with education (Agriculture, Health, etc.).

(d) Help in preparing educational plans, mainly by assisting competent services or agencies to evaluate manpower requirements and employment opportunities, expressing the results as educational objectives and programmes.

(e) Participate in job analysis and in suggesting, as required, consequential adaptations in curricula, methods and structures of technical education.

(f) Advise on the preparation of educational projects to serve as a basis for requests for external aid.

(g) Assist the Government in selecting officials as candidates for Unesco fellowships in technical and vocational education.

Qualifications.

(a) University degree or equivalent in one of the major fields of technical education; additional degree in education, economics or sociology would be an asset.

(b) Wide experience, in an administrative capacity, of technical and vocational education and educational administration.

(c) Personal experience in developing countries or, at least, familiarity with the problems of development.

(d) Ability to work in a team.

Duration of appointment. 18 months.

Level. P4.

Lecturer in social studies

Reference. NEW GUINED/PAPUED/SF/9.

Location. Goroka, New Guinea/Papua.

Functions. The lecturer will be required to perform the following duties under the supervision of the Principal of the College and the Chief Technical Adviser.

(a) Plan, organize and conduct courses of study for students reading history and/or geography for the Secondary Teacher's Certificate.

(b) Conduct and supervise demonstration teaching and practice teaching.

(c) Organize and supervise in-service and pre-service courses for practising teachers.

(d) Assist with developments of techniques in and materials for the teaching of the subject.

(e) Arrange and participate in extra-curricular studies and activities of students in residence at the college.

(f) Guide and counsel students on professional and personal matters.

(g) Other duties as directed by the Principal.

Qualifications. A good university degree with special qualifications in history or geography or related fields. Honours and postgraduate studies desirable. Experience in an institute of education, a university department of education or a teachers' college. Experience overseas would be an added qualification. Experience desirable in teaching in English students whose usual language is not English. Ability to undertake inquiries and investigations.

Duration of appointment. Two years.

Level. P4.

Lecturer in educational sociology

Reference. NEW GUINED/PAPUED/SF/11.

Location. Goroka, Papua/New Guinea.

Functions. The lecturer will be required to perform the following duties under the supervision of the Principal of the College and the Chief Technical Adviser:

(a) Plan, organize and conduct courses of study for students reading educational sociology for the Secondary Teachers' Certificate.

(b) Organize and supervise in-service and pre-service for practising teachers.

(c) Assist with the conduct and supervision of demonstration teaching and practice teaching where appropriate.

(d) Carry out, as required, investigations in subject fields and related fields.

(e) Arrange and participate in extra-curricular studies and activities of students in residence at the college.

(f) Counsel and guide students on professional and personal matters.

(g) Take part as requested in the general work of the Teacher's College.

(h) Other duties as directed by the Principal.

Qualifications. A good university degree with special qualifications in educational sociology or related fields. Experience in an institute of education, a university department of education or a teachers' college is desirable. Experience overseas would be an added qualification.

Duration of appointment. Two years.

Level. P4.

Sociologist

Reference. REG/VOLTASOC 1.

Location. Upper Volta.

Functions. The incumbent will be required to provide technical advice to the pilot project on the access of women to education in Upper Volta; in particular, he will, in close co-operation with other field experts appointed to this project:

(a) Attempt to identify social and socio-psychological factors which may be utilized in the programme to encourage the enrolment of girls in schools and the spread of literacy among women.

(b) Attempt to identify social and socio-psychological factors which inhibit education at any level for girls, and literacy programmes for women.

(c) Provide the Secretariat with periodic reports on field work carried out; these reports should be of such a nature as to be useful for the planning of other literacy programmes.

Qualifications.

(a) Advanced degree in sociology or in social and cultural anthropology.

(b) Several years experience of field work, preferably in West Africa.

Language qualifications. Perfect command of French; good drafting ability.

Duration of appointment. One year.

Level. P4.

Planification générale de l'éducation

Référence. VOLTAED 7.

Lieu d'affectation. Ouagadougou (Haute-Volta).

Attributions. La tâche essentielle de l'expert est d'aider à former ou à perfectionner des homologues susceptibles de continuer seuls le travail après son départ. Cette tâche ne doit pas être considérée comme distincte de la tâche de planification proprement dite. En étroite collaboration avec ses homologues, l'expert devra notamment:

(a) Aider le Ministère de l'éducation à établir le bilan quantitatif et qualitatif de la situation en ce qui concerne le système d'éducation.

(b) Assister, à titre de conseiller principal, la commission de réforme de l'enseignement et de planification de l'éducation.

(c) Conseiller le gouvernement en vue de la définition des objectifs prioritaires et de l'élaboration d'un plan d'éducation intégré au plan général de développement économique et social.

(d) Promouvoir ou préciser les liaisons de la commission avec les autres services du Ministère de l'éducation, avec les autres ministères à vocation éducative, avec les agences multilatérales et bilatérales d'assistance technique, et avec le Ministère du développement chargé du plan.

(e) Préparer des projets éducatifs que le gouvernement puisse éventuellement utiliser pour des demandes d'aide extérieure.

(f) Contribuer à informer les services éducatifs, le corps enseignant, les groupes professionnels et le public en vue de créer un climat favorable à une participation générale à l'effort de développement de l'éducation, dans le cadre du développement général.

(g) Conseiller les services compétents en ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre des moyens d'exécution du plan.

(h) Participer à l'adaptation continue du plan aux besoins et aux ressources et à l'évaluation quantitative et qualitative des résultats.

(i) En collaboration avec l'expert chargé de la programmation pédagogique, proposer les modalités pratiques permettant une extension et une évolution de l'éducation rurale conformes aux objectifs et priorités du plan.

Qualifications.

(a) Diplôme universitaire ou titre équivalent, de préférence en matière d'éducation, d'économie ou de sociologie.

(b) Expérience administrative et pédagogique approfondie, si possible au niveau de l'enseignement primaire et de l'éducation rurale.

(c) Expérience directe des pays en développement, ou en tout cas connaissance des problèmes du développement.

(d) Attitude positive à l'égard des pays en développement, et de leurs problèmes, capacité d'adaptation, désir de comprendre des cultures différentes.

(e) Aptitude au travail d'équipe.

Durée. Deux ans.

Niveau. P5.

Profesor de planeamiento de la educación (educación comparada y administración de la educación)

Referencia. SPI 4.

Lugar de trabajo. Sección de Planeamiento de la Educación del Instituto Latinoamericano de Planificación Económica y Social, Santiago de Chile.

El experto tendrá a su cargo las siguientes funciones:

(i) Explicar la materia "educación comparada y administración de la educación" en los cursos de planeamiento de la educación; la enseñanza de la educación comparada tendrá un objetivo esencialmente práctico y deberá poner de relieve la relación existente entre los sistemas educativos y los factores geográficos, demográficos, económicos, sociales y culturales; procurará definir situaciones concretas y las estrategias más adecuadas para cada situación, poniendo en evidencia el peligro implícito en la aplicación de un sistema educativo concebido para una determinada situación a otra completamente diferente; facilitará mediante el examen de experiencias realizadas en diversos países, la tarea de evitar errores y tanteos innecesarios.

La enseñanza de la administración insistirá sobre la adaptación de la administración educativa a las condiciones del país y a la estructura y volumen del sistema educativo, y sobre la realización práctica del plan de educación.

Las actividades del experto suponen también la organización, la dirección de discusiones y trabajo de grupo y la supervisión de los trabajos individuales de los becarios.

(ii) Estudiar, junto con los demás profesores de la sección, la integración de la enseñanza de la educación comparada y de la administración en el contexto general de la enseñanza dispensada en la sección con el objeto de reforzar la eficacia de ésta y de evitar todo particularismo que pudiera impedir el establecimiento de una relación clara entre los diferentes aspectos de la administración y del planeamiento de la educación.

(iii) Participar en los estudios y trabajos de investigación que se determinen en los planes anuales de la sección en las materias y temas relacionados con la administración y el planeamiento de la educación, así como contribuir a la redacción y a la publicación de estudios, artículos y documentos sobre las cuestiones que entran en el marco de actividades de la sección.

Requisitos.

(a) Título universitario o equivalente en ciencias de la educación.

(b) Experiencia práctica de la administración de la educación y de los problemas del planeamiento en los países en vías de desarrollo; experiencia en la enseñanza de la materia de educación comparada y publicaciones relativas a la misma.

(c) Conocimiento de los problemas de mayor importancia en materia de educación y de administración de la educación en los países en vías de desarrollo.

(d) Aptitud para trabajar en equipo y para someterse a la disciplina de grupo.

Duración del contrato. Un año, con posibilidades de prolongación.

Grado. P4.

United Nations

Applications and inquiries should be addressed either to: Technical Assistance Recruitment Services, United Nations, New York 17, or to: Bureau européen de recrutement pour l'assistance technique, Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

Since most of the job descriptions have been circulating for some months, it is possible that certain positions have already been filled. Should this be the case, applications will be examined for recruitment to similar posts in the future.

Recruitment to the posts below is not undertaken on levels fixed in advance. Salaries are negotiated on a monetary basis, taking into consideration the requirements of the post and the experience and stature of the candidate.

Demographer, urban research and planning

Reference. VEN-422-SC (TARS-412-SC).

Duty station. Caracas, Venezuela.

Duties. Under the supervision of the Project Manager/Technical Director, the expert will be a member of a team appointed by the United Nations to advise and assist the Ministry of Public Works and the Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo (CENDES). He will be expected to:

(a) Analyse, in close co-operation with the national team in charge of the subproject 'Demographic Aspects', the internal migration of Venezuela.

(b) Supervise all the demographic research related to the implementation of this project.

(c) Train personnel in demography.

(d) Give technical assistance in other activities of CENDES.

Qualifications. Advanced academic training in demography; experience in research work.

Languages. Spanish; English desirable.

Duration. One year, with possibility of extension.

Development economist
Reference. CEY-022-SF.

Duty station. Colombo, Ceylon.

Duties. The expert will be a member of the team attached to the Ministries of Planning and Economic Affairs and of Industry and Fisheries as well as to other Ministries. He will work principally in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs. Under the direction of the Chief Adviser/Project Manager, he will be expected to:

(a) Evaluate national projects and programmes.

(b) Give periodic reports on the rate of plan implementation, with particular reference to expected bottlenecks, short-falls and difficulties, and recommend action in the event of delays and difficulties.

(c) Assist in drawing up the sector plans and programmes of individual Ministries and Departments and integrate such plans into short-term implementation programmes consistent with long-term perspective plans.

(d) Suggest ways and means to improve planning and programming within Ministries in order to ensure timely and proper preparation of new projects, appropriate phasing of projects and the preparation of investment programmes for suitable advance periods.

(e) Advise on major policies likely to influence the course of economic development.

(f) Train local counterparts in the above duties.

(g) Undertake other related duties as may be required.

Qualifications. University degree in economics and extensive knowledge and experience in economic development planning, including project evaluation.

Duration. One year, with possibility of extension.

Industrial economist (project evaluation)
Reference. CEY-022-SG.

Duty station. Colombo, Ceylon.

Duties. The expert will be a member of the team attached to the Ministries of Planning and Economic Affairs and of Industry and Fisheries as well as to other Ministries. He will work principally in the Ministry of Industry and Fisheries. Under the direction of the Chief Adviser/Project Manager, he will be expected to:

(a) Assist in formulating, evaluating, and selecting industrial development projects to be incorporated into an industrial sector programme in the light of the objectives of a national plan and with a view to securing consistency within the industrial sector.

(b) Evaluate specific industrial projects in the public and private sectors for incorporation in a national development plan, including their commercial and national economic profitability and the ranking of projects.

(c) Follow up the progress of the approved industrial projects and the programmes for the industrial sector, including proposals for timely modification of projects and the programme in cases where there may be a divergence between expectations and actual development.

(d) Train counterparts in carrying out the above duties.

(e) Perform other related duties as required.

Qualifications. Industrial economist with advanced training and extensive experience in development planning especially in the field of project formulation and evaluation.

Duration. One year, with possibility of extension.

Instructor, economic planning

Reference. INS-022-A (TARS-024-A).

Duty station. Djakarta, Indonesia.

Duties. The expert will be attached to the National Institute of Public Administration where he will be expected to:

(a) Organize and run a training programme for government personnel who will be called upon to formulate and implement future economic development plans in the various sectors.

(b) Give lectures on: Organizational and administrative aspects of planning; Aggregative planning; and Sectoral planning.

Qualifications. Advanced degree in economics with teaching experience and some practice in development planning.

Duration. Six months.

Instructor in social planning

Reference. KUW-024-SG/REV.1.

Duty station. The Kuwait Institute of Economic and Social Planning in the Middle East.

Duties. The expert will be expected, under the general direction and co-ordination of the Director/Project Manager and as a member of a team of experts appointed by the United Nations Special Fund, to:

(a) Participate as instructor in the training programme of the institute, with concentration at the graduate level on the following subjects: Sectoral programming with particular emphasis on the social sectors; and General economic and development planning.

(b) Carry out research and other related activities that may be required by the project.

(c) Assist the Government in formulating development plans and render advice on general economic policies to be followed.

Qualifications. Advanced degree in economics or one of the social sciences, with specialization in social sector programming; research and teaching experience necessary.

Languages. Arabic and English essential; French desirable.

Duration. One year, with possibility of extension.

Senior demographer

Reference. LAT-412-SD.

Duty station. Santiago, Chile, with travel as required.

Duties. The expert will be a senior member of the professional group under the leadership of the project Manager, and in that capacity will assist, as directed by him, in all aspects of the teaching, research and technical assistance programmes of the Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE). He will be expected to:

(a) Develop and promote teaching and research in the interrelated fields of demography and other disciplines.

(b) Assume responsibility for designated portions of the teaching and research programmes.

(c) Act as adviser to students.

(d) Undertake technical assistance missions in countries of the region.

Qualifications. University education in demography and/or related fields; the incumbent should also have experience in teaching, in research and in technical assistance in the field of population.

Languages. A working knowledge of Spanish and English essential; French and Portuguese desirable.
Duration. Two years, with possibility of extension.

Senior planning economist

Reference. SUD-022-B.

Duty station. Khartoum, Sudan.
Duties. The expert will be attached to the Ministry of Finance and Economics and will be expected to assist in the preparation of the five-year plan of economic and social development, in particular with respect to its macro-economic aspects. More specifically, he will be expected to:

(a) Assemble and analyse macro-economic data, prepare medium- and long-term general projections and a macro-economic framework for the plan.

(b) In co-operation with the sector planners, evaluate sector programmes and projects with a view to fitting them into the general macro-economic framework.

(c) Co-ordinate the drafting of a comprehensive five-year plan.

(d) Train Sudanese counterparts in the above duties.

Qualifications. Advanced degree in economics with considerable practical experience in the field of economic planning, especially in the preparation of economic plans for developing countries.
Duration. One year.

Economist (economic planning)

Reference. SUD-022-C.

Duty station. Khartoum, Sudan.
Duties. The expert will be attached to the Ministry of Finance and Economics where he will be expected to assist in the preparation and formulation of the five-year plan for economic and social development. More specifically, he will be expected to:

(a) Advise on and assist in the application of national accounts data in the assessing and planning of development.

(b) Assist in the evaluation of development projects and in attaching orders of priority, based on such parameters as cost/benefit ratios, rates of return, etc.

(c) Make periodical revisions in projections of production in the various sectors.

(e) Train his local counterpart in the above duties.

(d) Perform other relevant duties as may be deemed necessary by the Government.

Qualifications. Advanced degree in economics with practical experience in economic planning in developing countries.
Duration. One year.

Public administration training adviser (research and publications)

Reference. SUD-554-H.

Duty station. Khartoum, Sudan.
Duties. The expert will be attached to the Institute of Public Administration and, under the general guidance of the Director of the Institute, he will be expected to:

(a) Give technical advice and direct research studies in public administration in the Sudan.

(b) Undertake the training and development of the Sudanese staff of the institute and guide them in their research responsibilities; conduct studies and draw up reports related chiefly to administrative improvement.

(c) Assist in the development of a research library in comparative administration, particularly the sections dealing with government reports, studies, manuals and other published documents in public administration in the Sudan and abroad.

(d) Perform other research training and consultant duties in administration as may be necessary from time to time.

Qualifications. University degree in at least one of the social sciences (preferably two), for example: government, political science, economics or sociology, with post-graduate work at a reasonably high level involving research in one of the social sciences mentioned above; thorough understanding of research methods desirable; good understanding of the particular administrative problems facing less developed areas from first-hand experience helpful.

Languages. English; Arabic desirable.

Duration. One year.

Expert des recensements de population

Référence. ALG-412-A.

Durée de la mission. Dix-huit mois (avec possibilité de prolongation).

Lieu d'affectation. Oran (Algérie).

Attributions. L'expert sera affecté au Commissariat national au recensement (service rattaché à la Direction générale du plan et des études économiques). Il sera chargé, dans le cadre du dépouillement des données du recensement général de la population, d'analyser les résultats du sondage partiel ainsi que de mettre au point des méthodes d'analyse concernant l'exploitation exhaustive et les exploitations particulières (ménages, familles, etc.). En outre, l'expert devra aider à former et à perfectionner les cadres techniques nationaux qui seront mis à sa disposition pour l'aider à exécuter son programme.

Formation et expérience requises. L'expert doit être un démographe ayant une expérience approfondie des questions de recensement, notamment dans les pays en voie de développement, et plus particulièrement de la mise au point des méthodes d'analyse.

Conseiller en planification économique

Référence. CAM-022-A.

Durée de la mission. Un an (avec possibilité de prolongation).

Lieu d'affectation. Phnom-penh (Cambodge).

Attributions. L'expert sera affecté au Ministère du plan et devra donner des conseils au directeur général du plan sur les questions de planification. En particulier, il devra :

Aider à assurer l'inspection administrative et économique de l'exécution des projets inscrits au plan quinquennal portant sur la période 1968-1972.

Faire une évaluation périodique des progrès et réalisations accomplis dans le cadre du plan.

Contribuer à la formation du personnel de contrepartie.

Formation et expérience requises. Le titulaire du poste devra être un économiste ayant une expérience approfondie de l'élaboration et de l'exécution d'un plan de développement à l'échelle nationale dans un pays ayant une structure économique et sociale semblable à celle du Cambodge.

Connaissances linguistiques. Français; connaissance de l'anglais souhaitable.

Économiste (planification)

Référence. CON(B)-022-C.

Durée de la mission. Un an.
Lieu d'affectation. Brazzaville (République du Congo).
Attributions. L'expert devra aider le Ministère du plan et le commissariat au plan à :

Définir, dans le domaine économique, une méthodologie de la planification spécifiquement applicable au Congo.

Établir des plans économiques de développement à court et à long terme intégrant les facteurs physiques, humains, sociaux et de la production, et tenant compte des secteurs et services de l'Administration (ces plans devront prendre en considération les efforts de diffusion et les relations entre tous les secteurs de l'économie nationale).

Proposer les mesures propres à assurer l'intégration des investissements privés ou publics, actuels ou prévus, dans le cadre du plan de développement à élaborer.

Proposer un schéma d'opérations de financement de l'infrastructure socio-économique, en vue de l'exécution des plans régionaux en cours d'élaboration.

Former deux homologues congolais capables d'assurer la continuation des travaux.

Formation et expérience requises. Formation supérieure dans le domaine de la planification économique intégrée; expérience pratique de l'établissement des plans économiques dans les pays en voie de développement.

Statisticien-démographe (recensements)

Référence. TOG-254-B.

Durée de la mission. Un an.
Lieu d'affectation. Lomé, avec déplacements à l'intérieur du pays (Togo).
Attributions. L'expert sera chargé de conseiller et d'aider le Service des statistiques en vue de la préparation, de l'exécution, du dépouillement et de l'évaluation du recensement démographique, qui doit permettre d'obtenir des renseignements exacts sur le chiffre, la composition, le taux de croissance et la répartition de la population et de la main-d'œuvre. L'expert s'occupera en particulier des questions suivantes :

Teneur et forme des questionnaires.

Schéma du programme de tabulation.

Méthodes les plus efficaces de dénombrement, y compris, le cas échéant, les méthodes de sondage.

Organisation du personnel de recensement et évaluation des services rendus.

Vérification de l'exactitude du dénombrement effectué sur le terrain après recensement.

Établissement de rapports sur le recensement.

Programme de publications.

Formation et expérience requises. Diplôme universitaire avec spécialisation en statistiques démographiques; expérience de la conduite des opérations de recensement, du dépouillement, de l'exploitation des résultats pour l'élaboration de projets sociaux concernant le logement, l'habitat, les problèmes sanitaires, etc.

Expert de la planification sociale

Référence. TOG-462-A.

Durée de la mission. Un an (avec possibilité de prolongation).
Lieu d'affectation. Lomé (Togo).
Attributions. L'expert secondera et conseillera l'organisme national de planification dans les domaines suivants : programmation sociale (besoins auxquels il faut

répondre), enquêtes et données, critères et méthodes à appliquer pour déterminer les objectifs sociaux prioritaires et le montant des crédits à affecter au secteur social, rapports entre les programmes sociaux et le développement économique, participation des populations et intérêt à susciter dans le public, dispositions administratives concernant la planification sociale, élaboration, avec les services techniques, d'une politique en faveur de l'enfance et de la jeunesse, conseils sur les mesures à prendre pour assurer la coordination des services et organismes s'occupant du secteur social (santé, éducation, affaires sociales, Croix-Rouge, etc.).

L'expert devra également donner des avis sur les études et recherches sociales et préparer des programmes en vue de la formation du personnel de planification sociale.

Formation et expérience requises. Expérience du développement social et de la planification; bonne connaissance des problèmes de l'enfance et de la jeunesse dans les pays en voie de développement.

Statisticien démographe

Référence. UPV-254-D.

Durée de la mission. Un an.

Lieu d'affectation. Ouagadougou (Haute-Volta).

Attributions. L'expert devra aider et conseiller le gouvernement en ce qui concerne les activités suivantes :

Enquête itinérante permanente (état civil);

Recensement de la population des zones urbaines;

Enquêtes sur la population rurale;

Toute autre enquête statistique que le gouvernement souhaiterait réaliser.

Formation et expérience requises. Formation universitaire poussée en matière de statistiques, notamment de statistiques démographiques et dans les disciplines connexes. Expérience pratique : (a) des opérations de recensement, du rassemblement et de l'analyse des statistiques, en particulier des données de recensement; (b) des techniques de sondage en vue des recensements de la population.

Announcements

The 1970 Sociological Abstracts Monograph Award

The officers and Board of Directors of Sociological Abstracts, Inc., have the honour to announce an Award for the leading unpublished comparative study dealing with the development of sociology submitted to its Awards Committee before 31 August, 1969, and written by a social scientist no more than forty years of age.

The subject. The specification of a comparative study in the development of sociology requires that each manuscript to be considered shall deal with an aspect of the evolution of sociology as theory, as technique, or as profession in a manner that utilizes international, inter-ethnic, and multilingual comparisons. The purpose of the award is to encourage the younger sociologists to enter this challenging and neglected field which lies broadly in the domain of the sociology of science and specifically in the area of the sociology of sociology.

The Award. The writer of the winning monograph will receive $2,000 (two thousand dollars) in United States funds or the equivalent (if he wishes) in the currency of his own country. His monograph will be published as a clothbound volume under the auspices of Sociological Abstracts, Inc. For the publication of the monograph, the author will receive royalties on sales calculated at the rate of 15 per cent on the retail price at which it is offered for sale.

Details of the competition are as follows:

1. Abstracts. The first elimination in the competition will be based on abstracts. Abstracts of studies to be considered should be received no later than 31 August, 1969, at the address given below. Each abstract should be a statement adequate to indicate clearly the nature of the study as a whole. It may be submitted in any language; however, a French and an English language translation must accompany the original abstract.
2. Complete manuscripts. Authors whose studies survive the competition among abstracts will be asked to submit their complete manuscript study in a form ready in every respect for book publication. For consideration, such manuscripts will have to be received at the address given below no later than 1 January 1970.
3. Form. All abstracts and study manuscripts should be typewritten, with lines double-spaced, on substantial paper approximately 8½ by 11 inches in size. All diagrams should be in clear black lines on white paper. All photographs should be clear, glossy prints suitable for reproduction. Diagrams and photographs are not required unless they are a necessary device for reporting or interpreting data.
4. Publications rights. All abstracts submitted are to be available for possible publication in *Sociological Abstracts* at the discretion of its editors. All complete study manuscripts are to be available (until returned) for possible publication

in the 'Sociological Abstracts Monograph Series' under the terms specified above. Authors submitting complete study manuscripts will be expected to agree in advance to these terms.

5. Awards committee. The panel of judges making up the Awards Committee is to be appointed by the Board of Directors with the advice of the Advisory Council of Sociological Abstracts, Inc. The names of the members of the panel are to be announced later. The decisions of the Awards Committee, with the concurrence of the Board of Directors, are to be final.

Sociological Abstracts, Inc. Awards Committee, 2315 Broadway, New York, New York 10024.

Travel grants to doctoral candidates

The European Centre of the Carnegie Endowment awards a limited number of travel grants every year to doctoral candidates who are preparing a thesis devoted to a subject in the field of international organization.

These grants are designed to enable young researchers to visit the headquarters of international organizations in order to collect necessary documentation and meet delegates and officials who could assist their research. The total amount of these grants varies between $800 and $1,200.

Conditions

1. The applicant must be: a national of a European country; preparing a thesis on some aspect of international organization.
2. All applications should be sent to the Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie, 58, rue de Moillebeau, 1211 Geneva 19, Switzerland.
3. The application should include: (a) a formal request for a grant indicating why the applicant needs to travel in order to complete his thesis. A tentative budget should be attached to this request; (b) a curriculum vitae; (c) a detailed outline of the thesis under preparation; (d) a letter of recommendation from the director of the thesis or from the professor supervising the candidate's research.

Award of the grant

1. The European Centre will inform the candidate when a decision has been taken and will be responsible for the payment of the grant.
2. The recipient of the grant should keep the Carnegie Endowment informed of the progress of his work and send them a copy of his thesis once it has been completed. This will be agreed upon by an exchange of letters.

Documents and publications of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies[1]

General, population, health, food, housing

POPULATION

Statistical concepts and definitions of urban and rural population: national, regional and world-wide. July 1967. 50 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.9/AC.7/L.9.)
Definitions of urban and rural population applied in more than 100 countries. Attempts made at the regional and world levels to harmonize these definitions. Possible standard classification.

African recommendations for the population censuses 1970. July 1967. 127 p. (UN/E/CN.14/CAD.5/CPH/9.)
Factors to be taken into consideration. Forms to be prepared. Regional variations.

African directory of demographers. August 1967. 64 p. (UN/E/CN.14/CAS/5/8.)
This directory contains brief information about 280 specialists.

HEALTH

World Health Statistics Annual, 1964. 1967. 629 p., $16; £4; 48 Sw.fr. (WHO.)
Volume I: Annual epidemiological and vital statistics. Population movements. Causes of death.

Epidemiological and vital statistics report. 1967. Volume 20, no.6, 35 p., $1.25; 4 Sw.fr.; no. 7, 49 p., $1.75; 5 Sw.fr.; no. 8, 47 p., $1.25; 4 Sw.fr. (WHO.)
[St.] Parts of a continuing digest of statistics on population movements and the incidence of various diseases throughout the world. In addition to the regular basic tables, each part contains special studies. The three numbers mentioned above contain information on deaths caused by malignant growths.

Prevention of the reintroduction of malaria. 1967. 32 p., $0.60; 3/6; 2 Sw.fr. (Technical reports series, no. 374.) (WHO.)

1. As a general rule, no mention is made of publications and documents which are issued more or less automatically—regular administrative reports, minutes of meetings, etc. Free translations have been given of the titles of some publications and documents which we were unable to obtain in time in English. Titles thus translated are indicated by an asterisk (*).
The following conventional abbreviations have been used:
Bl. = Contains a particularly interesting bibliography.
St. = Specially important or rare statistics.

The practical application of preventive measures. Co-ordination between immigration services and health service. Interpretation of the International Sanitary Regulations. Training of personnel and particular problems. Special preventive measures required in the vulnerable areas.

Trends in the study of morbidity and mortality. 196 p., $2.75; 8 Sw.fr. (Public health papers, no. 27.) (WHO.)
[St.] The measurement of morbidity and health standards. The declaration of infectious diseases in various countries. The study of morbidity according to medical practice. Sample surveys on health at the national level. Some characteristics of mortality and morbidity in Europe. Special studies of morbidity in Romania and the United Kingdom. Instance of a general health survey carried out in India. National sample survey on morbidity, carried out in Japan in accordance with a simplified method.

FOOD

The state of food and agriculture, 1967. 1967. 202 p., $5.50; £17s. 6d.; 19.25 Fr.fr. (FAO.)
[St.] World situation and prospects; agricultural production, fluctuations in stocks; demand for food products. Measures calculated to promote a better balance.

Increasing the production and use of edible protein. May 1967. 158 p. (UN/E/4343.)
[St.] Report of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development. Recommendations for concerted international action to step up the production of vegetable and animal protein and combat wastage.

Multilateral food aid, June 1967. 96 p., including annexes. (UN/E/4352.)
[St.] Nature of the food problem in the developing countries. The deficits which appear and those which are likely to occur. Possible repercussions of the measures to be taken on national and international policies. Type of measures that should be taken to strengthen the multilateral programme for the purpose of sending large quantities of foodstuffs to the developing countries.

HOUSING

Report of the United Nations Inter-regional Seminar on Development Policies and Planning in Relation to Urbanization. 1967. 73 p. (UN/ST/TAO/SER.C/97.)
This seminar was held in Pittsburgh from 24 October to 4 November 1966. Economic and special aspects of urban growth. National and regional planning policies.

Social aspects of housing and urban development. 1967. 58 p., $1. (UN/ST/SOA/71.)
Covers the developing countries. Slums and shanty towns. Housing of families with small incomes. Methods to be followed when the supervising authorities are weak. Principles of a housing policy linked with social development programmes.

African recommendations for the 1970 housing censuses. July 1967. 120 p. (UN/E/CN.14/CAS.5/CPH/10.)
Particulars concerning the unit, place and time of the censuses. Factors to be taken into consideration. Forms to be prepared. Regional variations.

SELF-HELP HOUSING

* *Report on the 2nd Sub-regional Training Course in Aided Self-help Housing, held at the Kenya Institute of Administration, Kabete, Nairobi, from 3 to 29 April 1967*. May 1967. 36 p., including annexes, plan. (UN/E/CN.14.HOU/10.)

Fundamental aspects of community development. Housing co-operatives. Aided self-help housing. Administrative and practical aspects.

Social structures, economies, social service

LABOUR

Hours of work, a world survey of national law and practice. 1967. 294 p., $1.50; 10/6; 6 Sw. fr. (ILO.)
Comparative study covering the whole world. Existing regulations and actual situation. Measures aimed at reducing hours of work in various countries. Methods of application. Departures. Supervision of the application of these provisions. General comments on the difficulties encountered in the application of these measures and the progress achieved.

Equality in respect of employment under legislation and other national standards. 1967. 135 p., $1.50; 10/6; 6 Sw.fr. (ILO.)
General comments on the effects of laws and other national standards on all activities for the promotion of equality in respect of employment. Examples of existing national legislative provisions.

Minimum wage-fixing and related problems with special reference to developing countries. 1967. 207 p. (MEMW/1967/D.1.) (ILO.)
Document prepared in connexion with a meeting of experts held in Geneva from 25 September to 6 October 1967. Aims of the standards relating to minimum wage-fixing. Results obtained. Adaptation of the minimum wage to changes in economic conditions, particularly in the cost of living. Information required for making sound decisions in this connexion.

Women's employment and condition of work in Switzerland, by Marion Janjic. Offprint from the *International Labour Review*, vol. 96, no. 3, September 1967. 26 p. Geneva, 1967. $1.50; 10/6; 4.50 Sw.fr. (ILO.)
[St.] Trends in the conditions of work of women in Switzerland since 1940 or thereabouts. The data obtained show that the rate of employment of women is increasing, although it is not comparable to what it is in many other countries. Discrimination, especially unofficial discrimination, makes access to certain professions very difficult for highly qualified women and certain provisions militate against the employment of married women. Women are often paid considerably less than men for the same work.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF UNDERTAKINGS

Participation of workers in decisions within undertakings. 1967. 147 p. (TMRTU/1967/11.) (ILO.)
Document prepared for a technical meeting on the rights of trade union representatives and the participation of workers in decisions within undertakings (Geneva, 20-29 November 1967). General introduction. The problem. Diversity of aims and methods under the various social and political systems. Attempt at a classification. Effectiveness of the machinery for participation.

DEVELOPMENT

The activities of the United Nations Development Programme in 1966. April 1967. 162 p., including annex. (UN/DP/L.41.)
[St.] Operations carried out under the United Nations Development Programme in 1966. Related technical assistance programmes of bodies belonging to the United Nations system.

Human resources for industrial development. 1967. 217 p., $2.50; 17/-; 10 Sw.fr.
Document prepared by the International Labour Office for an international symposium held by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). Main labour and social policy problems which the developing countries encounter in the course of their industrialization. Measures to be taken at the national and the international levels.

INTERNATIONAL FLOW OF RESOURCES, TRADE

Measurement of the flow of resources to developing countries. June 1967. xv + 131 p., $1.50. (UN/E/4327.)
[Bl.] Report by a group of experts. Technical problems connected with the evaluation of the flow. Analyses made within the framework of the balance of payments. Study of the influence of the flow of capital on the process of economic development. Question of the evaluation of resources leaving the developing countries. Means of calculating the net flow. Practical problems raised by the collection of data and the interpretation of the available statistics.

International flow of long-term capital and official donations. May 1967. 39 p. (UN/E/4371.)
[St.] Official statistics for 1966 and long-term series.

External financing of economic development of the developing countries. Outflow of capital from the developing countries. May 1967. 85 p. (UN/E/4374.)
[St.] This document completes the studies on the international flow of capital to the developing countries. Analysis of the flow in the opposite direction. Nature and volume of the outflow of capital. Means of reducing it. Text of the questionnaire sent to governments in this connexion. Replies from the Governments of Australia, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Israel, Jordan, Laos, Lesotho, the Netherlands, Singapore and Sweden.

External financing of economic development of the developing countries. International flow of capital and assistance. Factors affecting the ability of developed countries to provide resources to the developing countries. June 1967. 61 p. (UN/E/4375.)
Volume of the resources to be transferred to the developing countries. Methods of effecting these transfers. Factors which have had an influence on the actual flow. Analysis of such transfers in relation to the balance of payments of the countries providing resources and in relation to their national budgets. Analysis from the standpoint of the financial market. Mobilization of private savings. Means of attenuating certain difficulties.

UNCTAD commodity survey, 1966. May 1967. 224 p. (UN/TD/B/C.1/23/REV.1.)
[St.] Trends during the United Nations Development Decade, up to 1966. Long-term estimates concerning the exportation of raw materials from the developing countries. General analysis and analysis by commodities: coffee, cotton, olive oil, rubber, sugar, tin, wheat, wool, metals, petroleum.

Review of recent developments and long-term trends in commodity trade, including activities of commodity groups and other commodity bodies, in the light of recommendations and other

provisions of the Final Act of the 1st Conference. The current international commodity situation and outlook. April 1967. iii + 66 p. (UN/TD/B/C.1/30.)
[St.] Trends during the period 1965-67. Long-term prospects in regard to the exportation of commodities from the developing countries. Commodity studies: sugar, coffee, cocoa, rice, vegetable oils and oil seeds, tea, tobacco, cotton, hard fibres, rubber, metals, petroleum. Activity of commodity bodies.

The question of the granting and extension of preferences in favour of developing countries. A system of preferences for exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures from developing to developed countries. May 1967. 62 p. (UN/TD/B.C.2/AC.1/7.)
The various elements of the system contemplated. Its operation. Arguments in favour of its establishment.

Review of recent developments and long-term trends in commodity trade, including activities of commodity groups and other commodity bodies, in the light of recommendations and other provisions of the Final Act of the 1st Conference. Review of imports of manufactures and semi-manufactures from the developing countries, 1961-1965. May 1967. 91 p. (UN/TD/B/C.2/24.)
[St.] Developments in the structure of importations of manufactures and semi-manufactures from the developing countries between 1961 and 1965. Percentage of world trade represented by these importations.

**Measures for the promotion, expansion and diversification of exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures from developing countries, co-operation with the United Nations Industrial Development Organization aimed at the establishment and expansion of export-oriented industries in developing countries; other forms of economic, industrial and technical and co-operation. Prospects for exports of processed iron ore from developing countries.* April 1967. vi + 72 p. (UN/TD/B/C.2/29.)
[St.] Present and future demand for iron ore in the developed and the developing countries. Situation of the latter in this connexion.

Short and medium-term prospects for export of manufactures from selected developing countries.
[St.] UNCTAD monographs on Brazil (UN/TD/B/C.2/35), April 1967, iii + 60 p.; Chile (UN/TD/B/C.2/33), April 1967, iii + 62 p.; and Thailand (UN/T/B/C.2/42), June 1967. 73 p.

Programme for the liberalization and expansion of trade in manufactures and semi-manufactures of interest to developing countries. The structure of protection in the industrial countries and its effects on the exports of processed goods from developing nations. May 1967. 43 p., including annexes. (UN/TD/B/C.2/36.)
[St.] Tariff protection devices. International repercussions.

Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1965. 1967. 863 p., $11.50. (UN/ST/STAT/SER.G/16.)
[St.] Annual statistics for 143 countries and territories for 1965. World trade by regions and by countries. Origin and destination of products. Price-indices and volume of exports and imports. Indices by category of products. Statistics by countries.

Bulletin of statistics on world trade in engineering products, 1965. English, French and Russian. 1967. 221 p., $3. (UN/ST/ECE/ENG/4.)
[St.] Exports from twenty-eight producing countries, representing approximately 99 per cent of the world trade in engineering products. Statistics for eighty groups of products and 120 importing countries. Sub-totals by regions.

COMMODITIES

FAO Commodity Review 1967. 1967. 208 p., $2; 10/-; 6 Sw.fr.; 7 Fr.fr. (FAO.)
[St.] Structural data explaining trends in the trade of certain products. Short- and long-term prospects. Analysis of the most recent facts regarding the production, consumption, trade in and prices of various products in 1966-67. Effects of the extension of the international agreement on olive oil. Negotiations for a new international agreement on wheat. Effects of the activities of GATT and UNCTAD. Regional integration arrangements. Role of the International Monetary Fund.

ENERGY

World energy supplies 1962-1965. 1967. 101 p., $2. (UN/ST/STAT/SER.J/10.)
[St.] Production, trade in and consumption of coal, coke, petroleum and its derivatives, natural and manufactured gas and electricity. Covers 170 countries and territories. The data are set out by countries with world totals.

The state of rural electrification in Europe during the 3-year period from 1 January 1963 to 1 January 1966. 1967. iii + 86 p., including annexes, $1. (UN/ST/ECE/EP/41.)
[St. Bl.] Technical progress. Investments. The consumption of electricity. The development of applications of electricity. The economic effects of rural electrification. Annexed are a bibliography and statistics on the consumption of electricity by selected farms in various European countries: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Poland, Switzerland, United Kingdom.

AGRICULTURE

Agricultural commodities—projections for 1975 and 1985. Vol. I. 1967. 339 p., $3; 15/-; 10.50 Fr.fr. (FAO.)
[St.] Developments to be expected within the framework of the present production and exchange machinery. Adjustments which would make it possible to avoid likely imbalance, particularly in the developing countries.

Agricultural commodities—projections for 1975 and 1985. Vol. II. 1967. 308 p., $3; 15/-; 10.50 Fr.fr. (FAO.)
[St.] Notes on methodology and statistical annexes.
Farms rationalization. III: Size rationalization of farms. 1967. 25 p. (UN/ST/ECE/AGRI/25.)
[St. Bl.] Statistical study made by the Economic Commission for Europe. Developments in regard to the size of farms in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as in regard to the number of farms and the volume of manpower and of livestock.

AFRICA

Economic co-operation in Africa: Present situation and proposed programme of activities for 1967-1968. January 1967. 37 p. (UN/E/CN.14/386.)
Economic co-operation in the various regions of Africa. Current activities. Proposed programme of activities for 1967-68.

A survey of economic conditions in Africa, 1960-1964. May 1967. 2 vols. 601 p., tables, charts. (UN/E/CN.14/397.)
[St. Bl.] A comprehensive study of the African situation. Analysis of trends in the national product. Demographic factors. Agriculture. Mining industries. Energy. Industrial development. Transport. Foreign trade and the balance of payments. Social protection. Public finance. The planning of development in Africa.

Report of the West African Sub-regional Conference on Economic Co-operation, Accra 27 April-4 May 1967. May 1967. 79 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.14/399.)
The purpose of this Conference was to study a proposal to set up a West African Economic Community. Main institutions to be envisaged. Programme of activities for the Community in regard to industry, transport, power and trade. Comments of the governments concerned. Resolutions adopted by the Conference.

Development planning in Africa. July 1967. ii + 80 p. (UN/E/CN.14/CAP/9.)
[St. Bl.] Main characteristics of African development plans. Results obtained.

Consumer price indices in Africa. August 1967. 85 p. (UN/E/CN.14/CAS.5/LS.16/REV.1.)
[St. Bl.] Structure of price indices in thirty-nine African countries. Publications relating thereto.

Household budget surveys in Africa. May 1967. 90 p., tables. (UN/E/CN.14/CAS.5/LS/17.)
[St. Bl.] Surveys carried out in Africa. Comparative tables showing their main characteristics and the results. Two recent surveys (Abidjan, 1963, and Tripoli, 1962) are presented in detail by way of illustration.

Foreign trade statistics of Africa. 1967. 97 p., $2. (UN/E/CN.14/STAT/SER.A/9.) (Series A: Direction of trade, no. 9.)
[St.] Imports and exports for some thirty African countries, according to the most recent data.

LATIN AMERICA

The process of industrial development in Latin America. 1966. 272 p., $4. (UN/E/CN.12/716/REV.1.)
[St.] Main aspects of the historical process of industrial development in Latin America. Present characteristics. Current industrialization policy. Future possibilities.

Economic survey of Latin America, 1965. 1967. viii + 404 p., $5. (UN/E/CN.12/752/REV.1.)
[St. Bl.] The development of the Latin American economy as a whole. Economic situation of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Central America, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela. Studies on the principal economic sectors.

Report of the Latin American Seminar on Industrial Statistics (Quito, 7-16 December 1966). April 1967. 58 p. (UN/E/CN.12/750.)
Current problems concerning industrial statistics in each of the Latin American countries. Experiments organized on the occasion of recent censuses. Means of overcoming certain difficulties.

Latin American economy in 1966. 1967. 55 p., $0.75. (UN/E/CN.12/768.)
[St.] Obstacles to Latin American development. Progress made as the result of a development policy mobilizing domestic and foreign resources. Recent economic changes in each of the Latin American countries. Most important current investments.

Latin American and international trade policy. March 1967. 181 p. (UN/E/CN.12/773.)
Recent developments in foreign trade in the Latin American countries. Recent trends in international trade policy. Action of UNCTAD and GATT.

ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Industrial development in Asia and the Far East. Four volumes. 1967. (UN/E/CN.11/752.)
[St. Bl.] Volume I (viii + 370 p., tables, charts, $5) contains a general account of current development. Application of science and technology to progress in production in this part of the world. Difficulties. Steps taken. Industrialization and foreign trade. Financing. Standardization of products. Rationalization of markets. Planning. Industrial research. Volume II (vii + 454 p., tables, charts, $5.75) and Volume III (vii + 376 p., tables, $5) contains twenty-two country studies. Volume IV (viii + 548 p., tables, charts, $7) contains a detailed analysis of the development of thirteen groups of industries: iron and steel, aluminium, machines, industrial chemistry, insecticides, rubber, oil, cement, wood, food, pharmaceutics, textiles, small industries.

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1966. 1967. 284 p., $3.50. (UN/E/CN.11/795.)
[St. Bl.] Financial aspects of development: domestic resources, foreign resources, monetary policy. Economic growth. Development of agriculture, industry and foreign trade. The trade balance. The international raw materials market.

Report of the Governing Council of the Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning. March 1967. 48 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.11/768.)
The Institute's programme of activities (training, research, advisory services). Budget estimates. Co-operation with governments and specialized agencies.

Water resources development in the ECAFE region. February 1967. 32 p. (UN/E/CN.11/760.)
Progress made in the implementation of the Commission's programme between January 1966 and February 1967.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Organization and administration of social welfare programmes. A series of country studies. 1967.
[St. Bl.] The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs has published studies on the field of activity of social welfare services and the operation of these services in the following countries: Norway (UN/ST/SOA/67, vi + 71 p., $1.50); United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UN/ST/SOA/68, v + 48 p., $1); Canada (UN/ST/SOA/72, iv + 126 p., $2); United Arab Republic (UN/ST/SOA/74, iii + 25 p., $0.75); U.S.S.R. (UN/ST/SOA/75, iii + 78 p., $1.50).

BIBLIOGRAPHIES, DIRECTORIES

Input-output bibliography (1963-1966). 1967. 259 p., $3.50. (UN/ST/STAT/SER.M/46.)
[Bl.] General theory. Mathematical techniques. Classification and aggregation. Labour studies. Dynamic analyses. Regional and interregional analyses. National studies.

Index to proceedings of the Economic and Social Council, forty-first session, 1966. 1967. 62 p., $1. (UN/ST/LIB/SER.B/E.32.)
[Bl.] Bibliographical guide to the proceedings of the forty-first ordinary session of the Economic and Social Council and the documentation used for that session.

List of documents issued by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. May 1967. 112 p. (UN/TD/DOCS/1967/1.)
[Bl.] Documents of the conference itself, its General Committee and the various committees.

Studies and other publications issued under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Europe, 1947-1966. viii + 81 p., $1. (UN/E/ECE/642.)
[Bl.] Methodical list followed by a subject index. Covers the ECE's printed publications, duplicated studies which have been placed on sale and certain documents not for sale which are of particular importance.

United Nations Industrial Development Organization: index to documents. April 1967. 114 p. (UN/ID/SER.G/1.)
[Bl.] Publications and documents of the Committee for Industrial Development, the Centre for Industrial Development and the Division of Industrial Development. The index covers documents issued up to the end of 1966. Reports by technical assistance experts have not been included in the index.

Education, science

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Higher education and development in South-East Asia. Vol. I. *Director's report,* by Howard Hayden. 1967. 508 p. $8; £2.3.0; 30 Fr.fr. (Unesco/International Association of Universities.)
[St. Bl.] This volume is one of a series of studies being undertaken jointly by Unesco and the International Association of Universities. It constitutes a general report of the research carried out by these two organizations. Present and future role of higher education in speeding up the development of the countries of South-East Asia. The report is based on a detailed study, by experts, of certain general aspects of the question and on country studies (Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Republic of Viet-Nam). Geography and history of the region concerned, educational systems, types of universities, enrolment trend. Economic development programmes. Corresponding needs in highly qualified personnel. Social development and education. Problem of teaching languages. Likely developments in higher education systems. Teaching staff. General co-operation. Major problems and conclusions, with detailed recommendations concerning possible solutions.

PLANNING AND EDUCATION

High-level manpower planning in Hungary and its relation to educational development, by Janos Timar. Offprint from the *International Labour Review.* Vol. 6, no. 4, October 1967. 24 p. 1967. 7.50 Sw.fr. (ILO.)
The objectives of high-level manpower planning in a socialist economy. Main characteristics of the methods adopted in this connexion in Hungary. Classification by occupational sector and level of training and by branch of activity, worked out for the purposes of high-level manpower planning.

ACCESS OF WOMEN TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Comparative study on access of girls and women to higher education. 5 June 1965. 47 p., including annexes. (UNESCO/ED/MD/1.)
[St.] This study is a follow-up to a similar survey on the access of girls to secondary education. It is based on the replies to a questionnaire received from more than 100 States and territories as well as on other sources. Regulations and practices governing the access of girls and women to higher educational institutions. Proportion of women students in relation to the total number of students and in each branch of study. Social origins. Wastage and diplomas. Grants and other forms of

assistance. Openings on completion of studies. Comments with detailed statistics. Supplementary information supplied by non-governmental organizations is given in an annex (13 p., 21 August 1967).

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS FOR AFRICA

Report of the Regional Seminar on Educational Statistics for Africa (Yaoundé, 5-16 December 1966). 8 p., including annex. 15 September 1967. (UNESCO/ST/SEM.6.)
Proceedings and conclusions of the Seminar. List of working papers. The participants came from twenty-two African countries.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

* *The social sciences in higher technical education: International survey.* Teaching in the Social Sciences series. 1967. 183 p. $4.50; 23/-; 16 Fr.fr. (Unesco.)
Place of the teaching of the various social sciences in training courses for engineers and members of similar professions. The term 'social sciences' here embraces sociology (general and industrial), social psychology, cultural anthropology, international relations, political science, economics, law, criminology, statistics, demography, public administration, business management, international law. The survey covered nine countries (Czechoslovakia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Japan, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America). General account of trends, by S. J. Gould, followed by national reports.

Science and technical education in Africa. April 1967. 55 p. (UN/E/CN.14/398.)
[Bl.] Situation and problems. The United Nations Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development. Over-all plan for Africa. Order of priorities in education. Increase in agricultural productivity as a result of education. Vocational education and apprenticeship. Teacher training. Improvement of curricula for technical and university education. Study grants.

ADULT EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Audio-visual aids for co-operative education and training. 1967. 96 p. $2; 10/-; 7 Fr.fr. (FAO.)
Detailed information on the whole range of audio-visual aids adapted to co-operative education and training. The art of presenting a subject with the help of these aids. Their adaptation to rural environments.

Vocational preparation and employment of out-of-school youth in developing countries. 1967. 63 p. (MCYW/1967/2.) (ILO.)
Problems relating to the training and employment of young people who have had little or no schooling. Possible solutions. The principles which might be adopted by the developing countries in this connexion. Tasks of the ILO. This document was prepared for a meeting of experts on the problems of young workers held at the ILO headquarters, Geneva, from 10 to 18 October 1967.

HUMAN SCIENCES AND RACISM, APARTHEID

Statement on race and racial prejudice. 26 September 1967. 7 p. (Unesco.)
Text adopted unanimously by eighteen specialists in the human sciences who met in Paris from 18 to 26 September 1967. Reaffirms, with precise arguments, that racism has not the slightest scientific basis. Causes of prejudice. Means of combating it.

Apartheid. Its effects on education, science, culture and information. 1967. 205 p. $1.50; 8/-; 5.50 Fr.fr. (Unesco.)
Report submitted by Unesco to the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Confronts the Government's policies and practices in education, science and culture with a number of international norms which Unesco is legally and morally bound to defend. Detailed study of the repercussions of the special treatment imposed on persons not regarded as 'white' in the fields of primary, secondary and higher education, scientific research, religion, literature, the arts, sport, the press, radio and films.

Legal and political questions, human rights

LEGAL QUESTIONS

The work of the International Law Commission. 1967. 168 p. $2. (UN/67.V.4.)
Brief account of the various experiments carried out prior to the setting up of the Commission. Organization and working methods of the Commission.

Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its 19th session, 8 May to 14 July 1967. July 1967. 72 p. (UN/A/CN.4/199.)
Work of the Commission in regard to the question of special missions. Text of fifty articles being prepared in connexion with these missions. Organization of the Commission's future work.

Law of treaties. Guide to the draft articles on the law of treaties adopted by the International Law Commission at its 18th session, 1966. May 1967. 163 p. (UN/A/C.6/376.)
(Bl.] References grouped so as to show how drafts of articles on the law of treaties evolve and to give an idea of the views expressed on this subject by governments and members of the Commission.

Study of equality in the administration of justice. July 1967. 47 p. (UN/E/CN.4/SUB.2/281.)
The concept of equality in the administration of justice. The right to be heard by an independent, impartial tribunal. The right of access to tribunals. The right to equitable treatment in penal and civil cases. The right to a speedy trial and judgement. The right of appeal. Principal grounds for discrimination in the administration of justice. Methods adopted to combat such discrimination.

Report of the Legal Sub-Committee on the work of its 6th session, 19 June to 14 July 1967, to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. July 1967. 81 p., including annexes. (UN/A/AC.105/37.)
Draft agreement on responsibility for damage caused by objects launched in outer space. Draft agreement on assistance to cosmonauts and space vehicles, the return of cosmonauts and the restitution of space vehicles. Questions relating to the definition of outer space and its use. Satellite communications.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Capital punishment. September 1967. 7 p., including annexes. (UN/A/6690/REV.1.)
Summary of the work done by the Economic and Social Council and the Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in connexion with capital punishment. Covers the period 1960-67. Draft resolutions annexed.

STATUS AND ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

Report of the United Nations seminar on Organization and Administration of Public Enterprises. Geneva, 26 September-4 October 1966. 1967. 38 p. $0.75. (UN/ST/TAO/M/35.)
The role of public enterprises from the standpoint of national development. Legal forms of public enterprises. Control over these enterprises. The directors. Staff problems.

HUMAN RIGHTS

International year for human rights. Report of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on Human Rights. June 1967. 54 p. (UN/A/6670.)
Provisional agenda for the conference: slavery, including practices in apartheid and colonialism which approximate to slavery; measures designed to promote the rights of women in the modern world; the progress achieved and chief obstacles encountered in regard to human rights at the national, regional and international levels; the effects of demographic growth on the practical exercise of human rights; the need for universal recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples without delay.

Seminar on the effective realization of civil and political rights at the national level. 1967. 61 p. (UN/ST/TAO/HR/29.)
This seminar took place at Kingston, Jamaica, from 25 April to 8 May 1967. Present situation. Nature of the institutions which endeavour to ensure, in certain countries, the effective realization of human rights.

RACISM, MINORITIES

Report on the celebration of International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. May 1967. 52 p., including annexes. (UN/A/AC.115/L.198.)
Action taken by bodies belonging to the United Nations system, the Specialized Agencies, intergovernmental organizations, twenty-seven Member States and many non-governmental organizations.

Review of United Nations consideration of apartheid. 1967. 27 p. $0.75. (UN/ST/PSCA/SER.A/2.)
Summarizes the work done by the General Assembly, the Security Council and their organs, between 1946 and 1966, in connexion with the apartheid problem.

Protection of minorities. 1967. 58 p. $1. (UN/E/CN.4/SUB.2/214/Rev.1.)
Collection of international legal provisions designed to protect ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. Goes back to the time of the League of Nations. International measures of a general character. Multilateral, bilateral and regional agreements.

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

Discrimination in employment and occupation: standards and policy statements adopted under the auspices of the ILO. 1967. 56 p. $1; 7/-; 4 Sw.fr. (ILO.)
Texts of a general nature concerning equality of opportunity and wages in employment. Apartheid. Aboriginal and tribal populations. Women. The disabled. Foreign and migrant workers. Trade union rights.

SLAVERY

Slavery and the slave trade, in all practices and manifestations including the practices of apartheid and colonialism which approximate to slavery. June 1967. 33 p., including annex. (UN/E/CN.4/SUB.2/279.)

Implementation of the Supplementary Convention of 1956 on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery. As of 26 June 1967, sixty-nine States had ratified the convention or acceded to it. Information received from the various countries concerned.

REFUGEES

Report on the resettlement of refugees. Submitted by the High Commissioner. March 1967. 13 p., including annexes. (UN/A/AC.96/357.)
[St.] Results obtained in 1966. Special problems. Resettlement of seriously handicapped refugees; vocational guidance with a view to this resettlement; problems arising from the resettlement of refugees in Yugoslavia; resettlement of refugees in Africa or coming from Africa; financing of resettlement activities in 1967.

Reappraisal of the problem of severely handicapped refugees. Submitted by the High Commissioner. April 1967. 22 p., including annexes. (UN/A/AC.96/358.)
[St.] Efforts already made in various countries and regions of the world to assist severely handicapped refugees: Austria, Far East (refugees of European origin), Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, Morocco (refugees of European origin), Turkey, United Arab Republic. Tables showing the country of residence and the type of handicap are annexed.

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DIEGUES Jr., Manuel; WOOD, Bryce (eds.). *Social science in Latin America.* New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1967. xii + 335 p. (Papers presented at the conference on Latin American studies held at Rio de Janeiro, 29-31 March 1965.)

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RICKMAN, H. P. *Understanding and the human studies.* London, Heinemann, 1967. xvi + 140 p. 25s. (Heinemann studies in sociology.)

VALLES, Marie-Thérèse. *Les idéologies coopérativistes et leur applicabilité en Haïti.* Préface de P. Arbousse-Bastide. Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1967. iii + 318 p., fig., tabl., bibliogr., maps.

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Nacional del Litoral. 223 p., fig., tabl., map. (Cuadernos del Instituto de Sociologia.)

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