SOCIAL RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA

Special Issue Editors

Frank Jay Moreno Rodman C. Rockefeller

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ON THE COVER: Detail of Jose' Clemente Orozco Mural at Dartmouth College. Provided by courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art and with permission of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

HE AMERICAN

EHAVIORAL SCIENTIST

"the proper use of men and measures"

VIII September, 1964 NO. 1

ABS NEWS ROUNDUP: PEOPLE, ORGANIZATIONS, AND PROJECTS

NEW RESEARCHES AND PROGRAMS

A Center for Population Studies has been established in the Harvard University School of Public Health. The Director of the Center is Roger Revelle who holds the rank of Professor of Population Policy. The Center will serve as a focal point for physical and social scientists, engineers, and scholars in the humanities to work together on the problems resulting from the rapid growth of human populations.

A Two-Year Faculty Exchange Program between the University of Wisconsin and three predominantly Negro universities in the South has received $300M in support from the Carnegie Corporation. The expertness of Wisconsin faculty members will be utilized in such areas as curriculum revision, in new teaching techniques, inservice training, and remedial work at almost every level and in every academic area. Visits of U. of Wisconsin staff members to the three schools will range from consultant stays of one week to a full year in residence. The program is also expected to bring faculty members from the Southern institutions to one of the U. of Wisconsin campuses.

A Conference on Classification Research is being held this month in Helsingor, Denmark on a by-invitation basis. The theme of the meeting is "The Role of Classification in the Communication of Knowledge and Information—A Critical Evaluation of Experience and Trends." The discussion will center on the general theory of classification and its relationship with current work in logic, semantics, linguistics, and the communication of ideas. The Proceedings of the Conference will be published. Inquiries should be directed to the International Federation for Documentation, 7 Hofweg, The Hague, Netherlands.

House Foreign Affairs Commitee. Congressional support for the use of the behavioral sciences in foreign policy formulation has been expressed by Congressman Dante B. Fascell, Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He recommends, in his report entitled "Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive," that "The input of the ideological and psychological dimension of foreign policy—particularly in the field of basic research in behavioral sciences—should be increased."

The Fair Campaign Practices Commitee, Inc. has begun publication of a quarterly newsletter entitled *Fair Comment*. Election year goals are 1) to educate the public to recognize unfair campaign tactics, 2) to encourage candidates and parties to adhere to the Code of Fair Campaign Practices, and 3) to follow the campaigns and investigate the practices that result. Of an election year budget of $100M, research activities account for $15M. They include the biennial *State-by-State Study of Smear* (the fourth edition of which is due soon), and other educational literature. The address of the Committee is 790 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10021.

Fellowships in City Planning and Urban Renewal will be established in ten graduate schools through a $1,000M grant of the Richard King Mellon Charitable Trusts. Each school will receive $100M, payable over a five-year period in annual installments of $20M. Half of this amount is to be granted by the school as fellowship aid to one or more Mellon Fellows in city planning or urban renewal. The other half will be allocated to the schools for faculty salaries to support the fellowship programs. The chosen schools are U. of California, Berkeley, Georgia Institute of Technology, Harvard U., U. of Illinois, M.I.T., U. of North Carolina, U. of Penna., Syracuse U., and U. of Wisconsin.

The McGill University Centre for Developing Area Studies has been established to advance the study of the development process in economically less advanced countries. It will be concerned with selected countries of South Asia, West Africa, and the West Indies. Fields of study are to include economics, political science, public administration, international relations, social change, community development, and demography. Plans include a journal of studies on developing areas. Fellowships are available to graduate students from the developing areas and to those from the advanced countries wishing to specialize or carry out field research. The Director of the Centre is Irving Brecher, Dept. of Economics and Political Science.

The Commission on the Humanities sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council of Graduate Schools in the U.S., and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, has issued its report. Two fundamental points are stressed: 1) that expansion and improvement of activities in the humanities are in the national interest and consequently deserve financial support by the federal government; and 2) that federal funds for this purpose should be administered by a new independent agency to be known as the National Humanities Foundation. The proposed agency is seen as a balancing force to the NSF in which, for example, those aspects of the social sciences which involve humanistic content and method would be included. The Commission advocates the revising of curricula and teacher training programs as well as the development of new teaching materials and libraries. The National Humanities Foundation would award scholarships, fellowships, and travel grants. A governing board of 24 members to be selected by the President and ratified by the Senate is recommended. Copies of the full 222-page report may be obtained without charge from the ACLS, 345 East 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

THE AMERICAN BEHAVIORAL SCIENTIST is published monthly except July and August in New York City. It is written by and for social scientists and associated laymen, and carries accounts of inter-disciplinary research, articles on creativity and social invention, comments on the relations between behavioral scientists and society and government, and broad annotated listings of new studies with analytical indexing. It stresses general theory and operationalism, and aims at establishing the role of behavioral science in the modern world. Contributions and comments are invited. The ABS is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service and is microfilmed by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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Tulane University is currently conducting one of the most extensive population surveys ever made in the Columbian city of Cali, a metropolis of almost one million. The program is expected to yield, in addition to data for use in planning the economic and social development of Cali, information on population trends, health conditions, and the movement and size of the growing Cali middle class. Dr. Forrest E. LaViolette, chairman of the Tulane Department of Sociology and Anthropology, is director.

A Career Information Service for returning Peace Corpsmen has been established by the American Council on Education with funds from the Carnegie Corporation. Recent legislation transferred this service to the Corps itself in July of 1964. By 1970, between 40,000 and 60,000 Americans will have experienced two-year stints as Volunteers and will constitute a valuable talent pool. The CIS provides career counseling and information on both job and educational opportunities Of those who have already returned, more than 42% are continuing their education—two-thirds of them at the graduate level. 13% are working for the federal government, 13% are teaching, 4% are employed by private, nonprofit organizations, 8% are working for private business, and the remaining 20% are extending their Peace Corps service, or travelling.

A Committee on African Studies has been formed at the University of Chicago to promote research and graduate training in a number of the social science departments and professional schools. Robert A. LaVine is the Chairman of the Committee, which also includes Lloyd A. Fallers, Ronald Singer, and Marc J. Swartz.

The Survey Research Center of the U. of Michigan has been commissioned by the Brookings Institution to undertake a two-year study of the response of consumers to the 1964 tax cut. The study is part of Brooking's special program of Government Finance, established under a Ford Foundation grant, to make an intensive examination of major issues of public finance. A Ford grant of $110 5M will assist in financing the $255M study. The project is expected to shed new light on the effectiveness of tax reduction and will detail how the tax cut has influenced the spending and earning behavior of consumers in different income groups. The directors for the Survey Research Center are George Katona and Eva L. Mueller.

The Institute for Research on International Behavior located San Francisco State College is currently undertaking research on Political Transactions and Arms Control under the direction of Ralph M. Goldman. Three main questions are being asked in an investigation of how politicians make cost judgments when they decide to expend armaments.

First, what currencies, in addition to money, do politicians employ in their cost judgments? A Brokerage Theory is being developed in which five different types of transactional "currencies" can be "traded" within political "market places." These currencies are 1) armaments, 2) opportunities for dissent such as conferences and voting, 3) shares of participation in collective decision making, 4) incumbencies in public office, and 5) materials of the public or governmental economy. Studies are made of how transactors learn about each other's criteria of profitability and how they pursue at minimum cost and risk maximum gains in political currencies.

The second question concerns the socio-psychological factors that lead to a participant's conclusion that a particular expenditure is worthwhile from his point of view. This, in brief, is an inquiry into the reference group structure of political decision-makers. The research approach is based upon a conception of personality as a dynamic role organization with information about each role learned by the individual from socializing groups. It is hoped that it will be possible to construct reference group profiles for the world's 1,000-2,000 principle decision-makers which will make possible prediction or postdiction of an individual's transactional choices.

The third area of investigation asks what are the characteristic long-run consequences for the political system of cost judgments and transactions, patricularly those consequences that permanently deter politicians from expending armaments. It is expected that the knowledge derived from a systems analysis will provide insights into the characteristics of political exchange situations which tend to reduce the risks of erroneously evaluating an adversary's criteria of profitability.

PUBLICATION NOTES

The Journal of Peace Research is a new quarterly edited at the Peace Research Institute—Oslo and published by by Universitetsforlaget. The journal is intended to be empirical and theoretical more the philosophical, but "peace research" is interpreted so as to cover not only theory and data about the past, but also theoretically guided speculations about the future. The first issue (#1, 1964) contains articles on: "Technical Assistance and Social Conflict"; "Technical Assistance and Public Opinion"; and "Fear in the Arms Race: A Mathematical Study." Manuscripts should be sent to Journal of Peace Research, P.O. Box 5052, Oslo 3, Norway. All other correspondence should be sent to Universitetsforlaget, U. of Oslo, P.O. Box 307, Blindern, Oslo 3, Norway. Subscription rates: $4.00 per year; $1.50 per issue.

UN Monthly Chronicle is a new journal, replacing *United Nations Review*, published by the Office of Public Information. Appearing first in May 1964 the content includes a complete monthly record of proceedings, decisions and resolutions of the main organs and committees of the Organization, feature articles and reviews of UN publications. Annual subscription is $6.00.

Urban Studies began publication in May 1964 on a twice a year basis. This journal will be broadly based on the social sciences and devoted to all aspects of urban studies which are relevant to an understanding of the structure, growth, and life of towns. Representative articles: "Planning for Leisure"; "Housing Research: Some European Impressions"; "Regional Planning in Britain"; "Politics and Planning for Reconstruction in Western Germany." Annual subscription is $5.00 and the editors are J. B. Cullingworth and D. R. Diamond, Department of Social and Economic Research, The University, Glasgow, Scotland.

NIMH GRANTS

During April and May 1964 the National Institute of Mental Health announced 211 new research grants with a total first-year award value of $6,545M as well as 8 new fellowships. The new research grants include the following:

E. H. Spicer (U. of Arizona), Innovation and Types of *Cultural Change*, $540.
J. Haley (Palo Alto Med. Research Foundation), A Method for Studying *Normal and Abnormal Families*, $4.2M.
E. E. Maccoby (Stanford U.), Development of *Selective Listening* in Children, $4.2M.
J. F. Clark (U. of Illinois), Social Interaction in the *Social Control Network*, $4.2M.
J. C. Baxter (U. of Kentucky), *Parents' Social Learning* History and Family Dynamics, $3.3M.
E. L. Kleiber (Worchester Area Mental Health Assoc., Mass.), *Cognitive* Style and *Biological* Correlates, $4M.
R. S. Sigel (Wayne State U.), *Childrens' Reactions* to a National *Tragedy*, $4.2M.
N. E. Spear (Rutgers State U.), Contiguity and Mediation in *Verbal Learning*, $4.1M.
P. J. Hoffman (Oregon Research Institute, Eugene), Medical and Psychological *Diagnosis by Computer*, $3.1M.
E. M. Segal (Arlington State College, Texas), Experimental *Analysis of Verbal Context*, $4.2M.
G. M. Foster (U. of Calif., Berkeley), Interpersonal Relations in a *Rural Social Structure*, $6.4M.

(continued on page 44)

TOPICS AND CRITIQUES

Training in Frustration

A. K. Cairncross, in *Factors in Economic Development*, 1962, has chapters on economic methodology that may be overlooked and we would not want our readers to miss these gems:

"Here I may repeat to you three pieces of advice which I was given by the first permanent civil servant with whom I worked, Sir Piers Debenham. . . . He laid down, first, that a man was no good as a civil servant until he had had three years' training in frustration—after that he found the right way to go about things instead of constantly knocking his head against brick walls; second, that no one bothered to decide *important* matters—what always received prior attention was what was *urgent*; third, that the first obligation of a civil servant was to keep his Minister out of scrapes. This bureaucratic testament I found hard to swallow at the time but it stood me in good stead later.

I found from experience, however, that one other maxim was even more important. This was that the civil service was the last home of private enterprise; it was most unusual to be told exactly what to do. No doubt some civil servants could content themselves with waiting for the files to arrive, but only if their duties were specific, continuing and publicized. A new arrival had usually to find work for himself, not hang around waiting for it; he had to take the initiative, discover for himself who did what and who needed help, and by launching a minute or commenting on an intercepted file, win acceptance as an 'authority' on the chosen subject. This was as true of economic advisers as of anyone else. It was rare for any division of the Board of Trade to send me a file out of the blue, but if I once showed an interest in some particular problem and wrote anything, however misinformed, on the subject, I could rely on a steady traffic in files, almost indefinitely, from the division concerned."

Clarifying the Mission of the State Department's External Research Staff

One of our readers has questioned the validity of a statement in our May issue on government research. "Is it really true, as the article seemed to imply," he said, "that the Department of State is a channel for all Central Intelligence Agency contract research in social science?"

Well, let us see whether we can weasel out of this by what are commonly called amplification and clarification. The *ABS* survey should have indicated that the phrase "handles the external [research] work of the CIA" meant only that the Department has an inter-agency clearing-house of information on international affairs research called the External Research Staff. It collects information from all government agencies, including the CIA, regarding contract research dealing with foreign affairs and foreign areas, information which is distributed exclusively among government agencies to help coordinate and prevent duplication of government contract research.

This coordination function is quite distinct from the work the External Research Staff performs for the Department of State. This work includes a consultant program and a small contract research program. In this State Department program some, but not all, of the projects are classified of necessity.

Function of a Fact

We worry not only about levels of meaning but about their intensities as well. We know this is an old problem: "a statistic doesn't tell the real story," "bare fact cannot convey the impression," etc., but what will be the ultimate answer of linguistics, and of policy-science writing to the problem of relating a *fact* to the *function of fact within the organism.* Here is an example of how, nonscientifically in one sense but extraordinarily scientific in another sense, a fact on world poverty is related:

"On many occasions you have heard it said, two out of every three people in the world do not have enough to eat. At a recent meeting with the Director of Nutrition of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization I asked whether or not this was an exaggeration. His reply was a positive No—it may even be an underestimation.

"When we say that two-thirds of the world lacks enough to eat, what is meant is that either they do not receive an adequate quantity of food, or there is lacking one or more essential nutrients, such as protein, vitamins or minerals. To realize the extent of this problem, it is only necessary to imagine a line of people starting at your front door, made up of the hungry of the world. The line stretches around the world for 25,000 miles and returns to your front door. On and on it stretches, not once or twice but 25 times."

(The quotation is from James J. Norris, "The Concept of International Responsibility in the Encyclical Mater et Magistra," in *The Catholic Charities Review*, Vol. XLVI, No. 2, Feb., 1962, pp. 14-15.)

"No one can deny that the idea is fascinating—the idea of subduing the phenomena of politics to the laws of causation, of penetrating to the mystery of its transformations, of symbolizing the trajectory of its future; in a word, of grasping destiny by the forelock and bringing it prostrate to earth. The very idea is itself worthy of the immortal gods. . . . If nothing ever comes of it, its very existence will fertilize thought and enrich imagination." —Charles A. Beard

The Traditional and the Behavioral

by Frank Jay Moreno

Professor Moreno issues a critique of the traditional and behavioral approaches to the study of Latin American politics. He cites relevant literature of the past that still carries weight, and urges its synthesis with the modern field study. The author is at New York University when not studying politics first-hand in Cuba, Venezuela, Chile, and elsewhere.

THE study of Latin American politics, like the study of politics in general, confronts a methodological question of primary importance.

The traditional historical-institutional-legal approach to the study of politics has been challenged in recent times by a more systematic and behaviorally oriented method of analysis. The traditional approach emphasizes the study of cultural characteristics, institutional structure, and law within an historical perspective. The works of Russell H. Fitzgibbon, Harold Davis, Asher Christensen, William W. Pierson, Frederico G. Gil, William S. Stokes, Robin A. Humphreys and J. H. Parry, among many others, are good examples of this tendency. The behavioral school is more concerned with the analysis of political elites, decision-making processes, voting behavior and power as they operate in thier present environment. The behavioral approach "symbolizes the hope that, ultimately, some common variables may be discovered, variables of a kind that will stand at the core of a theory useful for the better understanding of human behavior in all fields."[1]

These differences in emphasis and techniques usually convey the impression that the two approaches are exclusive of one another. The militant antagonism, latent or explicit, which exists between advocates of either approach has helped to make this impression prevail. In spite of this, a calm and objective evaluation of the problems to be studied, and an appraisal of the need to study them effectively, would show that, as Professor Heinz Eulau has said,[2] these two apparently antagonistic methods of analysis tend actually to supplement and complement one another.

The Two Methods of Analysis

The study of the historical development of Latin America and the analysis of traditional institutions and legal structure of the area would provide certain basic ideas regarding the general character and over-all trends of Latin America's political life. Through such an approach, it could, for example, be concluded that authoritarianism has been an influenential factor in the political development of the area. Following this lead, authoritarian tendencies and institutions could be traced through pre-Colombian Spain into Roman Law, thus establishing a correlation between authoritarianism and legal institutions of a Roman Law character. But this is as far as the traditional approach can be fruitfully carried. Satisfactory and specific answers about the origin and nature of authoritanianism, and its present political implications, would have to be sought through a more detailed and systematic study of Latin American socio-psychological composition and present patterns of political behavior.

The traditional approach, when properly used, could readily provide a general picture of Latin American society and of its most relevant cultural characteristics. Without this information and general knowledge, it would be most difficult to achieve detailed knowledge concerning more specific aspects of Latin American politics. The general historical-institutional-legal approach, by conveying a general understanding of the society, creates a frame of reference of great value for further investigation. It also provides the basic information required for the effective formulation of theories and hypotheses, for the determination of the applicability of research techniques, and for the evaluation of their results.

The behaviorally oriented student of Latin American politics may be wise in his unwillingness to accept the interpretations provided through the traditional method of analysis as necessarily valid, but he cannot go about his work effectively without possessing a thorough understanding of the society with which he is dealing. This understanding, which can only be obtained at present through traditional means, is necessary for him for two reasons. One is theoretical and the other is technical.

The theoretical reason is directly related to the relevancy of the possible subjects of study. In selecting a topic or issue, a political scientist must conclude that such an issue is relevant to understanding the political system as a whole, or to understanding a vital aspect of that political system. The student of Latin American politics who lacks a sound knowledge of the historical, institutional, and cultural characteristics of the area, would be handicapped in determining the actual relevancy of his subject. In such a case, it should be surprising to no one if the problem is determined by the technical abilities of the researcher rather than by the political importance of the subject itself.

Technically, the behavioral scientist cannot, at least at present, do without the traditionalists' contribution to the understanding of Latin American political phenomena. The behavioral student of Latin American politics is usually equipped with methodological tools which have been developed and tested in a different environment and he cannot apply them unaltered to Latin America. Cultural variables must be taken into consideration.[3] Attitudes, responses and general behavior have to be analyzed and interpreted within the proper cultural context before a realistic evaluation can be reached. The determination of what research techniques to use, the actual application of those techniques, and the final evaluation of the results thus obtained, would all require a thorough familiarization with the society in question. A sound knowledge of the lan-

guage would also be among the most vital tools needed. In 1950 Professor Lowry Nelson wrote a sociological analysis entitled *Rural Cuba.* He re-evaluated the strength and role of the family structure in the rural sections of the island. His conclusions were based on the results of a test that showed a low degree of frequency in the visiting pattern among relatives. Those Cubans who were questioned replied that they visited (or were visited by) friends and co-workers more often than relatives. On the basis of these results Professor Nelson went into a long disquisition about the deterioration of the family structure in rural Cuba. He never found out that the verb *VISITAR* has formal overtones in Cuba. You do not visit your family, you just go to their house.

The Quality of the Research Literature

It has been in relation to this necessity to get acquainted with the traditional contributions to the study of Latin American politics that the American students—traditionalists as well as behavioralists—have failed the most. The works of Martin Needler and James L. Bussey, to cite only two contemporary political scientists, offer ample example of this failure. There is actually a reservoir of information, analysis and interpretations of Latin American politics which has remained largely untapped in this country. The works of Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, Lucas Ayarragaray, Augustín Alvarez, Luis Alberto Sánchez, José María Velasco Ibarra and Simón Bolívar, among others, are seldom dealt with by the American student of Latin American politics. These authors possessed the intellectual skills and the knowledge of the culture necessary for putting forward learned explanations of the major trends of Latin American political development. Although their attempts could be branded by some as unobjective, the importance of their contribution can be judged by the fact that they were able to make correct predictions concerning some aspects of the political development of the area. For example, Bolívar wrote several perspicacious and modernistic essays in which he correctly predicted that Chile was destined to be more stable than the other Latin American countries.

These Latin American writers provided not only information but they supplied us with a great variety of theories and hypotheses concerning Latin American politics which could serve as valuable guides to contemporary students of Latin American politics. The work of Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, *Cesarismo Democrático*, for example, put forward a challenging interpretation of Latin American politics. His hypothesis was that social and economic democratization in Latin America could best be accomplished through political dictatorship.[4] Vallenilla Lanz's arguments are largely based on his analysis of the dictatorship of Laureano Gómez in Venezuela and in his comparative study of Colombian and Venezuelan politics, but his case comes also to rest on the tendency toward authoritarianism which has been characteristic of Latin American politics since the days of the Conquest. Of vital importance also is his interpretation of the negative role Latin American intellectuals have played in the institutional and ideological developments of their countries. He blames them for their inability to provide original solutions to the political problems of their countries.

Another Latin American writer who has provided fresh insights concerning Latin American politics is José María Velasco Ibarra in his *Expresión Política Hispanoamericana* (1943). Velasco combines high intellectual skills with the experience of a successful practicing politician. He has advanced some stimulating theories of Latin American political behavior which should be of great value in determining the high political relevancy of certain topics of research. Among them is his interpretation of the role that law actually plays in the Latin American environment.

Augustín Alvarez and Carlos Vaz have broken new grounds with their socio-psychological interpretations of Latin American political phenomena. Both authors have called attention to the lack of originality characteristic of Latin American political life. Like Vallenilla and José Martí, they detect a certain inability on the part of Latin Americans to develop original political ideas. Since these authors are not trained psychologists, their conclusions must be taken simply as unsubstantiated hypotheses. Nevertheless, by pointing to a problem which escapes most American analysts they serve as useful guides to a more detailed and systematic analysis of this phenomenon and of its political implications.

A Comprehensive Approach

An effective approach to the study of Latin American politics would seem thus to be through the integration of the available knowledge and of the varied approaches which are already in use. This is easier said than done. Integration would imply changes in the way we now train both ourselves and others in the study of Latin American politics. We would, among other things, have to become more familiar with the works of Latin American and Spanish writers whose interpretations of Latin American politics may be quite different from ours. The integration of methodological approaches would require a re-evaluation of the basic philosophical commitments underlying both schools at present.

This re-evaluation of present philosophical commitments seems to be necessary both for the traditional and behavioral schools. The skeptical attitude of the traditionalists about the predictability of political behavior is somehow contradictory. Their unwillingness to accept the possibility of verification and prediction would have no place in a truly skeptical attitude. Their negation of such a possibility is most *un-skeptical.*

The "scientific" approach of the behavioralists seems also to be in urgent need of reappraisal. The basic attitude of doubt which must underly any scientific endeavor seems to be giving way, in their case, to one of technological certainty. Their concern with methodology may grow out of all proportion. A dogmatism of method could develop which would preclude the proper appreciation and use of all the knowledge gathered by traditionalist students of Latin American politics. The apparent belief of most of our behavioralists, that there are only certain ways of finding the truth, is most *un-scientific* in nature.

A comprehensive approach to the study of Latin American politics—as to the study of politics in general—would require a philosophical commitment to the acceptance, in principle, of the possible existence of an undetermined number of ways of achieving true knowledge. All these ways are to be accepted, of course, only as possibilities. The degree of probability of every possibility would have to be determined according to the specific circumstances of each case. But the use of the given instrument of investigation selected for the particular situation (or situations) would not be permitted to develop into a dogmatic commitment to that instrument. A truly scientific and skeptical attitude cannot be conditioned to suit a particular methodology. This lack of an actual philosophical commitment, comprehensive of all the possible ways of acquiring knowledge, stands in the way of closer cooperation among all students of Latin American politics.

REFERENCES

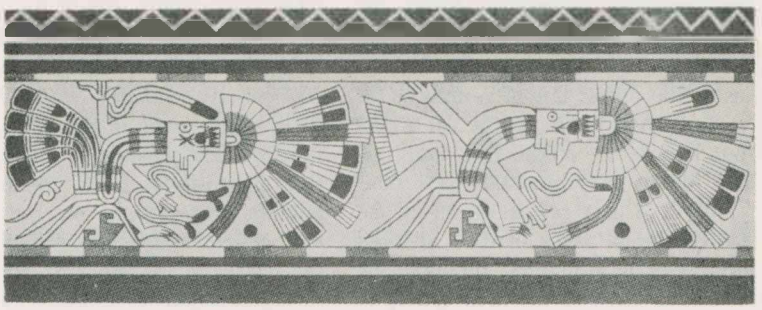
[1] David Easton, "Introduction: The Current Meaning of 'Behavioralism' in Political Science," in James C. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Limits of Behavioralism in Political Science* (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1962), p. 18.

[2] "Segments of Political Science Most Susceptible to Behavioristic Treatment," in *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[3] Although this is supposedly a cardinal tenet of instruction in behaviorally oriented departments in this country, there is not enough emphasis placed on cultural variables by most behavioral students. The lack of integration between theory and research to which Professors Easton (op.cit.) and Eulau (op.cit.) make reference to, is indicative of this situation.

[4] For a recent restatement of this thesis, see Pedro J. Frías, "El papel de los expertos en la vida política de América Latina," in Revista de Estudios Políticos, 128 (Marzo-Abril 1963), pp. 193-199.

Area Studies and Comparative Politics



by Merle Kling

Professor Kling of Washington University in St. Louis reviews the history, accomplishments, and future of comparative political research on Latin America. What scholars choose to study and how they go at it are described. Real progress in Latin American studies, says the author, depends on blending the traditional and modern versions of area studies.

POLITICAL research on Latin America and the announcement of curricula for the study of Latin America, of course, antedate the popularization of the area approach. As early as 1912, James Bryce published a volume on *South America: Observations and Impressions.* Without benefit of modern admonitions to shun the isolated study of political phenomena, he reviewed the history of the area, described its geography in considerable detail, and commented upon the racial composition of the Latin American population. (One of his chapters, in fact, carries a startingly contemporary title: "The Rise of New Nations.") And a bulletin of the University of Texas as early as 1915, according to one survey, included a list of courses "for the study of Latin America." The same survey reports that "Latin America became the first region of the world to which the area approach was applied, an approach that foreshadowed the center concept as it was to be used by many institutions for other regions of the world."[1]

While a number of Latin American area programs emerged in the 1920's and 1930's, the output of research on Latin American politics and government, during this period, was modest. We search in vain for a comprehensive treatise on political conflict in a single Latin American country or a textbook on the area written from the perspectives of political science. Before the Second World War, it was left largely to journalists and a few heterodox historians (since immersion in Latin American colonial history has been the orthodox source of status awards for historical scholarship) to cope with such dramatic political movements as the Mexican Revolution.

Nor did political scientists vigorously respond to the stimuli of official expressions of interest in Latin America on the part of the United States Government during World War II. By any standards, the scholarly yield of the war effort must be regarded as meager. John Reese Stevenson, utilizing documents and interviews—but of course not sample survey techniques—published an historical account of *The Chilean Popular Front* in 1942, which stressed the nature of party alignments. The same year saw the appearance of Austin F. Macdonald's *The Government of the Argentine Republic,* which sought to describe party programs and electoral practices, as well as governmental structure, in the pre-Peron era. Karl Lowenstein's volume entitled *Brazil Under Vargas,* also published in 1942, however, provoked a reviewer, perhaps unfairly, to complain that "only a political philosopher could have devoted a large and learned book to a constitution that does not exist except upon paper."[2]

Area programs, nevertheless, secured official encouragement and sponsorship during the Second World War; and in the post-war era such programs were administered stimulating financial serum by both the United States government and the philanthropic foundations. However, area programs were neither conceived nor nourished in a political and intellectual environment which attached high priority to the conceptual and methodological problems of contemporary political science. Whereas problems of evolving research strategies compatible with the demands of empirical theory assumed a prominent position on the agenda of post-war political science, creating a disciplinary milieu of complexity, uncertainty and ambiguity, the originators of area programs evidently defined their task, at least initially, with enviable clarity and simplicity. Their objective apparently was to produce a corps of area experts who would staff public and private agencies, instruct their potential replacements, and make conventionally-acceptable contributions to scholarship. The area expert, within this frame of reference, was to master an appropriate language and become familiar with the geography, history, literature, politics, and culture, in all its varied aspects, of a specific area.

Those who fostered the development of such programs were not deeply preoccupied with the internal disciplinary problems of the social sciences. They assumed that interdisciplinary programs, including a significant component of language instruction, in a rather amorphous fashion, would improve the state of our "knowledge" and "understanding" of Russia, Latin America and other areas of the world.

Presumably, the "knowledge" and "understanding" contributed by the political scientists, under these circumstances, would be of the factual, descriptive variety. Given the traditional emphases of political science, this anticipation was not unwarranted; but the widespread diffusion of scientific canons for political research over the course of the past decade has confronted political scientists with a set of expectations not directly incorporated into the original goals of area programs. Although area programs were not established to facilitate the development of empirical theory, political scientists who hold concurrent membership in a society of area specialists now find that neither the Fifth Amendment nor the constitutional prohibition against *ex post facto* legislation protects them against the threatening question: What have you done for empirical political theory—lately?

Characteristic Applications of Area Approach

Even after the Second World War, literature dealing with the governments of Latin

America continued to appear which betrayed few intellectual debts to the popularization of the area concept. Thus some North American scholars compiled editions of Latin American constitutions, and Latin American scholars published numerous commentaries on the public law of various states in the region. Such works, while contributing to our knowledge of the law, constitutions, and formal governmental institutions of the area, did not represent efforts to synthesize the broad range of data, derived from interdisciplinary sources, promised by an explicit adaptation of the area concept.

However, the period also was marked by attempts to apply an area approach, as it had come to be labelled, to the description and analysis of Latin American political data. Research reflecting the influence of the area approach upon scholars concerned with Latin American political phenomena can be considered under five rubrics: (1) textbooks; (2) descriptive, and often normative, accounts of institutions and practices within a single country; (3) analytically inclined and conceptually self-conscious monographic studies of individual countries; (4) essays on aspects of political behavior widely distributed in the Latin American region; and (5) studies of interest groups, parties, and elections possibly inspired by research strategies not designed exclusively for the Latin American area.

(1) *Textbooks.* Only after the Second World War did the first more or less conventional textbook appear. In the absence of rich deposits of monographic literature susceptible to synthesis and analysis, Austin F. Macdonald's *Latin American Politics and Government*, originally published in 1949 and revised in 1954, also may be regarded as a research contribution. An opening chapter attempted to identify common features of Latin American political life (such as *caudillismo*). Succeeding chapters, organized in a country-by-country sequence, included historical synopses and brief descriptive sections on the geography, economy and general social structure of most Latin American countries. But mainly Macdonald's textbook sought to shape Latin American materials into the familiar mould of textbooks on the government and politics of the United States.

Subsequent textbooks assembled political data under such chapter rubrics as "The Executive Power," "The Legislature," "The Judiciary," "Political Parties and Elections," "Revolutions," "The Army," "Constitutional Developments," and "Municipal Government." Commonly, they included lengthy chapters on education, demography, and economic development in Latin America. The authors frequently compiled larger masses of data than Macdonald, sometimes exploited the taxonomic potentialities of a topical organization, and sporadically posed explanatory problems. But they did not exhibit a sustained concern for systematic political analysis; the presentation of data, ordered without special reference to explicit conceptual schemes, evidently served as their chief preoccupation. They, nevertheless, found it possible to formulate comparative propositions with greater ease than authors of textbooks on European politics and government who continued to observe the restrictions of a country-by-country plan of organization. In the case of Latin America studies, the area approach, at least with respect to textbooks, may have encouraged a break with the country-by-country tradition which has been a conspicuous feature of professedly comparative works in political science.

(2) *Descriptive and normative accounts of institutions and practices within a single country.* The accumulation of data has been the major preoccupation of much of the political research conducted on individual Latin American countries; the focus of such research has been descriptive, historical and normative, rather than explanatory or theoretical. Such volumes as *Honduras: An Area Study in Government* by William S. Stokes, *The Mexican Government Today* by Wil- P. Tucker, and *Government and Politics of Uruguay* by Philip B. Taylor, Jr., reflect diligent research and a capacity for the tenacious pursuit of elusive data. All of the writers are sensitive to the limited clues to political behavior offered by the content of constitutional documents. Implicitly at least, they reveal a concern with problems of prediction. Large portions of these studies, nevertheless, trace, in the spirit of the historian, the political and constitutional development of Honduras, Mexico and Uruguay, and describe, in the spirit of the lawyer, the formal procedures of government. They approach most closely some of the emphases of behaviorally affected political science in their analyses of party organization and electoral practices. In conformity with the ethos of traditional political science, they of course shun neither reification nor value judgments.

Among works primarily devoted to the collection, synthesis and organization of data on individual Latin American states, George I. Blanksten's volumes, *Eduador: Constitutions and Caudillos* and *Peron's Argentina*, are especially noteworthy. Blanksten's studies are without the apparatus of hypotheses and elaborate conceptualization, but they integrate significant bodies of relevant data with considerable literary skill.

(3) *Analytically inclined and conceptually self-conscious monographs.* Some research originating within the framework of Latin American area studies has demonstrated a considerable degree of analytical and conceptual self-consciousness. Such research is less concerned with formal procedures, written prescriptions, interesting anecdotes, governmental structure, recommendations for public policy, and normative judgments. It is somewhat more concerned with power, interests, parties, groups, elections, processes of decision-making, operational rules of the game, methodological rigor, and the potentialities of quantification.

Robert E. Scott's *Mexican Government in Transition* (1959) and K. H. Silvert's *A Study in Government: Guatemala* (1954) are perhaps the best monographic contributions to analytical political science drawing chiefly upon Latin American research materials. The attempt to apply an explicit scheme of political analysis and to integrate that scheme into a general model of political change distinguishes Scott's achievement. Not content with "simple empirical data-gathering," he conscientiously aims for generalization and justifiable claims: "The principal difference between this and other studies of Mexican government, at least with regard to substantive materials, is that the data is presented within a particular frame of reference, based upon what is hoped to be an internally consistent and logical method." Although Silvert, in his monographic study of Guatemala, does not subscribe to as specific a research strategy as Scott, he seizes opportunities to generalize (especially with regard to the phenomenon of nationalism), hypothesize, and extrapolate on the basis of his Guatemalan findings. He regularly relates cultural norms to political practices, and he assembles a wealth of statistical detail. Yet these analytically inclined monographs do not appear to have created models and theories for experimental testing and application by other scholars engaged with data in other research settings; rather, these studies of Mexico and Guatemala seem to illustrate the successful adaptation to Latin American phenomena of concepts and techniques devised for the general investigation of political behavior.

(4) *Essays on aspects of political behavior widely distributed in Latin America.* There have been several attempts, without benefit of overarching schemes of analysis or uniform vocabularies, to identify and explain political traits which appear endemic to large segments of Latin America. Examples of such research include: William S. Stokes's, "Violence as a Power Factor in Latin-American Politics,"[3] which emphasizes the pervasiveness of violence in Latin American political systems and provides a taxonomy of violence in this area; Merle Kling's, "Toward a Theory of Power and Political Instability in Latin America,"[4]

which argues a particular thesis to account for the chronic replacement of leading personnel by methods not authorized by written, constitutional documents; and K. H. Silvert's "Nationalism in Latin America,"[5] which discusses implications of nationalism for the area and recognizes the diverse perspectives inherent in the concept of nationalism.

While these essays are not restricted to case studies of single countries, they fail to surmount the barrier of area-boundedness. Instability, violence and nationalism are political phenomena subject to broad comparttive analysis, but these studies restrict their application to the Latin American region. They appear to implement the area approach; they do not formulate those inclusive generalizations of which the wish-fulfilling dreams of students of comparative politics are made up.

(5) *Studies of interest groups, parties and elections.* The largest volume of research in Latin American politics falls into this category, and the yield has been a relatively rich one. In general, political scientists exploring group political behavior in Latin America have felt compelled neither to create a fresh conceptual apparatus nor to challenge the schemes of analysis developed by Bentley and Truman. Apparently succumbing to the "demonstration effect" of studies of interest groups, parties, and elections in the United States and Western Europe, they have undertaken analogous research in Latin America. It is true, of course, that some scholars have gravitated to research on particular groups competing for power in Latin America with little explicit attention to the conceptual nuances elaborated in studies of interest groups, political parties, and voting behavior in the United States. But neither enthusiasm for, nor indifference toward, prevailing interest group theory has been accompanied by conceptual turbulence or innovation in Latin American studies. For almost all area specialists have concentrated upon the collection of a body of data with respect to politically relevant groups, and this body of data now serves to supplement earlier descriptions of the formal institutions of government.

Published studies concerned with the role of groups, parties and elections in Latin American political systems include: George I. Blanksten's "Political Groups in Latin America";[6] Edwin Lieuwen's *Arms and Politics in Latin America*; John J. Johnson's *Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors*; Harry Kantor's study of *The Costa Rican Election of 1953: A Case Study*; and Federico G. Gil's *Genesis and Modernization of Political Parties in Chile*. Political scientists stimulated by the group approach have showered more attention upon Mexico than upon any other Latin American country. In addition to Scott's book, there are: Frank R. Brandenburg's "Organized Business in Mexico"; Merle Kling's *A Mexican Interest Group in Action*; L. Vincent Padgett's "Mexico's One-Party System: A Re-evaluation";[8] and Philip B. Taylor's "The Mexican Elections of 1958: Affirmation of Authoritarianism?"[9]

Characteristics of Modern Latin American Studies

In the light of a review of political literature dealing with Latin America, certain generalizations regarding the nature of Latin American area studies appear warranted. The conclusions, of course, are neither exhaustive nor immune to criticism. In the interests of economy, our conclusions can be stated in summary form:

(1) Adherence to an "area approach" has not been marked by the creation of a diacritical set of concepts or a distinctive methodology. Latin American area specialists, on the contrary, regularly have borrowed from the stock of concepts and techniques comprising the common properties of political science. Studies of government and politics in the United States and Europe clearly have served as models for their studies of governmental institutions, constitutions, interest groups, political parties, elections and political attitudes in Latin America. More recent studies of the processes of modernization and political development in Latin America similarly have not spawned a fresh set of concepts.

(2) Geography has served as the principal criterion establishing the boundaries of the area investigated by students of Latin American politics. Some political scientists, it is true, have called for the application of more sophisticated criteria than geographical contiguity. Thus Roy C. Macridis has complained that if geographic propinquity defines an area, then "the concept of 'area' provides us with problems that are not fundamentally different from all problems related to comparative study."[10] And Richard C. Snyder and James S. Robinson have suggested in *National and International Decision-Making* "that different views of the globe may emerge through the construction of maps which would locate countries not in physical space but in terms of the kind, number and frequency of a range of contacts and interactions with other societal units." Latin American area studies, nevertheless, have continued to locate countries in conventional, physical space; a conceptual redefinition of "area" as a unit of study has neither been consummated nor undertaken by Latin American specialists.

(3) Latin American area studies have begun to reflect standards of greater conceptual and methodological rigor. Traditionally Latin American political studies, conforming to the general pattern of studies in political science, had been characterized by conceptual vagueness and semantic ambiguity. Criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of data in particular studies often appeared to reflect relatively casual interests of authors and some of the conventional categories of political science. Relationships between one kind of data and another (geographical factors and the political system, for example) were assumed or asserted rather than demonstrated or verified.

The transfer of the normative language of political science to Latin America also contributed little to the solution of problems of prediction and analysis. For the designation of men and groups in Latin America as "democrats," "socialists," "fascists," "nationalists," and "communists" provided unreliable clues to their political behavior. The labels could serve to identify the groups of which the author approved and disapproved, but did not differentiate among the political interests in conflict or the decisions which would be made by those in a position to exercise power. But more recent studies, relying upon interest group theory or concepts of political modernization and political development, have moved in the direction of somewhat greater-conceptual clarity, more explicit standards of relevance for the inclusion of data, and the application of categories and techniques of analysis which may have predictive values.

(4) Despite the sanguine endorsement of interdisciplinary research that accompanied the inauguration of area programs, cooperative or "team" research has been rare in Latin American area studies. Occasional textbooks have included contributions by scholars with various disciplinary homes.[11] But it is difficult to point to a major piece of research, other than *Education and the Social Meaning of Development*, by K. H. Silvert, a political scientist, and Frank Bonilla, a sociologist, that can be considered a product of interdisciplinary, collective scholarship. The political scientist engaged in area studies, even when he enlists economic, social and psychological variables for explanatory purposes, continues to integrate by himself.

(5) Despite the monographic bias attached to the area approach and the traditional isolation of Latin American studies from the field of comparative politics, research on the Latin American area and research inspired by the goal of comparative political analysis have begun to intersect. There now have been published, consequently, significant intra-area comparative

studies,[12] inter-area comparative studies, and general works in comparative political analysis which draws upon Latin American data.[13] The millennium in the integration of Latin American area studies with comparative political analysis has not arrived; but the quest for integration no longer seems quixotic.

Future Developments in Area Studies

We do not anticipate that area studies, in the relevant future, will introduce drastic innovations into comparative politics. But the area approach in the future may contribute to the development of political science along the following lines:

(1) Area studies will continue to provide political scientists with a fund of regional information. Harold D. Lasswell, in *The Future of Political Science,* regards the maintenance of a basic data survey and inventory, including a territorial dimension, as a task of continuing relevance to political scientists of the future. Heretofore, area specialists have demonstrated particular skill in accumulation of data, and we can forecast that the collection of data, possibly with increasing degrees of self-consciousness in the selection of categories for ordering the data, will remain an important preoccupation of the area-oriented political scientist. In this respect, the contribution of the area approach will be largely descriptive in character.

(2) Political scientists engaged in area studies in the future may seek to exploit the area approach in order to control for selected variables. The use of non-political variables as "controls," indeed, is inadequately appreciated in a criticism of the area approach reported by Roy C. Macridis and Richard Cox: "Neither geographic, historical, economic, nor cultural similarities constitute *prima facie* evidence of the existence of similar political characteristics. But if the concept of an area is to be operationally meaningful for the purpose of comparison, it should correspond to some uniform political patterns against which differences may be studied comparatively and explained."[14] As Heinz Eulau, however, points out, "comparative analysis . . . might have fared better . . . if all students of government . . . had been concerned with a method which comes closer to the laboratory experiment than any other we have in controlling a few variables. For . . . 'control' is the *sine qua non* of all scientific procedure. . . ."[15] Thus an area orientation enables us to isolate and identify common attributes among systems with varied political features.

For example, if political activists in a number of countries share common language and racial background, but in some of these countries a high degree of instability in the selection of key governmental personnel prevails while in other countries a mode of peaceful accession to office has evolved, we are justified in concluding that language and race cannot function as exclusive explanatory variables of instability. Likewise, the popular hypothesis that susceptibility to the appeals of communism or political radicalism correlates with such variables as income and levels of literacy can be subjected to fairly rigorous testing in the Latin American milieu. In so far as a number of Latin American societies share common linguistic, racial, religious, economic, and institutional traits, some variables can be held "constant" in a comparative study of politics within the Latin American area. By deliberately exploiting the possibilities of "controlling" for these selected variables in area-centered research, political scientists can demonstrate a constructive role for area studies in the development of theoretical propositions derived from comparative analysis.

(3) The time appears opportune, particularly on the basis of studies of Mexico, to demand a more theoretical contribution from case analyses in the Latin American area. While a good deal of Latin American area scholarship has consisted of case studies, political scientists especially have made progress in the collection of data on Mexico. Reasonably comprehensive treatises on Mexico government and politics have been completed, the Mexican party system has been examined intensively by several scholars, some reports on Mexican interest groups have been published, and Mexico has been the subject of important and substantial studies by historians, economists, and anthropologists; indeed, we now have available some insightful essays on the psychology and family structure of Mexicans.

Since political scientists now seem to be in a position to outline the configuration of the modern Mexican political system, the time appears ripe to go beyond case analysis and to assume the risks of creating and testing hypotheses, formulating generalizations and theories, and constructing tentative models of political change grounded in Mexican events of the last half century. A less parochial treatment of our Mexican findings, consequently, may enable us to generalize with a good deal more empirical certainty about the significance of variables in the Mexican system which recur elsewhere and those which are unique or discrete to Mexico, and thus, happily, we could move in the direction of comparative political analysis.

(4) In the future, a more vigorous effort may be made to distinguish between concepts of local (area) applicability and concepts capable of integration into general or universal categories of analysis. In part, the solution of this problem depends upon the establishment of empirical referents for the concepts employed both in area and comparative studies. For political scientists have inherited a language composed of numerous concepts which lack precise, empirical referents. Such terms as "democracy," "dictatorship," "freedom," and "authoritarianism," for example, do not convey identical meanings to diverse audiences. And, unless mathematical symbols totally displace prose, we probably cannot aspire to the elimination of all semantic ambiguity from the vocabulary of political science.

But the clarification of such concepts as "instability," "violence," and *caudillismo,* which regularly are applied to the analysis of Latin American political data, can be undertaken. Thus instability is not a unidimensional phenomenon in Latin America, and the goal of "operationalizing" its meaning involves both taxonomic and analytical problems, since instability assumes a variety of complex forms in Latin America, with differential consequences for Latin American political systems. Some kinds of instability merely rotate governmental personnel; other kinds of instability are accompanied by shifts of power among competing social and economic groups. If we propose to speak of some countries as "more unstable" than other countries, we require a more elaborate taxonomy of instability that we now possess, and we profitably could develop measurements for differentiated types of instability. And, of course, instability is not a unique manifestation of Latin American political behavior.

Likewise, violence is not a form of political behavior restricted to the Latin American area; but political scientists have been slow to locate violence in Latin America with a broader framework of studies of violence. In recent years, research on "internal wars," "unconventional warfare," and "revolutions" has proliferated. There would appear to be value in attempting to integrate research on violence in Latin America with such studies, and to consider the multiple functions performed by violence in various political systems.

The concept of *caudillismo* also is susceptible to greater refinement and generalization. Many of the problems explored in studies of *caudillismo* resemble the problems encountered in studies of leadership throughout the world. In any event, endowing the concept of *caudillismo* with empirical content might serve to facilitate comparative studies of analogous behavior.

A Modest Hope

A final word on behalf of limited, albeit rising, expectations may be in order. It is

doubtful that the area approach will lead us into the promised land of scientific theory. But it also is doubtful that any other approach—personality theory, interest group theory, mathematical model building—in the near future will transform political science into a rigorously and exclusively empirical and analytical discipline. It appears more likely that a variety of approaches, both extant and embryonic, will be enlisted for assistance as political scientists seek to adapt to the world of science; and the area approach, both in its traditional and modern versions, will be among these. Such a projected environment of conceptual eclecticism may not prove congenial to the true believer. But then the world of the true believer may not be compatible with the scientific study of politics.

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Some Observations on Area Study Programs

by Frederick A. Olafson

A philosopher asserts that area specialization is related to the generalizing approach of economics, political science, and sociology, and to the more traditional analyses of history and anthropology. He examines the meaning of policy-oriented or operational research. Finally Professor Olafson, of Harvard University, declares that the historical and environmental (geographic) sciences provide the best foundation for research, including interdisciplinary research.

SINCE the end of the Second World War a variety of private and governmental institutions in this country have been concerned with the problem of the organization and support of area study programs. As the political and military responsibilities of the United States have expanded to include virtually every major area in the world, the need for persons with expert knowledge of the societies with which we have to deal has steadily increased. Inevitably, American universities have been called upon to set up the training programs that would meet this need; and as a result a large number of area study programs, research institutes and the like in the field of Russian, Middle Eastern, African, and Asian studies are now in existence. Most recently, political developments in Latin America have stimulated a fresh American interest in that area; and the large scale programs of aid that are now in progress have generated a demand for a more ambitious training effort in this field on the part of the leading universities in this country.

This call for a strengthening of our scholarly and training activities in the field of Latin American studies provides a useful occasion for a reassessment of the assumptions on which such efforts have been based in the past. There are unquestionably many practical lessons to be learned from the experience accumulated by the older area study programs; and some noted scholars have already drawn upon this experience to give excellent advice as to the way new programs should be conceived and organized. But in addition to the many practical problems of staffing and recruitment in such programs there are questions of a deeper and more difficult kind about the role to be played in these cooperative training efforts by the various relevant disciplines. Specifically, there appear to be deep-seated differences in the attitudes toward area study as such that are characteristic of at least two major groups of disciplines. These differences bear directly upon the priorities to be assigned to the various aspects of a training effort in a field like Latin American studies; and yet they have not, to my knowledge, received the serious discussion they deserve. In this paper, I hope to characterize these conflicting approaches to area study and to suggest certain tentative conclusions with respect to the merits of the one and the other considered as comprehensive "philosophies" for area study programs.[1]

Generalizing and Descriptive Disciplines

When typical representatives of the various social sciences explain how they conceive the relation of their disciplines to area studies generally and to Latin American area studies in particular, a fundamentally important distinction soon becomes clear. In economics, political science, and sociology, the general situation in this country—which may or may not be changing—is that area study is felt to be peripheral to the central theoretical concerns of the disciplines, so that a primary identification with area studies becomes professionally disadvantageous. By contrast, in anthropology, his-

tory, and the environmental sciences, intensive study of and long-term professional commitment to a specific area is more or less taken for granted and forms a normal part of the training of scholars entering these disciplines. (In this paper, the term "history" is being used in its broadest sense and should be understood as including intellectual history, the history of art and literature, and social and economic history as well as the more traditional political and diplomatic history.) Stated in a somewhat different way, this is a distinction between disciplines in which area studies are undertaken primarily for the purpose of making comparisons among different societies, and other disciplines in which the interest in comparison is certainly not absent but remains more in the background of an investigation that is principally addressed to a specific area or period.

While this distinction between the attitudes of the different social sciences toward area studies may be in part due to local and accidental circumstances of their development in this country, it also reflects differences among those sciences themselves that are in a broad sense logical or conceptual in nature. These differences can perhaps be best understood by taking economics on the one hand as the most successful theoretical discipline among the social sciences and history on the other as the least theoretical, and classifying the others by their degree of affinity to the methods characteristic of these two extreme cases. By a theoretical discipline, I mean simply any form of inquiry that is directed to the discovery of laws or predictable regularities among phenomena which may be either very general or very specific but are in any case universal in the sense that they hold not just for phenomena of the kinds in question within certain stipulated limitations of time and space, but for all such phenomena wherever and whenever they may be encountered. Among the sciences generally, physics of course offers the supreme example of success in the discovery of such laws; and it is a debatable question whether *any* of the social sciences have really discovered any comparable regularities. Nevertheless, there is wide agreement that economics has progressed further in this direction than any other social science. This means that economists have been more successful in isolating those features of human behavior that are relevant and fruitful for the kinds of prediction they are interested in making than have the other social scientists; and they can therefore more confidently ignore as irrelevant for their purposes a great many facets of human behavior that may be very important in other contexts. At this stage in the development of economics, therefore, the first job of the student of economics is to master this intricate apparatus of conceptualization, and interest in some specific area of the world like Latin America will necessarily assume the form of applying an all-purpose instrument of analysis to a new "case" or "instance." Inevitably, interest in features of such a case that are judged to be irrelevant to or unmanageable in terms of economic analysis will be viewed as extra-disciplinary; and the development of such interests will be unlikely to be encouraged as a matter of professional qualification.

If this is a correct statement of the intra-disciplinary considerations that lead economists to resist proposals for long-term "immersion" in another culture, it would also seem that similar observations apply to sociology and political science. In the case of these sciences, there is widespread doubt whether they have yet achieved a level of conceptualization of their materials that will permit even the degree of success in prediction and control that is possible in economics; but I think there can be no doubt that this is the direction in which the most influential and active people in these disciplines are looking. Whether these aspirations turn out to be well-founded or not, it seems likely that sociology and political science will increasingly conceive their relationship to area study in much the same way as economists do and with much the same implications for cultural "immersion" as were described above. Perhaps the outlook for comparative studies in these disciplines is somewhat better than it has been in the past; but the strong reluctance on the part of most sociologists, for example, to be identified as "area specialists" suggests that many inhibitions still operate to discourage long-term professional commitment to the study of other societies.

Let us now turn to the comparison case I proposed—that of history. It has often been argued that by contrast with the generalizing or "nomothetic" sciences, history addresses itself to particular events in a quite different way. This distinction has sometimes been misinterpreted in such a way as to require that history be entirely free of all laws and explanatory principles of the kind that are sought by the psychologist or the economist. It is easy to show by way of rebuttal that even narrative history must presuppose the truth of an indefinitely wide range of general truths, whether of common sense or of a more technical scientific provenience. The point is not that history and the "nomenthetic" disciplines have absolutely nothing in common, but rather that their foci of interest are different. The historian is primarily interested in getting a correct account of what happened over a particular period of time in some particular place or places, and if some theory that economics or sociology put at his disposal helps him to understand his material, well and good; but he is not likely to be very strongly interested either in working out such a theory himself or even in confirming it in the way that the social scientist is. The latter, by contrast, will to the degree that he is theoretically oriented, be drawn to the study of a particular set of events only if they either suggest or partially confirm some theory he is concerned to establish. The historian will, of course, have certain motives for selecting a certain set of events for detailed study but these need not be, and in fact usually are not, the theoretical motive of finding confirmation for some general theory.

Although anthropology is by no means a theory-less discipline, its focus of interest seems traditionally to have been strongly descriptive or "ideographic" in the way that history's is; and it is therefore entirely normal and even the expected thing for an anthropologist to study the institutions and social practices of a particular society and to do so with a minimum advance commitment to any set of theoretical assumptions. The same observation applies in a very obvious way to environmental studies which *ex hypothesi* deal with particular environments. All of these disciplines use at least some minimum technical vocabulary for the purpose of analytical description of the set of events they study, and in this sense they may certainly be said to be dependent on the theory that is implicit in their terminology; but there is an important distinction between being a consumer of theory in this sense and being a producer of theory. The most important feature of these disciplines, from our point of view, may be just the fact that they make a place within their professional cadres for scholars whose main interest is "ideographic" in the sense of being directed to a spatio-temporally demarcated "region" whose relationship to theory construction may be passive and incidental in the manner suggested above.

The Meaning of Policy Science

It may be asked what relevance these rather abstract considerations have to the practical problem of planning a program of support for scholarly activity in a field like Latin-American studies. In spite of the differences outlined above, it seems undeniable that "area study" has close affinities with both groups of disciplines. It is related to the historical and environmental sciences by virtue of the way its subject matter is defined; and it is related to the more explicitly theoretical among the social sciences to the extent that it addresses itself to aspects of a society or culture that were often scanted

or ignored by the more traditional forms of social inquiry. In these circumstances, there can clearly be no question of putting forward a conception of area study that is modelled exclusively on one or the other of these contributing groups of disciplines. There is, however, a very real question about the disciplinary matrix within which the desired form of cooperation between them can be achieved. Fundamentally the problem is one of how to obtain the cooperation of social scientists in a scholarly undertaking that is in certain respects too "historical" and too "particularized" to be entirely congenial to them; and to do so without allowing the role of the particular society or area under study to decline into that of just one "case study" within some more comprehensive investigation.

I would underscore this last point since I am assuming that the study of Latin America (or of any other area) that we are seeking to encourage is in important respects different from the kind of interest that "comparativists" in the various social sciences take in the societies they study; and I would suppose that such comparative studies can flourish only if there is a corps of scholars whose primary commitment is to the study of particular societies and areas and whose work would then provide the materials on which comparative analyses rest. Unless interest in and commitment to the study of a particular area like Latin America has a motivation that is independent of the exemplary value that that area may have as a "case study" illustrative of some general thesis or problem within one or more of the social sciences, it would seem reasonable to expect that there would be a high rate of transiency among scholars working in the field as they move on to other "cases." With notable individual exceptions, some such "in-and-out" pattern does seem to emerge from the accounts given by sociologists and political scientists of work done on Latin American topics by people in their field. The implications of such transiency for the continuity of training in this field seem to me to be very serious.

In this connection some notice should be taken of a conception of area studies which currently enjoys considerable popularity and would, according to its proponents, ensure the fullest possible participation in area study programs by social scientists. This is the so-called "operational" or "policy-oriented" view of area studies. It has on occasion been suggested that the distinction between theory-oriented and "idiographic" disciplines which I have just tried to state is closely connected with another distinction between studies that are "policy oriented" or "operational" and those that do not set the study of societies and institutions within a perspective of rational control. It is further suggested that as sociology and political science, for example, become more theoretical they become more "policy oriented" and more closely relevant to the concerns of "decision-makers." It would seem plausible therefore to argue that the best way to draw social scientists into area study programs would be to give the latter a close relevance to policy and to action programs that are designed to bring about social and political change.

The great difficulty one faces in trying to assess this suggestion is that it is by no means clear what an "operational" or "policy" orientation is, or perhaps more exactly, what it isn't. In other words, what kinds of scholarship would be excluded or at least down-graded if a program of research in a given field were to be given an operational character? To this question the easy answer is that operational research addresses itself to the needs of a hypothetical agency or person that is called upon to act in a certain social-political-economic situation with a view to producing some end that is judged to be desirable; and the aim of operational research is therefore to isolate those elements in that situation which are the effective levers by which the desired evolution can be brought about by the suitable application of some instrumentality that is at the disposal of the consumer of such research. The trouble with this answer is that it does not make clear how strictly the standards of relevance it proposes are to be interpreted; and yet, until one knows this, there is no way of telling what would qualify as operational scholarship and what would not. One proponent of this view has cited the work of J. M. Keynes as an example of operational inquiry, perhaps because Keynes thought he had shown what intelligent action could be taken to compensate for the swings of the economic cycle. But suppose someone else were to take issue with Keynes (as has happened) at the same level of economic theory and argue that such action would be ineffective? Would *that* be operational inquiry? If the answer is "No," then operational inquiry would appear to be committed *ab ovo* to the assumption that there is *always* something that can be done —and done, presumably, by some large-scale governmental or social agency, and this, to say the very least, seems an incautious assumption that might systematically desensitize an inquirer to those aspects of a situation about which perhaps nothing can really be done. On the other hand, if both Keynes and his opponents are operational, who isn't? Surely the statistician and the journeyman-economist on whom both are dependent for the raw materials of their discipline cannot be extruded from "operational inquiry" nor can the economic historian on whose work a great deal of the current and highly operational speculation about "development" is based. When pressed, I suspect that economists who describe their work as operational would say that in fact they have no intention of excluding or downgrading any part of their discipline by this emphasis and that they are simply underlining the general relevance of their discipline as a whole to the practical needs of people who have to make decisions. This would of course be a wholly truistic assertion and would amount to a abandonment of the whole attempt to isolate any part of economics as deserving particular encouragement or support.

The same observations could, I think, be extended to the other disciplines that tend to describe themselves in similar terms. Here too, I suspect, it would turn out that an operational orientation cannot be sensibly interpreted as excluding anything, and that it would be a serious misconception of the relations of interdependence that bind together the parts of a single discipline to attempt to support some of them because of an apparent practical relevance which in fact belongs to the discipline as a whole. It might seem to follow from this that to adopt a policy-oriented conception of area study would be innocuous because to assign it that character is not really to give it any special character at all. Nevertheless, I am convinced that this would be a mistake. Precisely because of the fuzziness as to standards of practical relevance alluded to above, there is, I would argue, a strong tendency for our understanding of what is operational and what is not to be dominated by certain rather crude images in which relevance appears as political topicality, and what is in the headlines functions as our index of the real. Such an interpretation of what is involved in "policy orientation" would no doubt be hotly repudiated by its proponents, but the fact remains that to speak of a whole discipline in an idiom that is recognizably appropriate only in certain uses to which it may be put, is linguistically a highly tendentious procedure. The image of practical relevance that it generates distorts the true nature of the relevance of the discipline as a whole; and to the extent that such images shape policies of support for such a discipline, that support would very likely be misdirected and produce work of only evanescent interest.

A Focus for Social Research

There is another, quite different kind of answer to the general question I have posed. It takes the form of a proposal for a shift in the attitude of sociologists, political scientists and economists toward long-range professional identification with area studies. Since even now a great deal of the work done in these fields is not in any primary

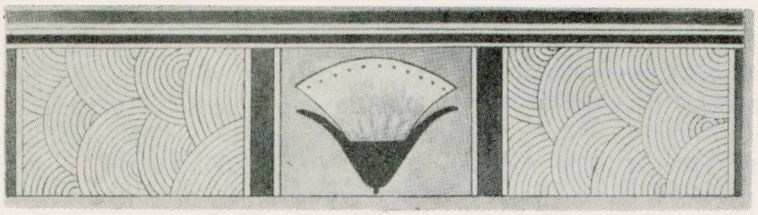
sense theoretical but consists rather in the application of theoretical concepts to the task of describing the way the political or social or economic system works in the U.S. and in a few other advanced industrial countries, it might be argued that all that is needed is a wider tolerance that would permit a group of young scholars to invest the same amount of time and effort in the study of Brazilian society or the Mexican political system that is currently devoted to comparable studies of the U.S. Indeed, such a shift might help to correct the current somewhat incongruous situation in which, as one observer has remarked, only scholars who are in effect U.S. area specialists are able to claim full status as contributors to the universal goals of their respective disciplines. Presumably the number of political scientists or sociologists specializing in the study of a specific area would never be very large even if young scholars were not warned of this kind of specialization by the prospect of becoming second class citizens within their disciplines. Nevertheless, judging from the example of the few individual scholars in these fields who are regional specialists, it might be expected that these new recruits would make a disproportionately valuable contribution to the projected expansion of Latin American studies in this country.

At the same time, while I wholly sympathize with the proposal I have just outlined, I feel a certain scepticism about its chances of success. Scholars are a notoriously touchy and independent lot and they are not very likely to revise their conceptions of what is important and what is not within their disciplines just for someone else's convenience. I would argue that a program of support for Latin American studies should base its priorities not on the research agenda of a sociology and political science and an economics of Latin America that scarcely exist at the present time, at least in this country, but on the degree of demonstrated long-range involvement with the area that is reflected in the scholarly work produced in the various disciplines. I would further suggest that the only reliable index of a discipline's hospitality to such studies is the degree to which they presently make a place within their respective professional universes for scholarly work that is idiographic in the sense of being primarily concerned with particular societies, periods, regions, etc. and that is motivated by an interest in them that transcends their value as confirmatory instances of some general theory. But if this index is used, then, I submit, it becomes very dubious whether any of these social sciences, individually or jointly, can provide the disciplinary base on which a program of area study in the Latin American field could be built.

I am therefore strongly disposed to think that area studies will in the measurable future continue to find their most natural affinities with history (as well as with anthropology and the environmental sciences), if only because the historian has no disciplinary motive, comparable to that of the social scientist, for feeling imprisoned in a particular society or period. Whatever the deficiencies of his methods of analysis the historian of a given society is in that society to stay; and whatever his degree of interest in one kind or another of social theory, it is an interest that finds expression in the writing of special histories—economic or social or intellectual—of that society. It is this indispensable element of primary reference to and interest in an area, however demarcated, that gives history the strongest title to the role of godfather or sponsor of area study wihtin the academic community.

This view that I have just stated does not of course imply that the goal of interdisciplinary cooperation in the program of area study must simply be given up, or that the insights that sociology or economics bring to the study of society must be entirely lost to such a program just because it is unlikely that a larger or more comfortable place will be made within these disciplines for area specialists. It implies instead a certain view of how this cooperation can best be effected without prejudice to the integrity and continuity of the studies it is supposed to support. This is the view that the contributions of economics and sociology and political science to the study of a given area should be "grafted" upon the historical and quasi-historical disciplines already in the field. This grafting process can take place in either of two ways: by an historian's assimilating the insights of some of the social sciences and using them in his work or—as I have argued, less probably—by a social scientist's becoming a kind of historian. There are of course strong disciplinary inhibitions on both sides against the introduction of what are felt to be alien modes of thought; and I am not in a position to say that, e.g., the Latin American historians in this country are prepared or willing to act as the "host" plant on which such grafts are made, although there are some signs that they may be. In any case, while we may continue to hope for and, where it is feasible, to encourage the second kind of cross-disciplinary contribution to area studies, it would seem more realistic in formulating policies of support for these studies, to recognize that the prospects for it are uncertain and to adjust our priorities to the effective present degree of a discipline's involvement in the area in question.

[1] In this paper, my characterization of the attitudes of the social sciences toward area study is based largely on the presentation made by leading representatives of these disciplines to the Seminar on Latin American Studies which met in the summer of 1963 in Palo Alto under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council.



U. S. Historiography of Latin America

by Howard F. Cline

This essay places American historical research on Latin America within the more general context of American historiography. The present state of the art is evaluated and future directions outlined. The eclectic, non-exclusivist character of historical methodology is examined and related to the requirements of graduate training and interdisciplinary research. Mr. Cline is with the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress.

BEFORE essaying even tentatively the state of historical research on Latin America, a word about historical research in general seems appropriate. Several features are noteworthy and relevant to the task at hand.

The discipline itself is well-established, with better than a century of thought and writing about proper historiography since attempts were first made to develop a scientific basis for the work of the professional historian. In the United States the principal learned body, the American Historical Association, was founded in 1884, now has about 11,500 members. As a branch of knowledge the study of history has gone through various stages of evolution and change, generally tending to become more specialized as historians' interests have grown to embrace more world areas and topics.

With this wider variety of problems, the historian has over the years evolved a rather formidable arsenal of techniques and approaches to aid his study of the past, within a broad general framework that often is more implicit than explicit, the boundaries of which are shifting and occasionally ill-defined. The key concept of history is change in human activity over time, comparable to culture as the key in anthropology, or area for geographers. The temporal elements run through historiography, however limited its topic, period, or area.

The prime concern of historians is the identification of major changes and multi-causal explanations of them. To provide the perspective necessary to isolate and evaluate trends, the time spans in which we work customarily exceed a decade, and may stretch to centuries. Within the selected span we deal with social mechanisms and structures, noting and evaluating their endurance, adjustments under varying actual conditions, and their interrelationships. Proper historiography always attempts as much to answer "why" as "how" for any of the innumerable changes that have taken place throughout the world during Man's long past.

Concern for the longer range implications also plays a part in the study of history. Largely inductive, often empirical, historiography places much stress on identifying what are the meaningful questions that recur over a wide panorama of periods, civilizations, cultures. Several other matters might be mentioned, but the above are sufficient to provide some base for noting briefly how the historian's work seemingly differs from the concerns of other behavioral scientists.

As we see the latter, their objectives are usually short-term research on relatively recent or current problems. This contemporaneity lends itself admirably to the use of questionnaires, which have no relevance to the normal work of historiography. Historical studies draw on other, usually written, sources for prime data. Seemingly also a considerable effort on the part of other behavioral scientists is related to policy-oriented matters, especially United States foreign policy. Subject to both domestic and international political considerations, the questions to which alternative answers are sought often appear of minor concern in the longer trends with which the historian generally hopes to deal.

Latin American Historical Research

Turning to the stated topic, historiography in the United States on Latin America, it can be said that its trends parallel those of the larger guild of historians, in this country and abroad. As an area specialization it has a respectable, if somewhat short, tradition. About 1900 it began to emerge and coalesce as those interested in regional overseas aspects of European nations. Their joint concerns broadened as they explored a then almost unknown area. By 1918 many of the basic general historical monographs had sketched out problems, and sufficient numbers of specialists had been produced to warrant founding the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, now in its 44th volume. Increasing interest and incremental growth of specialists led in 1928 to the establishment of the Conference on Latin American History, a professional body affiliated with the American Historical Association. Its membership now is about 400 persons, a majority of the approximately 500 historians in the United States with a Ph.D. or its equivalent who have specialized competence on Latin America. Of these a small proportion, perhaps 100, are actively producing published studies of history.

Trends in the study of Latin American history and in the training of students show a broadening and diversification. In very sweeping terms, it can be said that preoccupation with the colonial period at the out-

set has, over the past 25 years, been balanced and even exceeded by writings on post-colonial matters. In line with shifts of emphasis in the general field of historiography, especially the so-called movement toward New History, topical coverage has expanded from an almost exclusively political and administrative base to envelop more and more social and economic phenomena, and their interrelationships.

There is some measure and documentation of what in recent years the Latin Americanists judge to be significant historical research. The Conference on Latin American History has, since 1954, awarded a series of annual prizes for books and articles within the specialty. Each year the membership of the various Prize Committees, drawn from the Conference, changes. Each Committee sets its own specific criteria for selection among the several nominations for each prize. The works which have won or received honorable mention from them reveal some patterns or trends in the current studies of Latin American history.

In 1953 the Conference established the Robertson prize for the best article "on a topic related to Latin American history." After some initial confusion over terms it has been awarded annually for work published in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. The Bolton Prize is awarded annually "for the most worthy book in English . . . on any aspect of Latin American history." Its terms also provide that "Grace of style as well as sound scholarship are criteria which will be used in making the decision." Yet another prize, the Conference Prize, was established in 1961 and is awarded to the best article on Latin American history appearing in a journal other than the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

A total of 28 awards for winners and honorable mentions have been made over the decade since 1954. A study of the titles and authors shows that three winners had made a general sweep of history, both colonial and national; ten fell into the colonial period category, while 15 dealt with matters since 1821. Topically, there is a massing on economic, social, and demographic aspects, in varying combinations. These findings corroborate earlier descriptions of the main trends within the speciality.[1]

Various sources indicate a rising quantity of books and articles as the corps of specialists interested in Latin American history slowly expands. Annually the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* reports and annotates a highly selected group of titles, usually about 1,000 in its History section and subsections, drawn from the world literature. In general, historians in the United States continue to be the single largest national group of Latin American specialists, but the excellent works occasionally coming from France, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Germany, the Iberian Peninsula, serve to add new data and viewpoints, as do a small stream of professionally acceptable studies from the Latin American area itself. The study of Latin American history is an international enterprise. The extra-national writings aid in keeping U.S. parochialism in check.

On the quality of work there is more diversity of opinion than on the increased quantity and broadened scope. It must be said that at any time, in any field, there is only a small proportion of absolutely first-rate or outstanding work, with a larger proportion of competent studies, and then a fairly substantial range of poor, uninspired, or even ridiculous scholarly output. Historiography of Latin America has all these elements.

Its best ranks favorably with the production from other historiographical specialties, both in books and articles. The proportion of good to excellent work has risen since World War II, partly as a result of the survival of the fittest in an era when Latin American studies in general were starved for support in relation to the newer area specialties. But all would agree that there is never enough top-flight publications. Constant efforts are being made by the Conference on Latin American History and other bodies to provide means and mechanisms to increase it. The productive core is rather small to cover the range of topics and areas yet uninvestigated.

Future Inquiries

Another query this article was asked to answer relates to lacunae, "topics which most need attention." Historians habitually are concerned with this matter, and the Latin Americanists are no exception. From time to time they publish "benchmark" or "state of the art" inventories to ascertain what we have done, and what we should be doing.[2] From these and other data, it is quite clear that no topic is exhausted; any and all can with profit be elaborated further, and many remain to be covered in preliminary fashion.

As an aid to research, the Conference on Latin American History and the Hispanic Foundation (Library of Congress) recently initiated a joint project, funded by the Ford Foundation. A group of historians will prepare and publish a volume, *Latin America: A Guide to the Historical Literature*, under the editorship of Charles C. Griffin, assisted by an Advisory Editorial Board. Aimed at the non-specialist and graduate student, divided into perhaps 20 main sections, the Guide will obviously be highly selective. One of its purposes will be to state on what topics, periods, and areas the available historiographical writings are insufficient or inadequate.

Even without the details which we hope the Guide will provide, certain gaps are a matter of common professional lore among Latin Americanists. We are aware that in the colonial period we are less informed about the seventeenth century and early eighteenth than we are about the sixteenth and later eighteenth. Further, much of the earlier work on the whole period was prepared within the limitations of the epoch and is relatively narrow in outlook. Nearly any colonial topic can be re-examined in light of later advances in knowledge and broadened contexts which current historiography demands.

Similarly the national period, the years since about 1825, is quite open to pioneering, both through study of topics not previously covered at all, or re-examination and extension of traditional ones. To aid further investigations by providing some guide-lines as to what had been written, and perhaps more illuminating, what the principal lacunae are for the National Period, the Editors of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* have undertaken an inventorying program, still in progress. For the various regional units of Latin America they commissioned a series of bibliographical articles by recognized specialists; when the series is completed, it is expected the articles will be up-dated and then be issued in a single volume. To date coverage has been given the Iberian Backgrounds (1956), Spanish American Revolutions for Independence (1956), Rio de la Plata area since 1830 (1959), Brazil, 1808-1889 (1960), Mexico since 1821 (1960), Central America since 1830 (1960), Colonial and Modern Bolivia (1962), Twentieth Century Cuba (1964), with several others now scheduled for early publication.

Historians in general are reluctant to develop elaborate programmatic lists of topics which they think some other scholar should investigate. There is therefore no agreed view on the priorities which should govern the individual work of a specialist. He should decide that. Nor, within elastic limits, is there outside specification on how he should approach a new topic with tested techniques, or re-examine an older one with a fresh viewpoint or conceptual tools. Fortunately, history is a house of many mansions.

Methodology and Training

This leads us to consideration of "appropriate methods or approaches" mentioned in the opening paragraph. To the historian's mind, the appropriate methods are those which an historian would find useful to the solution of a meaningful problem. Redun-

dant as this may sound, it can be translated to say that in techniques, even methodology, historical study is eclectic, and non-exclusivist; this lack of a tight theoretical context has advantages as well as disadvantages.

Apart from the absolute prerequisites to have a meaningful problem whose solution will aid in illumination of human behavior over a time period, to utilize as comprehensively as possible the appropriate sources available, and to distinguish between testimony and historical evidence, the historian is relatively free to synthesize his materials along lines he deems professionally proper. He may, and even should, adapt from related fields those data and concepts needed for his own purposes.

Thus the ethnohistorian may well be required to have a nearly professional grasp of certain anthropological materials, or the intellectual historian a firm hold on some tools forged by philosophers or others. The historian's end-product, however, is historiographical. It is not necessarily directed toward the goals set by the disciplines whose information and concepts he may find useful.

The advantages of this *laissez-faire* approach are many. The general spirit of tolerance it breeds among historians for each other and for other scholarly colleagues is not the least of them, abating unseemly polemics over disputed theoretical points. Connected with such tolerance is lack of dogmatism or over-reliance on unilinear explanations for complex phenomena. The lack of theoretical prescriptions opens up broad avenues for experimentation both in the selection of problems and the combinations of techniques to provide partial solutions to them.

The disadvantages arise chiefly in relation with other disciplines. The Aristotelian inductive man and the Platonic deductive one have been at odds intellectually since Western thought entered the literature; these ancient divisions mark one group of scholars from another. The inductive historian may have some difficulty communicating with the deductive behavioral scientist, but usually the best of each crowd manage to create a common universe of discourse.

To return to approaches for filling the gaps in the historical literature on Latin America, perhaps a brief word on training of graduate students is relevant. They are the ones who will rectify the shortcomings of their mentors.

The expectations for graduate work have altered in the past two decades, and are fairly general in major departments of history. We expect the graduate student to know and then learn quite a lot of history, from ancient times to the present. He is also expected to master the elementary tools of his trade, notably general and specialized bibliography and the literature of historiography. Beyond that he begins to make real inroads on his specialty, whether this is an area, a period, or a combination of them. For the Latin Americanist, functional language abilities in Spanish, and hopefully, Portuguese, are common requisites, plus whatever other language skills are germane (Dutch, native Indian, Papiamento, etc.). Normally, after his qualifying exams he will spend at least one year in the area gathering data not available in the United States for his dissertation, and another year in its preparation. He is encouraged, and in some cases required, to work in at least one other discipline in the social sciences or humanities, whose subject matter and techniques relate to his particular historiographical interests. After all this, or as part of it, he should be prepared to begin his professional career as an historian.

Interdisciplinary Implications

This brings us to the final point, "interdisciplinary implications." That is a vast and unruly sphere, in which overgeneralization is seductively easy. It can be said, however, that through the half century that Latin American history has been evolving as a specialty, it has shared with other Latin American studies a general acceptance of interdisciplinary cooperation and approach.

The statement about cooperation must be qualified immediately to indicate that traditionally historians have had closer relationships with the field of geography and of anthropology, and to lesser extent with historically oriented humanists in art and literature, than with a number of other social sciences: economics, political science, psychology, sociology, among others.

To recent times, and perhaps even at present, the latter have limited their investigations to Europe and the United States, on whose experiences they have constructed their theoretical apparatus and have assumed it to be applicable universally. As distinct from anthropology and geography, whose inductive emphasis and area catholicity has many parallels for historical studies, the other social sciences have only recently begun to evolve a body of verified Latin American data. Eventually it may be invaluable to future generations of historians, but much of it is only marginally relevant to the study of the Latin American past.

The proposition that theoretical social science approaches fully applicable to the United States and Europe are equally valid outside those areas, and particularly in Latin America, has often been asserted, but has yet to be proved to the historian's satisfaction. A small but apparently growing group of historians has in recent months published articles in which they have tested social science "models" against historical situations in Latin America, without conclusive results.[3] If continuing evidence mounts that such models do indeed aid real understanding of historiographical problems of Latin America, it will inevitably erode the historian's understandable and almost ingrained skepticism of their easy transfer. In general, the most fructifying influences for study of Latin American history have come from the occasional and rare individual who has personally combined and integrated various approaches and transmits these through teaching and publication.

Resulting from trends over the past two decades in academic circles, the crossing of interdisciplinary boundaries is relatively commonplace, even for historians. The utilization in area analysis of combinations of skills drawn from various academic departments now is certainly not as revolutionary as it seemed in immediate post-war years. Two rather clear lessons have emerged from the accumulated experience with area studies, whether the area is Africa, the Orient, or Latin America.

One is that no one discipline is sufficiently omniscient to provide full explanations or descriptions for a total culture. Almost a corollary is that varying degrees of immersion in that culture by those who deal with it are requisite for meaningful generalizations about it. Testing an hypothesis abroad is not "area" study.

A second induction is that successful "area" work rests on full disciplinary competence of the investigator, be he historian, anthropologist or sociologist. Total immersion in the rigors of the discipline is an absolute necessity, independent of the "area" component. The latter is additional, not a substitute for dsiciplinary training and continuing participation in disciplinary concerns. In short, one can be a practitioner of a discipline without being an "arealist" (i.e., his area is U.S. or Europe), but one cannot be an "arealist" without disciplinary qualifications.

It is the combinations of discipline-area competence that are hardest to come by, or to produce. As Latin American specialists in history, we have found from experience that our most productive studies are those which are interdisciplinary and international, but directed toward objectives commonly agreed to enrich the historian's attempts to unravel the past. We do not claim to have found the mystic balances among disciplinary, cross-disciplinary, and area components, but we do think all are important for our studies.

Conclusion

A final word. Part of the historian's credo is that he seeks wisdom, as well as knowledge. It is that effort, whether or not ever

fully successful, that may link him to day-to-day policy matters, whose correct determination usually requires judgment more than manipulated data. Apart from their role as prime policy-makers, such diverse figures as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, Dwight Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy also had in common some experience as historians, and shared the deep conviction that historical knowledge and a sense of history were *sine qua non* in formulation and execution of plans and policies, large and small. Most historians echo those views. As a group we do not absolutely guarantee to each Ph.D. in history that he will develop into a wise man, or become President, but it has happened. Our particular branch of learning is not far enough advanced technically to predict when it will occur again, a viable problem we gladly turn over to our colleagues in the other behavioral sciences.

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The Lamentable Side of Researching in Chile

by Stanley Rothman

Language problems and cultural differences are only two of several barriers to empirical research in Chile, reports Professor Rothman of Smith College. Others, which he encountered, are red tape, the lack of prior research that is of behavioral orientations, and an unwillingness among Chileans to share data or engage in cooperative research.

TOWARD the end of my stay in Chile last year an incident occurred which, in some ways, sums up the particular problems which are involved in completing research in a Latin American country, or, I would guess, in any developing country.

I had been attempting to obtain some data on population movement into Santiago, for a study of electoral behavior on which I was working. I expected to find that electoral districts with a larger portion of recent migrants would tend to give more support to left-wing parties than would districts with populations of relatively similar socio-economic status, but of greater stability.

A Chilean friend of mine pointed out that the data could be obtained through the secondary analysis of a study of fertility in Santiago in which he had participated and which had been commissioned by a U.N. agency. He gave me permission to use the study and suggested that I also obtain permission from his colleague. This I did, only to discover that permission had to be obtained from someone else, too, and someone else, and someone else, and so on. Many weeks later and after many pleasant afternoons (marred only by the fact that from time to time appointments were not kept) I finally arrived at the office of the director of the agency who suggested that I obtain permission from still another person whom I had already seen. My face must have revealed something for she looked at me, and burst out rather passionately:

> "Yes, when you get back in the United States tell them how difficult it is to accomplish anything here. They keep asking us for results. Tell them how difficult it is to get anything done."

It *is* true. The attempt to complete any empirical research in Chile involves working twice as hard as one might have to in the United States or most European countries. I am not talking here about language difficulties, which are relatively easily overcome, or even cultural differences which may inhibit effective interviewing, because, given time and patience, these, too, can be handled. There are, however, other problems built into the culture and social structure of the country, which continue to plague a visiting scholar, however patient, understanding, and sympathetic he may be.

Barriers to Effect Research

The first of these is merely red tape, complicated by "normal" corruption, or at least what Americans would consider corruption.

For example, I had shipped a Nord book and document copier and a Stenorette portable dictating machine to Chile, by sea, with other personal property. I intended to use both of these in my field work. However, not only did someone break into my trunks and steal (among many other things) most of my Stenorette tapes, but the two machines became so completely embroiled in the bureaucratic confusion of Customs that it became almost impossible to extricate them. Both of the machines, which were on loan to me, could legitimately be brought into Chile under the law. However, through error, their status was not specified by the responsible shipping agents, and by the time the error had been discovered it was too late. It took four months to obtain permission to bring the items in, under condition that I leave a large deposit (which, as was pointed out to me, I had no guarantee would be returned) and another four months to get them released to be shipped back to the United States, after I had decided that under the circumstances it would be better to send them back rather than actually bring them into the country. And when they finally arrived in the United States again, they were accompanied by a very substantial storage charge from Chilean Customs authorities.

Both machines were finally released only because I spent literally hours each week pestering local officials and because I happened to become friendly with someone in a position of influence. He pointed out to me that the government had been trying to to rationalize Customs procedures for some time, but such was the vested interest in the pilferage possibilities stemming from long delays on the docks that the task was an almost impossible one.

In actuality the matter could have been handled more easily had I turned to my friend at an earlier date, but I was misled by the constant assurances of various officials (repeated each time) that the matter would certainly be handled tomorrow or had been handled yesterday. In some cases these assurances were merely a way of being polite, but in others they were associated with two other cultural differences between Chileans and Americans, i.e., attitudes toward time and notions as to what constitutes responsible behavior.

Again and again, Chileans told me that they would do something tomorrow or simply do something, and I accepted their promise only to discover later that it was not going to be fulfilled. In many cases the promise could never have been fulfilled, because exactly the same promise had been made to someone else or because it was not within the power of the permon making the promise to fulfill it. Our conversation had made them feel that I was "simpático" (roughly, a decent and understanding fellow), and in a flush of enthusiasm they forgot for the moment that, in fact, they could not produce the world for me. (It was, of course, bad taste for me to remind them later of their promise.) Or, they planned to do something for me at a given time (such as to keep an appointment) but something else had come up, e.g., an interesting conversation with another person who was "simpático," and they had simply forgotten. Quite frequently appointments were made for which people arrived an hour or two late or for which they never arrived.

Lest I be misunderstood, I am aware that this happens in the United States as well, although the difference in degree is sufficient to yield a difference in kind, and many, many Chileans (especially professional people) are at least as compulsive as the most compulsive Americans. I am very much aware, too, of the other side of the coin; the fact that people who knew us only casually were, at very short notice, willing to give very generously of their time because of the very flexibility of their attitude toward it, or the fact that many professional people refused to charge for their services because we were guests of the country and/or friends. The cultural patterns involved can be very pleasant, but for a compulsive American professor who sees hours and days and weeks passing without results, the frustrations outweigh the joys.

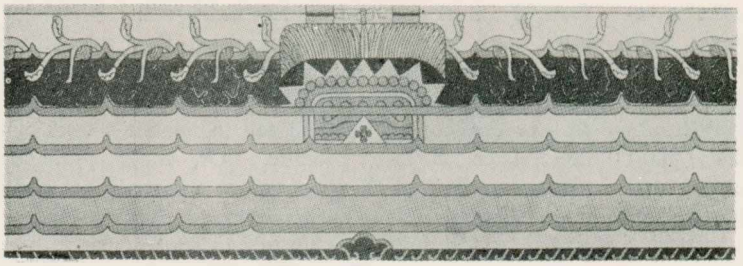
There were other problems which were at least as serious. Whatever the subject of one's research today in Europe or the United States, one can always count on a reasonable number of empirical studies as a source of background material. These are almost completely absent in Chile. Although some good work is beginning to be done in economics and (more slowly) in sociology, scholarly efforts in political science are almost all either highly impressionistic or completely legalistic. Thus analyses of legislative behavior are made almost entirely in terms of legal rules and these are, in Chile, even less useful as a guide to understanding political behavior than are comparable rules in the United States. Work is complicated by the fact that Chileans actually think in terms of these rules and it requires all the ingenuity an investigator can muster to break through this frame of reference and encourage respondents to describe what actually happens.

Further, many, many Chileans are characterized by an unwillingness to engage in cooperative endeavor, which is quite self-defeating. In part this has something to do with the country's political fragmentation and the relative suspicion with which Chileans of one ideological faction regard those of another. Thus, sociologists who identify with the Christian Democrats and those who identify with the Communist or Socialist Party find it almost impossible to work with each other or even arrange for professional conferences. They will certainly not make available work which they have done.

But the matter goes deeper than this. Many Chilean professionals "hoard" data they have uncovered even if they know that they will not use it, as if by giving it up they will have diminished themselves. They hesitate to present their ideas to others for fear that the criticisms levelled will be directed against them personally rather than simply against their ideas. Time and again I was told by Chileans that, while they and a few of their friends were fine, the "others" could not be trusted or would not cooperate. The fact, of course, is that these patterns of behavior characterized them as much as it did the "others" who told me the same thing. Such attitudes are not uncharacteristic of many professional people in the United States, but again the differences are sufficiently substantial to warrant comment. The attitudes sufficiently resemble patterns which have been characteristic of traditional cultures on the European continent (for example, in France) to suggest that they have something to do with the kind of "modal" personaliy which is to be found in traditional societies of a certain cultural type.

The amount of material available is regarded as being of a fixed quantity so that any which you give up somehow diminishes you as it gives an advantage to the person who obtains it. This professional "Malthusianism" is also characteristic, I have been told, of Chilean businessmen. I should note, however, that as a foreigner I was often able to obtain materials which my Chilean colleagues could not or would not even try to obtain.

It is not impossible to engage in effective research in Chile, and the patterns described are not universal. Rather they tend to be associated closely with those whose general value structure is most traditional. It is true, however, that one can never hope to get as much accomplished as one had hoped initially, and it is also true that one must rely very heavily upon one's own efforts. However, empirical research in the social sciences by Americans and others is now well under way, and these patterns like others are changing. For, in fact, ever larger numbers of people in Chile are oriented toward the use of professional techniques, and their horizons are expanding even as they contribute to the expansion of the horizons of those around them.



Occupational Prestige in Santiago de Chile

by Roy E. Carter, Jr. and Orlando Sepulveda

This article° reports on a sample survey in which Chileans rated the relative prestige of 16 occupations. The results are compared with the findings of similar studies in both more and less developed nations. Professor Carter is director of the Communications Research Division, University of Minnesota. Professor Sepúlveda is the director of the Institute of Sociology, University of Chile and currently lecturer in Sociology at the University of Minnesota.

SINCE the publication of the North-Hatt study[1] of occupational prestige, various investigators have attempted to examine the extent to which there are cross-cultural similarities and differences in the prestige ascribed to various fields of work. Inkeles and Rossi[2] summarized studies conducted in industrialized societies and suggested that the marked similarities in findings might reflect "a relatively invariable hierarchy of prestige associated with the industrial system." Thomas,[3] in discussing the Inkeles-Rossi data in relation to additional information gathered in a non-industrialized country (Indonesia), proposed alternative explanations based upon the fact that the Indonesians' evaluations of occupational prestige were in substantial agreement with those obtained in industrialized countries. Thomas' position is that common attitudes towards "subdimensions of prestige"—for example, power, education needed, mental/physical work—may have explicative value in assessing inter-societal similarities in prestige ratings.

The field work in the study described in the present article was conducted in Greater Santiago, Chile, a metropolitan area with a population of about two million persons, in early 1963. Questions about the "level of prestige" of the 16 occupations listed in Table 1 were put to 230 respondents, a stratified random subsample of the 452 persons who were interviewed. (The remaining respondents were questioned about their images of nationality groups. Assignment to the two sets of items was stratified by interviewer and by interviewing area.) Our 21 interviewers, mainly advanced university students and professional persons with previous experience in other social surveys, used a modification of the Kish procedure for randomly selecting one "adult" (15 or older) individual in each of the households which fell into our area probability sample. Completion rate, with no substitutions permitted, was 88%. The over-all sampling procedure and the general objectives of this "omnibus" survey dealing largely with mass communication and public opinion have been described in a previous article.[4]

The Occupations Studied

The particular occupations included in our study were selected on three grounds: First, we wanted to avoid translation difficulties which might really inhere in basic differences in job *content*. In other words, we reasoned that the job of a physician or high school teacher or even a policeman is much the same in Chile as in the United States. In contrast, the division of work among skilled and unskilled *laborers* and *artisans* may be quite different in the two countries. In general, it seemed likely that the occupational roles and specific work ingredients of the professional and white-collar occupations were more alike in the two societies than would be the case if one were dealing mainly with the lower economic ranges of labor force. One must assume, of course, that the degree of industrial development of a country would have a great deal to do with the content of specific jobs and with the prestige accorded to them (partly in terms of their functional importance).[5]

A second influence on our decisions was the fact that Chile, a country internationally known for its advanced social legislation, may nevertheless have *congealed* certain aspects of social stratification through hav-

° Support for this study was provided by the Social Science Research Council, the University of Minnesota Graduate School, the Chilean Fulbright Commission, and the Institute of Sociology, University of Chile. The research was conducted while Professor Carter was a Fullbright scholar at the Institute.

ing in its social security system a large number of programs which themselves vary in prestige and are designed to cover specific occupational groups (for example, domestic workers on the one hand, or journalists and public white-collar workers on the other). In view of the distinction that Chileans and their social security system make between the *obrero* (laborer) and the *empleado* (white-collar worker), it is more or less predetermined that anyone falling in the latter category will have higher prestige rank than the *obrero*.

In our study, then, we were dealing largely with relatively old-line occupations and we included only one occupation at the artisan level, that of the plumber—or *gásfiter* as he is called in Chile. Although he is not protected by the types of wage contract which trade unionism has developed in the United States, the Chilean *gásfiter* has one circumstance in common with his North American counterpart—he is often a person who works "on his own account"—that is, as an independent artisan or as one of a group of artisans who have joined forces in a small enterprise.

The third circumstance influencing our choice of occupations was our interest in making comparisons beyond the North-Hatt study. Thus we included occupations discussed by Inkeles and Rossi and by Thomas.

We regretted the brevity of the list we used and the fact we were unable to ask respondents to react to the list of occupations from more than one frame of reference. In ohter words, we would have liked to inquire into the perceived *social importance* of each occupation as well as its perceived prestige. The usefulness of seeking such a multi-dimensional appraisal of occupations is suggested by a recent study by Gusfield and Schwartz,[6] who made use of a wide range of semantic differential rating scales (22 in all) in an effort to tap varied aspects of people's responses to occupations. Certainly in our own study we were aware, for example, of the distinction between describing what may be perceived as a normative pattern within a society and being asked to tell how things ought to be. The exigencies of a multi-purpose study did not permit us to seek that added dimension, but we suspect that its inclusion would have led to more differentiation of occupations by, say political leftists as compared with political rightists or lower-status individuals as compared with those high in status and economically comfortable.

Hatt[7] isolated eight "situs" categories in which occupations might fall and posited that these were in effect separate "ladders" of occupations. Although no effort was made to determine the scalability of judgments made in the case of the small group of occupations included in the present study it should be noted that the occupations we selected did fall in several "situs" categories: political (cabinet minister), professional (physician), business (industrial executive), agriculture (land owner), manual work (plumber), and military (armed forces officer). (U.S. data suggesting that there are consistent differential evaluations of the "situs" categories themselves are presented in an article by McTavish.)[8]

We were not able to study the extent to which our respondents had had actual contact with people in various occupations whose prestige they were judging. The potential importance of this kind of variable was pointed out by Kriesberg[9] recently in connection with a study of the prestige of dentists. Knowing the extent to which an individual was acquainted with incumbents of occupations we included would have enabled us to study both the "prestige" of a field of work and the "esteem" which individuals may earn through job performance. As Barber[10] notes, studies of occupational prestige have tended in general to include only those jobs which are well known to practically everyone in a society. This, at least, was true in our inquiry.

TABLE 1

North-Hatt and Santiago Comparisons*

Occupation	N.H Prestige Score	N.H Prestige Rank	Santiago Study Rank	Santiago Study Score
1. Physician	93	1	1.5	90
2. Minister of State (cabinet member in federal government)	92	2	1.5	39
3. University professor (college professor)	89	3	3	89
4. Civil engineer	84	5.5	5	88
5 Industrial executive (member of board of directors of large corporation)	86	5.5	5	84
6. Lawyer	86	5.5	6	83
7. Priest	86	5.5	7.5	81
8. Dentist	86	5.5	7.5	81
9. Armed forces officer (captain in regular army)	80	9	9	80
10. Land owner (farm owner-operator)	76	12	10	79
11. High school teacher (public school teacher)	78	10.5	11	78
12. Newspaper reporter	71	13	12	75
13. Elementary teacher (public school teacher)	78	10.5	13	71
14. Policeman	67	14	14	63
15. Plumber	63	15	15	53
16. Liquor store owner	—		—	52

* North-Hatt data are from reference 1. Rows of the table show English translation of the categories used in Chile, followed (where there is a difference) by the corresponding wording used in the North-Hatt study.

Findings

In over-all terms, the findings in the Santiago sample and in the North-Hatt study were remarkably similar. Table 1 shows the 16 occupations included in our study, in rank order according to scores on the prestige scale we used. Scores were calculated the same way as in the U.S. inquiry (100 X mean of response-category weights of 2-4-6-8-10).

The English translations of the words or phrases used in our Chilean study appear at the left. Where the North-Hatt language was somewhat different from the phraseology we used, the former is shown in parentheses. Inasmuch as the North-Hatt study included "public school teachers" but did not ask separately about elementary teachers and secondary teachers, we had to compare both of our scores with the U.S. "public school teacher" score. This, of course, tends to reduce the correlation. It should also be noted that in the case of both sets of ratings, there is only modest separation from step to step at the top. That is, a substantial number of the occupations we selected for study happened to be ones which had been given rather uniformly high ratings in the North-Hatt study and received similar treatment by our Chilean interviewees.

The rank-difference corrrelation (corrected for ties) is +.93. The only substantial contribution to the difference is the relatively

high rating the Chileans gave to the occupation "civil engineer." This we expected, in view of the fact that Chile is an industrializing nation and because of the part the civil engineer has played in Chile's extensive public housing programs. Also, partisans of President Jorge Alessandri might have remembered that this was his profession.

A further analysis was made, excluding the land-owner item (it contributed to the correlation but has a problem aspect described below) and assigning to our two Santiago teacher categories (high school and and elementary) the mean of the two prestige scores to make them more directly comparable to the single North-Hatt rating. The scatter plot was linear, positive, and showed a remarkably straightforward relationship. The product-moment correlation coefficient for these data, computed from the U.S. and Santiago scores, is +.94.

Incidentally, the mean was used as the unit of analysis in dealing with our tabulations merely because it seemed to describe the data as well as any other measure, in spite of the fact that the skewness of some of the distributions suggested the desirability of using the median. Also, it was a measure used in the North-Hatt study. When the occupations in the Chilean study were ranked by mean and by median, the two sets of data were correlated +.99. Also, the correlation between median and percentage giving a "very high" or "high" answer (rating of eight or ten on the scale) was +.94, whereas the correlation of the means with this percentage-type measure was +.96. Hence the mean seemed best to represent the central tendency also indexed by the other two measures.

In Table 1, the occupations with scores that range from +.80 to +.90 correspond, in general, to the fields of work which are called "liberal careers" in Chile—that is, occupations in which the individual works on his own account, is a university graduate, and has a generally large income. Nevertheless, the cabinet minister, the industrial executive, and the priest, despite the fact that they fall within this group of scores, do not correspond exactly to the Chilean idea of liberal careers or occupations. Still, the cabinet minister in Chile is usually a political figure who has had a university education; and the industrial executive, someone who in the past was likely to be a foreign immigrant with little education, is more likely at the present to be a university-trained person, such as an economist, lawyer, or engineer. This is due to the acceleration of industrialization in recent years.

Among those occupations to which a lesser amount of prestige was ascribed by our respondents, are fields of work which produce low incomes and are based on low educational requirements or manual labor. Despite this circumstance, the liquor store owner turns out to have less prestige than that of such occupations as those of the plumber and the policeman—people of less income and with equal or inferior educational background. Our hypothesis, at least, is that the rating of the liquor store owner may have been the result of a negative image of commercial activities which may very well have had its roots in government measures taken to combat speculation in the Chilean economy.

Then, too, the work of the high school teacher turned out to have less ascribed prestige than some other occupations which do not require university studies. We would not, however, include this occupation among the "liberal careers," inasmuch as it involves being a public or private employee, actually. We believe it possible that the many strikes by high school teachers and the low salaries they receive may have tended to reduce teachers' prestige in recent years.

It is noteworthy that the rank accorded to the land owner was lower than we had anticipated. This is, of course, in contrast to the traditional importance which Chile has ascribed to the ownership of agricultural property. Nevertheless, in the more politically active sectors of the urban areas there is a tendency to blame the land owners for a large proportion of the social and economic problems of the country.

We had hypothesized that the lawyer would receive a somewhat higher rating in Chile, mainly because the study of law used to be a traditional field of specialization for the sons of upper-class and aristocratic families. Many of those students did not practice the profession. Then, too, Chile, with its system of Roman law, has traditionally placed a high value on legal knowledge. But, as Table 1 shows, our prediction was not supported.

Inter-Study Comparisons

Findings of comparable judgments in different societies on the matter of occupational prestige are not, of course, new. Inkeles and Rossi compared the North-Hatt findings with the ratings provided by studies carried out in four other industrialized societies—Great Britain, New Zealand, Germany, Japan—and among Russian displaced persons living in Germany and in the United States, and discovered that the rank correlation among the various comparisons which were possible were in general above .9 and in only one instance (Russian refugees vs. Japanese) less than .8. These findings are all the more noteworthy when we bear in mind the fact that the sampling procedures and population studied were different from study to study. In our own investigation, we were working with an urban area sample as compared with the North-Hatt national investigation based upon a cross-section of rural and urban areas alike. When our data are added to those summarized by Inkeles and Rossi and by Thomas, the pattern of correlations remain essentially unchanged.

Rank-difference correlations between the Santiago data and the results of surveys conducted in the other countries were remarkably large, as is shown in Table 2. For example, in the case of eight occupations common to our study and to the survey conducted in Germany the correlation was +.81, and the correlation with six occupations rated by a British sample was +.94. The same correlation held in the case of data gathered in New Zealand and the correlation with the seven occupations common to our study and to a study conducted in Japan was +.83. The major difference in this instance was the fact that the rank assigned to a priest in Chile was two steps above that assigned to the Japanese priest of a Buddhist temple.

When we compared occupations covered in our study and in an investigation among Russian displaced persons (doctor, factory manager, engineer, armed forces officer, and

TABLE 2

Correlations Between Prestige Scores (or Ranks) Given to Comparable Occupations in Studies of Eight Nationalities*

	U.S.S.R.	Japan	Great Britain	New Zealand	United States	Germany	Indonesia	Chile
U.S.S.R.**	—	.74	.83	.83	.90	.90	.94	.99
Japan	—	—	.92	.91	.93	.93	.92	.83
Great Britain	—	—	—	.97	.94	.97	.92	.94
New Zealand	—	—	—	—	.97	.96	.92	.94
United States	—	—	—	—	—	.96	.94	.93
Germany	—	—	—	—	—	—	.94	.81
Indonesia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.87

* All coefficients relating to Chile, Indonesia, and Germany are rank-order measures. The others are product-moment *r*'s. (Non-Chilean data are taken from Inkeles and Rossi and Thomas. See references and Technical Note.)

** Based on interviews with displaced persons in Germany and U.S.

teacher), the rank correlation was +.99. A smaller correlation was obtained when we compared our findings with a set of rankings produced by a study in Indonesia—in this case, the coefficient was +.87. The major difference in this instance was that the Santiagans assigned a substantially higher rank to the minister of state than was accorded a "head of government department" in the case of the Indonesians. The Santiagans also gave a somewhat lower rating to the lawyer than the Indonesians did.

Finally, it may be noted that the Santiago findings correlate at +.72 with data from a study involving university students in Sweden.[11] The major differences in this case are the result of the Santiagans' assigning a relatively high rank to the civil engineer and a relatively low rank to the clergyman. (In Sweden, of course, the students were evaluating the prestige of Protestant ministers rather than that of Roman Catholic priests.) A technical note at the end of this paper lists the specific occupations involved in each of the foregoing inter-societal comparisons.

Further Analysis

The rankings of the 16 occupations by the respondents in our Santiago sample were cross-tabulated with a number of independent variables about which we had made rather specific predictions. However, the rankings were remarkably invariant across most of these variables. For example, in the case of those independent variables which were dichotomized for process of the cross-tabulations, the rank correlation between the two subsets was often +.95 or larger, and in all of the remaining instances was larger than +.90.

Specifically, we predict that being an opinion leader, attaining a high "empathy" score, having a high school education or better, and having a high score on a measure of "opinionatedness"[12] would be correlated with the assigning of lower ratings to several of the old-line white-collar and professional occupations. However, the rank correlations between the dichotomized groups were +.95 or larger in all three instances (the correlation in the case of education was +.99), and in none of these instances did the two groups differ significantly in the percentages assigning "very high" prestige ratings to the various occupations. Again, ratings of the occupations were unaffected by the respondent's own self-classification as to social class, even though we had assumed that those who saw themselves as of low status would tend to give systematically higher ratings to some of the professions.

Similarly, we had hypothesized that our nine-variable index of socio-economic status[13] would be related to the evaluations of the prestige of the professions and white-collar jobs, but this was not the case. Actually, the four quartiles on the SES scale did not differ in the patterns of ratings assigned to the occupations included in our list. In fact, the coefficient of concordance was +.97, equivalent to an average rank R of +.96.

Ratings of the occupations were uncorrelated with a conservativism-radicalism measure based on respondents' evaluations of the performance of leftist and rightist newspaper and political figures. In the case of the 61% who expressed preference for political parties or groups, the coefficient of concordance for right, left, and center was +.96, equal to an average rank correlation of +.94. Thus partisans of different political philosophies and movements judged the occupations in essentially the same way.

Men and women assigned essentially the same ratings to the 16 occupations ($R = +.94$) and respondents of alien birth provide essentially the same ratings as their counterparts who were born in Chile ($R = +.95$). We predicted that respondents who were over 40 years of age would tend to give relatively low ratings of priests and land owners, but only the former prediction held true. That is, a significantly larger proportion of the older respondents (85% vs. 67%, $p < .01$)[14] gave high prestige ratings to priests, a tendency one might predict on the basis of the more traditional environment in which our older respondents reached adulthood.

The relationship between assigning a high rating to members of the clergy and being older than 40 years is independent of the amount of education respondents had. In other words, ratings were higher in the case of the older group, whether or not they had had any secondary education.

On the other hand, holding place of birth constant clarifies the relationship between age and the degree of prestige ascribed to the priest. Specifically, the consequential group was those who were born elsewhere than in Santiago. It was among those people, primarily, that the difference obtained (90% of older folk vs. 71% of the younger, $p < .05$). Among persons born in the city, age was a statistically non-significant factor.

When we trichotomized occupations of the heads of households of the individual in our sample (professionals, executives, merchants, and white-collar workers vs. technicians and skilled laborers vs. unskilled laborers and domestic servants), the coefficient of concordance for the three sets of rankings was +.97, equivalent to an average rank-difference R of +.96. Those in the unskilled categories tended to assign more "very high" prestige ratings to the priest than were ascribed by the other respondents, but even this difference fell short of statistical significance.

Occupational Prestige and the Mass Media Use

Because the public affairs content of the mass media tends to reflect social movements and social change, we predicted that exposure to the media would be negatively associated with the assignment of high prestige rating to such old-line, upper-class occupations as those of the land owner, the priest, the lawyer, and the armed forces officer. Some of the data tended to support these hypotheses in part, but the general pattern was (as in the case of the other independent variables) one in which there was still a relatively invariant set of ratings applied to the 16 occupations on our list.

One of the measures we used in our study was a simple index based on the *number* of mass media to which the respondent said he had been exposed on the day preceding the interview. The scores, based upon exposure to radio, newspapers, motion pictures, magazines, and books, could range from zero to five. Seeking a cut as near the median as possible, we dichotomized our sample into those who had been exposed to no more than one medium on the day prior to the interview and those who indicated that they had been exposed to from two to five media on that day. The findings were as we had predicted, but only in the case of the land owner and the armed forces officer.

Over-all, the rank correlation between the mean sets of ratings ascribed by the two media-use groups was +.95. Nevertheless, nearly two out of five of the "low" media users assigned the highest possible prestige rating to the land owner, as compared with one-fifth of those who were in the "high" group. This difference (corrected chi-square) was significant at the .01 level, and the corresponding difference between the two groups in their judgment of the prestige of armed forces officers met the .05 level of confidence. In the latter instance, 28% of the light users of the media rated the prestige of the officer as "very high," as compared with 14% of the persons relatively heavy in media exposure. The light users also assigned a slightly higher rating to the priest than the heavy users did, but this difference was not significant statistically.

The data on occupational prestige in relation to newspaper reading yielded somewhat similar results. Since there were only 33 literate respondents who indicated that they were not in the habit of reading a paper regularly, the data were not sufficiently stable to permit meaningful comparisons of the ratings of individual occupations by the readers and non-readers of newspapers. Nevertheless, even in this instance, the rank difference correlation between the

two *sets* of ratings was +.91.

This correlation increases to +.96 when we examine those who reported reading a newspaper on the day prior to the survey interview and those who indicated they had not read a paper on that day. In this instance it is possible to make comparisons of the ratings assigned to individual fields of work. Again, the findings are in line with our predictions. One-third of the non-readers rated the land owner at the highest level of our five-step scale, as compared with fewer than one-fifth of the respondents who had read a paper on the preceding day. However, this difference (significant, overall, at the .05 level of confidence) was found only among individuals who had not had any secondary or higher education. (For the group "low" in education, the percentages were 40 and 13, $p < .01$.)

Similarly, 28% of the non-readers placed the armed forces officer on the top rung of the prestige scale, as compared with 14% of those who had read a paper the day before ($p < .05$). This difference was observed among those with and those without secondary education.

When we examine the relationship between the occupational ratings and (in the case of newspaper readers) whether respondents were in the habit of reading more than one daily, a different finding emerges. Now, these two groups differ substantially in their evaluation of the prestige of the priest. Two-fifths of the "one-newspaper" readers ascribed maximum prestige to the priest, as compared with one-fourth of those saying they read more than one daily paper ($p < .05$). This finding is not explained by education level; it holds true for those with and without secondary schooling. Parallel differences in the ratings accorded to the land owner and armed forces officer were not significant in this instance.

When respondents were classified in two groups according to whether they said they were in the habit of reading books, the rank-difference correlation between the two sets of ratings was (as in most other instances) larger than +.95, and the same finding emerged in the case of an analysis based upon whether respondents were magazine readers ($r = +.99$). What is surprising, perhaps, is that the 56 literate respondents who reported reading a magazine on the day prior to the interview produced a set of ratings whose ranks correlated +.99 with those who had not read a magazine the day before; and the 32 literate readers reporting that they had read a book or a part of a book on the day preceding the interview ranked the occupations in almost exactly the same way as the non-readers did ($r = +.97$).

The pattern described above also appeared in the case of other small sub-groups of the 260 respondents. For example, the correlation in rankings between those who said they were accustomed to listening to the radio and those who indicated they were not was +.91. Even the *14* (we counted them carefully!) respondents who happened to have attended the movies the day before the interview produced a set of ratings which in turn yielded a rank-difference correlation of +.96 with the data provided by those who had not gone to the movies the day before being interviewed.

The rank-difference correlation between the ratings of the occupations by those respondents who did and did not report at least monthly movie attendance was +.97. The two groups differed significantly only in their evaluation of the prestige of the land owner. Again, two-fifths of the "unexposed" as compared with one-fifth of the moviegoers placed the land owner at the top scale level. This difference is significant at the .01 level.

In the case of radio listening "yesterday," two-fifths of the nonlisteners as compared with nearly one-fourth of the listeners put the land owner in the top presitge category. This difference was significant at the .05 level, but a parallel finding in the case of the armed forces officer was not significant statistically.

Summary

In a study conducted with a probability sample of 260 residents of Greater Santiago, Chile, in early 1963, the authors obtained prestige ratings for 16 occupations, 15 of which had been included in the North-Hatt inquiry in 1947. The rankings were almost identical in the two investigations, and in the case of those occupations for which comparisons could be made, the Santiago data also bore a very close resemblance to ratings in several other studies which have been summarized by Inkeles and Rossi and by Thomas.

Inasmuch as Chile is a country in a stage of industrial development intermediate between Indonesia (the country studied by Thomas) and the nations in which the studies discussed by Inkeles and Rossi were conducted, our findings may to some degree appear to support Thomas' hypothesis that ratings may depend largely on such factors as power dimension, financial rewards, education, service to society, and a blue-collar/white-collar distinction. Yet it should also be noted that Chile is industrializing rapidly and is indeed the kind of "centralized national state" that Inkeles and Rossi describe. At this point, of course, one wishes for a body of comparable data on several non-industrialized countries.

Cross-tabulation of the Chilean occupational data with independent variables hypothesized as probably influencing the prestige ascribed to different lines of work was, in general, not very fruitful. The ratings tended to be invariant; only in the case of the scores assigned to land owners, army officers, and priests did we find relationships of the kind we had hypothesized. Exposure to the mass media was to some extent negatively correlated with the assignment of high ranks to these occupations, and age was negatively correlated with the ascription of high prestige to the priest, but only in the case of respondents who were born outside the Santiago metropolitan area.

TECHNICAL NOTE

The correlations in Table 2 are based on the following groups of occupations as numbered in Table 1: Chile/U.S., 1-15; Chile/New Zealand and Chile/Great Britain, 1, 5, 10, 12-14; Chile/Japan, 1-3, 7, 12-14; Chile/U.S.S.R., 1, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13; Chile/Indonesia, 1-6, 9-12, 14; Chile/Germany, 1, 3-5, 7, 9-10, 13. Combinations used in arriving at other coefficients may be learned by consulting the Inkeles-Rossi and Thomas articles.

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[9] "The Basis of Occupational Prestige: The Case of Dentists," *Amer. Sociological R.*, 27 (April, 1962), 238-44

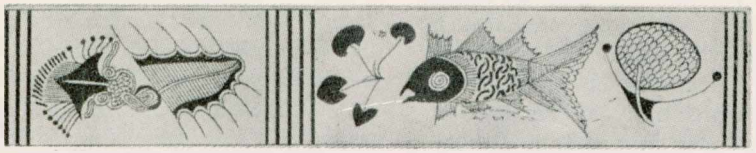
[10] *Social Stratification* (1957).

[11] Edward C. McDonagh, Sven Wermlund and John F. Crowther, "Relative Professional Status as Perceived by American and Swedish University Students," *Social Forces*, 38 (October, 1959), 65-69.

[12] This measure was simply the number of times the respondent expressed an opinion instead of giving a "don't know" response in reply to a series of six questions in which he was asked to indicate his approval or disapproval of newspapers, political figures, and business enterprises.

[13] The index was based on nine variables: (1) education, (2) occupation, (3) income, (4) type of housing, (5, 6, 7) having/not having telephone, car, domestic servant(s), and (8, 9) interviewer's and respondent's ratings of respondent as to social class. All items were significantly correlated with total score (tetrachoric r's ranged from .48 to .95; all but one were in excess of .80). Intercorrelations among the items ranged from .52 to .93, with a mean (by z-transformation) of .79.

[14] All significant levels reported for percentage comparisons are based on Chi-square corrected for continuity (d.f. = 1).



Characteristics of Latin American Countries

by Paul J. Deutschmann and John T. McNelly

The authors have made a statistical construction of the "average" Latin American country. Factor analysis produced three central indices—Size, Developmental Level, and Exports to the United States—which account for considerable differences between nations. Similarities in certain of the 16 basic factors, such as literacy, are also pointed out. Paul Deutschmann, who died unexpectedly last year, was Professor at Michigan State University, and one of the finest and most cordially liked younger scholars in the field of journalism and communications research. Professor McNelly is at Michigan State, following an extended period of research in Latin America.

As statistics of national states increasingly become available it has been observed that there are a number of significant relationships between some of them. For example, Lerner, using UNESCO data, showed that literacy and percent of urbanization were highly related around the world, and that media development also related to these two concepts. McClelland also has shown that a measure such as electrical power consumpiton is highly related to national income and other development indices. A more recent study is that of Gibbs and Martin.[1]

The present investigation was designed to examine a number of such national indices for 20 Latin American countries, to determine the degree of intercorrelation among them, and to determine by an approximation to factor analysis how many different aspects of these nations they tell us about. In addition, we will analyze the pattern of interrelations for particular variables of special interest.

Such analysis is dependent upon the quality of statistics used,[2] but not to as great an extent as we might expect. Interrelationships which are very strong will emerge even if there are fairly substantial "errors" in the figures for several nations. To the extent that there are random errors, they can only serve to reduce relationships. Systematic errors, such as could arise from the utilization of some indices to estimate other key figures, can on the other hand introduce correlations which might be spurious or artificial. These two forces, of course, are working in a countervailing fashion—the one to increase, and the other to lower the estimates of the "true" relationships between variables.

We have chosen to work with the 20 Latin American countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico, Cuba, San Domingo, Haiti, Honduras, Colombia, and El Salvador. They tend to have a common historical and language background, with the exception of Brazil and Haiti. All are independent national states.

Since we are working with a relatively homogeneous region in terms of backgrounds, we may well expect stronger relationships than have been developed in other similar studies which have utilized states from various part of the world with quite divergent cultures. On the other hand, despite the homogeneity of background for the chosen set, there is a considerable range in most of the indices in which we are interested, another factor necessary to produce some magnitude in correlation.

In Table 1 we present the 16 indices which were used and three measures of central tendency, the mean, the standard deviation, and the ratio of these two values. Altogether, these present a picture of the "average" Latin American nation, a concept which may at first appear meaningless. However, at many points, we can see that these figures are quite useful to us in describing the overall situation in the 20 countries.

But first, we should note that in several instances we have averaged percentages or other index figures which have removed the effects of gross size. For example, one can see that the total population and total area figures would lead to an estimate of about 10 persons per square kilometer as the density of population. When we compute a separate density figure for each country, however, and average these, we get an estimate of 29.8. This latter figure—in effect—ignores the gross sizes of nations and fixes only upon the "average" density using *countries* as unweighted units.

Both kinds of figures, we would argue, have utility. For example, at a conference of national representatives it is important to know both the gross situation (ignoring national boundaries) and the relative situation (in which national units are weighted equally). Indeed, some problems can be approached only with difficulty if one uses the gross figures.

In any event, this artificial construct of the "average Latin American nation" which we have created here has, for example, an average literacy rate of 56.0 percent, an average annual population increase rate of 2.6, an average percentage of 40.9 of its children 7 to 19 years old in school.

We can get added understanding of such figures by attending to the "standard deviations," a measure of the spread or variation around the mean value. The nature of this measure is such that if we describe a range to the mean plus or minus one standard deviation, we should expect to find about two-thirds of our cases. Since these indices are presented in a variety of kinds of units, ranging from dollars, to persons, to percentages, we have made a ratio by dividing the standard deviation by its mean. This expresses the relative amount of variation in a way common from one measure to another.

From this, we can see that there is less variation in capital city size from nation to nation (1.22) than there is in gross population (1.51) and that the index which shows the greatest relative variation is that of area

(1.86). On the other hand, when we move to indices which remove the effects of population we find much smaller relative variation. Thus the relative variation index for Rate of Population Increase is only .29, and those for the Percent Employed in Agriculture and precent literate are similarly low.

However, others with the effects of gross size removed still indicate rather wide disparities from country to country, such as Exports to the U.S. per capita (1.21) and population density (1.24).

One of the suggestions of this analysis is that the nations of Latin America are not as dissimilar in their characteristics such as literacy as we might have expected from the very considerable differences they have in total population, size, and amount of export to the U.S.

Meaning of Correlations With These Data

Let us now turn to the correlations among these 16 indices, which are presented in Table 2. It is worth considering at first the meaning or significance of a correlation coefficient obtained with data of this sort. Several aspects may be noted. *If the correlation is near +1.00 or —1.00, its upper and lower limits, then:*

1. We can use one variable to "predict" the other. That is to say, knowing the one we can know the other with good accuracy without "looking it up," for example.[3]
2. Although the two variables will not necessarily have the same values, they will be distributed one to another across countries in the same fashion. For example, Income presented in monetary units will not have the same kinds of values as percentages of persons engaged in industry, but the distributions of the two sets could be highly similar.
3. Out of the diversity of conditions of national states, we will have arrived at a regularity which may be expressive of basic, underlying characteristics of human society.

Despite these points we should caution that on the basis of a correlation coefficient alone—no matter how large—we cannot say that one variable "causes" another. In order to say this, we must use logic, additional evidence, and/or analysis, since the measure states the degree of relationship, nothing more.

Reliability of Correlation Coefficient with Data of this Class

In computing these correlations, we have had an "n" of 20 countries, which may produce some concern. Are these figures unstable because of small "n"? The answer is no. Since they represent *all* of the nations of Latin America as we have defined the region, these coefficients amount to *census* data. The obtained relations have no sampling error in the ordinary sense. No matter how large or small they are, they express—without sampling error—the degree of relationship which exists. Thus a small obtained value is just as reliable as a large one—each describes the degree of relationship for the population of Latin American states.

While there is no sampling problem, the reliability of any figure here *can* be affected by error of measurement. For example, there is frequently concern over the way in which rural population is defined. If the manner varied considerably from country to country we might find a correlation reduced. We can check this point in part within these data. From one source (Jones) we have an index of Percent of Population Rural. From another (almanaque) we have what appears to be a very similar index, Percent of Population Engaged in Agriculture. We can note that they *do not* present exactly the same mean or average values. The first provides a mean of 62.5 percent, while the second one of 54.9 percent. On the other hand, we might observe that the nature of the difference is consistent with the probable nature of the two indices, the first certainly being more inclusive than the second. When we examine the correlation between them, we find a value of .84, which though not as high as we might wish, is a very respectable *reliability* level. As can be observed in Table 2, there are several other correlations between items obtained from different

TABLE 1

MEASURES OF CENTRAL TENDENCY FOR 16 INDICES OF 20 LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Index	Mean	Standard Deviation	St. Dev. Mean
1. Total Population	10,128,600	15,253,900	1.51
2. Area (Square Kilometers)	1,003,950	1,869,700	1.86
3. Population of Capital	1,287,903	1,574,247	1.22
4. 1960 Exports to U.S.	$177,005,000	$237,484,300	1.34
5. Exports U.S. Per Cap.	$22.20	$26.97	1.21
6. Population per Sq. Kil.	29.8	37.0	1.24
7. Percent Population in Cities 50,000 and up	23.9	11.4	.48
8. Percent Population Employed in Agriculture	54.9	16.7	.30
9. Gross Income per Person	$226.00	$126.86	.56
10. Percent Literate	56.0	20.4	.36
11. Percent of 7-19 Year Olds in Primary, Secondary School	40.9	16.7	.41
12. Percent Rural	62.5	15.2	.30
13. Rate of Population Increase	2.6	0.76	.29
14. Percent Export Income from One Product	55.3	19.3	.35
15. Daily Newspaper Circulation per 1,000 Persons	68.4	54.4	.79
16. Freedom of Press Index (Scores of 5 high, 1 low)	3.55	1.24	.35

SOURCES:

1-8 *Almanaque Mundial.* New York, Editors' Press Service, 1961-62. (Item 7 was computed from data in this source).

9-12 E. Jones et al. *Informe Preliminar: Estudio Sobre los Programas de Juventudes Rurales en las Americas.* San Jose, Costa Rica: Programa Interamericano para la Juventud Rural, 1961.

13-14 William Benton. *The Voice of Latin America.* New York: Harper 61.

15-16 R. B. Nixon, "Factors Related to Freedom in National Press Systems," Journalism Quarterly (1960) pp. 13-28.

sources which in the same manner, give indications of the reliability of the data.

Factor Analysis

Having used 16 different indices reflecting such seemingly different aspects of Latin American nations as population, area, literacy, ruralness, newspaper circulation, exports, press freedom, we may ask whether we need all of these. To what extent do these varied indices tell us the same thing? Are several of them reflecting some underlying characteristic?

Factor analysis is a method to answer such questions. Given several variables, one can reduce them into a number of *sets* of variables smaller than the total number, provided that there is some systematic interrelationship. Such a set is called a factor. Often it is produced by some common underlying characteristic, which occasionally *is* causal. We may have a direct index of it or we may not. But we ordinarily can get clues to such underlying variables through factor analysis. Of course, any analysis is limited by the kinds of variables we put in. To the extent that we have missed representatives of some powerful underlying characteristic it cannot emerge; conversely, to the extent that we have many representatives of another it *must* emerge.

We will use McQuitty's[4] linkage analysis, which is a simple approximation to full factor analysis. It will assemble sets of variables into factors which will be highly similar to those produced by the more extensive process. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 1. Somewhat surprisingly, we find that only three clusters or factors emerge.

This result suggests to us that although we used 16 different indices, anly three underlying variables are at work here. Let us examine the clusters one by one, to see the characteristics they suggest.

Cluster I—Pure Size Factor. Three indices of gross size form this factor. They are population, area, and size of capital city. The cluster is "tied" by the high correlation of .95 between population and area. Thus it tells us that if we know the area of a Latin American country, we are likely to be able to make a close estimate of its population, or vice versa. The size of the capital city also follows this tendency, although not to the same degree, the correlation being only .70 between it and total population.

Turning back to Table 2 which presented the total matrix, we can see also that these variables are relatively independent from all others in the matrix, with two exceptions. Size of Capital shows relationships across all variables; there are fairly substantial relationships with Total Exports to the U.S., another measure with some of the aspects of "pure size" within it.

Cluster II—The Developmental Factor. This cluster is much more complex and includes 10 different variables. We have tentatively called it the "developmental" factor, because it seems to bring together a number of items which certainly reflect development level, and perhaps, even help produce it. Its central pair is two "opposite" measures—the Percentage of Population in Cities of more than 50,000 (Urbanization) and the Percentage of Population Employed in Agriculture. The strong negative correlation of —.91 tells us: If we know the urbanization level, we will know with little error the degree to which the population is engaged in agriculture. This is not a surprising relationship, of course, but the magnitude of it indicates that these two measures are highly similar and in this sense "reliable."

The variables to the left in Figure 1 are there by virtue of their ties to the urbanization index. Here we find Newspaper Circulation with the high value of .89, Per Capita Income, with .80. Press Freedom has a lower relationship, but still is of some magnitude at .50. Also in this part of the cluster we find Rate of Population Increase, with a small, negative value of —.32, which indicates some tendency for the more urbanized countries to have smaller poulation increases. The result is in line with expectations from past population studies and trends, but its smallness indicates that in Latin America we can only account for a little (about 10 percent) of the variation in population growth in terms of urbanization. The low correlation also leaves open the possibility that there might be other indices related to whatever is expressed by population increase. If we had them available a separate factor might emerge.

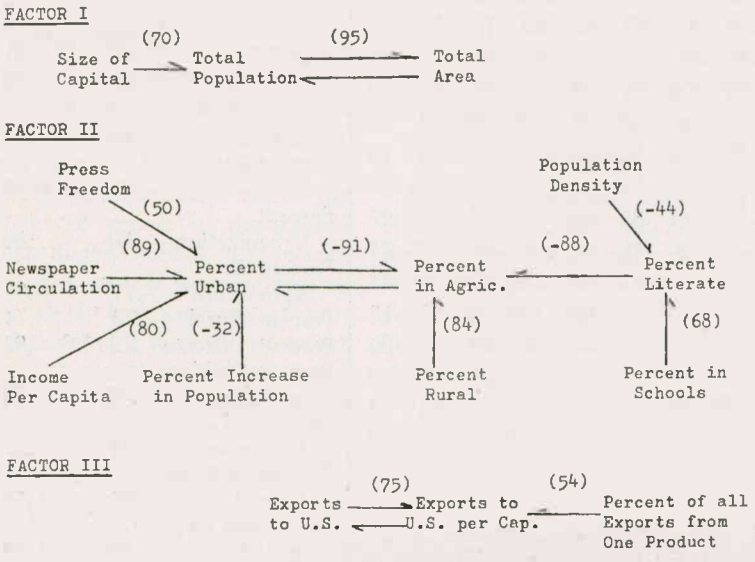
Among the variables to the right for Factor II we find a set which are tied to the Percentage of Population in Agriculture. One which we would certainly expect here is the Rural Population Percentage, which correlates .84. More strongly related, but in a negative direction, is Percent Literate at —.88. This finding, incidentally, is in agreement with Lerner's data for nations around the world. Percentage of School Age Children in School is most similar to Percent Literate. The level of .68 may reflect some unreliability in the former, but it is undoubtedly measuring a slightly different aspect of education-literacy.

The final member of the cluster is Population Density, which turns out to have its highest correlation in a negative direction with Percenatge Literate. Here again, we may be lacking additional indices expressive of this variable.

Removing Rural-Urban Indices. — The structure of Factor II, with two "wings" moving out from the central pair, suggests that it might be broken down if we removed the rural-urban indices which are in the middle. Accordingly, we looked at this cluster without Urbanization, Population in Agriculture, and Population Rural. Again, we assigned variables on the basis of their highest correlations — examining the 13 which now remained. When we did this, we found that the cluster still remained tightly linked, now with Newspaper Circulation and Literacy at its center with a correlation of .82. Press Freedom and Percentage of Population Increase remained on the left

FIGURE 1

LINKAGE FACTORS FOR 16 NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS



NOTE: The figure between two variables indicates the degree of correlation between them. All indices have been assigned on the basis of their highest correlations (ignoring sign) in the total matrix.

side because their next highest correlations were with Newspaper Circulation, while the other side was already structured by virtue of the ties to Literacy.

Thus it proved impossible to break up this cluster of variables by removing the urban-rural indices. It appears to us that these items are held together by the very important developmental index of percentage of population in agriculture, which may well be causal in terms of the other variables in the cluster.

Cluster III—Export Factor. The final cluster includes the three measures relating to exports. We find that whether we look at exports as a gross figure or as per capita figure makes relatively little difference. The two are correlated .75 and more highly with each other than with any others. In turn, the degree of concentration in exports—the "one-basket" index in Benton's terms—is also positively related. Thus the data suggest that the bigger exporters—both on a gross and relative basis—are those who have concentrated. Diversification of exports is not currently associated with a high rate of export to the U.S.

Utilizing the Factor Analysis for Further Probing

The factor analysis has suggesetd a rather simple structure of variables for Latin American nations. Perhaps it has grossly oversimplified, but in its neutral way it has pointed out that many of the separate indices are really expressive of each other—and some underlying aspects which we have summarized as:

a. Pure Size.
b. Developmental Level.
c. Exports to U.S.

In effect, the analysis says that within the indices we have selected, it is possible to understand the variation which exists from country to country primarily in terms of these three central ideas. Let us use the organizational structure which the analysis suggests to look at three of the 16 variables as though they might have been "caused" by the others. We must recognize that this is a frame of reference for analysis and not a proof of causality. But it is a way of using the leads which the analysis has suggested. The three we have chosen are Income per Capita, Newspaper Circulation, and Press Freedom. The first is a kind of overall index of level of well being, the second an index of having a modern communication system, and the third, a kind of index of democracy in culture and politics.

In Table 3 we have arrayed the variables in terms of the factors, and have put down their correlations with the three pseudo-dependent variables. One of the first things we discover is that the gross population and country size data do not "predict" very well the three indices we have chosen. We have a kind of paradox here—the most striking *differences* among Latin American nations are that Brazil has 66 times the population of Panama and 405 times the land area of El Salvador. But these vast differences are of little aid in telling what is happening with our chosen pseudo-dependent variables.

Within the cluster, however, we find a pure size variable which does show more correlation. This is Population of Capital, which has modest correlations across all three variables.

Five of the seven developmental indices, in contrast, show high correlations. Interestingly, Population Increase, which is of such great concern in the thinking of many economists, shows the negative relation to Per Capita Income which they would predict, but the value is so small that we find ourselves able to account for less than one-half of one percent of the variance. It shows a larger relationship negatively to Newspaper Circulation, but as for Press Freedom, the direction changes.

The other "poor predictor" in the set is Population Density. Here, we find that it is negatively correlated to all of our indices. We might expect that as a nation became more urban it would also become somewhat more densely populated, but for Latin America this is not the case: density is also related negatively to Urbanization (—.39). What we are dealing with here is the relatively low level of development represented by several heavily populated nations which are also characterized by illiteracy and a large proportion of their population engaged in agriculture—Haiti, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic.

Before leaving this factor, we should note the uniformity of the correlational pat-

TABLE 2

INTERCORRELATIONS OF 16 INDICES FOR 20 LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS

	1	2	3	13	16	15	9	7	8	12	10	11	6	14	5	4
1. Population	—	95	70	–12	26	–01	08	10	–09	–19	03	–06	–22	–17	–12	54
2. Area		—	61	–16	17	–00	10	09	–09	–19	03	–06	–29	–13	–12	47
3. Capital			—	–23	38	35	48	48	–47	–63	37	30	–28	–38	–08	39
13. Pop. Increase				—	15	–26	–07	–32	22	09	01	15	01	–02	24	03
16. Press Freedom					—	50	45	50	–39	–45	45	42	–29	15	12	25
15. Newsp. Circ.						—	80	89	–88	–74	82	53	–27	12	22	13
9. PC Income							—	80	–77	–79	72	49	–29	25	60	50
7. % Urban								—	–91	–79	82	52	–39	15	23	27
8. % in Agr.									—	84	–88	–62	30	–02	–25	–24
12. % Rural										—	–81	–61	31	09	–30	–35
10. % Literate											—	68	–44	–05	27	18
11. % in School												—	–26	–28	22	09
6. Density													—	26	–07	–20
14. % Ex 1 Prod.														—	54	34
5. Ex to US/PC															—	75
4. Ex to US/Total																—

NOTE: Variable code numbers refer to Table 1, where the more complete description of the variable is provided. The items are re-arranged in line with the factor analysis. Decimal points have been omitted.

TABLE 3

CORRELATIONS WITH INCOME, NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION, AND PRESS FREEDOM

	Income	Newspaper Circulation	Press Freedom
Population	.08	–.01	.26
Gross Area	.10	–.00	.17
Population of Capital	.48	.35	.38
Population Increase	–.07	–.26	.15
Percent Urbanization	.80	.89	.50
Percent in Agriculture	–.77	–.88	–.39
Percent Rural	–.79	–.74	–.45
Percent Literate	.72	.82	.45
Percent Children in School	.49	.53	.42
Density of Population	–.29	–.27	–.29
Percent of Exports 1 Prod.	+.25	+.12	.15
Per Capita Exports to U.S.	.60	.22	.12
Total Exports to U.S.	.50	.13	.25

terns. Three positive indicators of development—Urbanization, Literacy, and Percentage of Children in School also show positive and rather high correlations with all three of our pseudo-dependent variables. In contrast, the two measures of underdevelopment—Percent Engaged in Agriculture and Percent Rural all show sizeable negative correlations with the three.

The final factor—Exports—produces a set of correlations which are all positive, although those of any magnitude are restricted to Per Capita Income. Accordingly, they will be of utility in predicting this variable, but probably not much help for the other two.

Multiple Correlation

Having proceeded this far, the logical next step is to utilize the analysis to suggest a multiple correlation procedure, i.e., to use several variables to predict our pseudo-dependent indices. We can begin this process with the use of two variables instead of just one, and can apply it to Per Capita Income.

In this approach, we use the factor analysis to suggest items which are representative of the *different* underlying factors. For example, we find Urbanization and Per Capita Exports to U.S. both related to Per Capita Income, but weakly related to each other (.23). When we combine the two of these we obtain a multiple correlation of .90. This result suggests that we can account for 81 percent of the variation in per capita income of Latin American nations with only two variables—their degree of Urbanization and their relative amount of exports to the United States. This is a substantial relationship, one which is not often matched in social research. The implication is that all the other variables which we might add would only account for 19 percent of the variation.

Now let us consider for a moment the possible nature of the relationships between our two predictor variables and what we have called the pseudo-dependent variable. Is it possible that the level of income of Latin American countries has produced the relative amount of export to the United States? It seems highly unlikely that income can operate in this way. If we were dealing with nations which had surpluses of production(and thereby of income) we might make a case that growth in income would be accompanied by growth in exports. But we know that for Latin America we are dealing with deficits in income in general. Thus there seems to be a good case for arguing that we *can specify* the direction of causality for these two variables.

When we turn to Urbanization, we have a greater problem. One can certainly argue that the greater the income of a country, the greater attraction its populated centers will have for the people in the rural areas. Thus we might well expect that as income increases Urbanization will increase, and the causal factor is Income, not Urbanization. On the other hand one can as well argue that Urbanization is perhaps forced by the lack of Income which can be realized on the farm and the small increments to productivity which come through modest changes in methods of farming. Then these could be expressed as *pushing* people from the farm to the city, and making a surplus labor pool available which in turn creates goods and services and attendant increases in total income.

We have here a possible "chicken-egg" relationship, and it is ordinarily safest to assume that each influences the other, in such a case. On the other hand, such a covariation situation manifestly must *start*. And it seems likely to these writers, that it starts with the Urbanization process. The evidence, certainly, is not clear on this crucial point.

The above argument could also be developed through the use of Per Capita Exports to the U.S. and Population of the Capital City. Separately, they are correlated .60 and .48 with Per Capita Income. In tandem, they produce a multiple correlation of .80.

Inspection of the data indicates that it is difficult to improve the prediction of Newspaper Circulation based upon Urbanization only, which is at .89. Some modest improvements in the prediction of Press Freedom are possible, but it appears that the probable inherent unreliability in this index, whcih is quite crude, makes substantial improvement unlikely.

Conclusions

In summary, we have set up the construct of the "average Latin American" nation and have demonstrated some of its characteristics. Though artificial, it helps us to conceptualize the region, and to focus upon both areas of substantial difference and degree of similarity.

Then, through factor analysis, we have reduced a set of 16 indices to three, expressing Pure Size, Developmental Level, and Exports to the U.S. Taking the leads of the factor analysis, we have shown that Per Capita Income, as a pseudo-dependent variable, is very well accounted for (multiple R = .90) using only Urbanization and Per Capita Exports to U.S. as predictors. We have only discussed the possible causal relationships within the set, noting that at least a partial case can be made for Income as an actual dependent variable.

Finally, the analysis has demonstrated how out of the variation and diversity of the Latin American states, regularities in relationships can be extracted which compare with those in other parts of the world and which likely are expressions of basic aspects of human society.

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[1] Please refer to: Daniel Lerner, "Communications System and Social Systems: Statistical Exploration in History and Policy," *Behavioral Science*, 2 (October 1957), pp. 266-275 and *The Passing of Traditional Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958; David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society*: D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, N.J., 1961; Jack P. Gibbs and Walter T. Martin, "Urbaniaztion, Technology, and the Division of Labor: International Patterns," *The American Sociological Review*, 27 (October 1962), pp. 667-677.

[2] In choosing sources we sought breadth of coverage and relative currency. The sources and data obtained from them are indicated in the footnote to Table 1. Of these, *Almanaque Mundial* has the virtue of completeness. The data gathered by Jones and his associates came from a comprehensive survey in which the best statistics available in each country were provided by local collaborators and compiled into the report on rural youth. William Benton utilized the resources of the Encyclopedia Britannica in assembling his data, which are also available in the recent *Year Book* of that publication.

[3] Another aspect is that the square of the correlation coefficient can be used to describe the amount of variance—or variation—in one index, using the other as predictor. For example, if A and B are correlated .50, we may say that A "accounts for" 25 percent of the variation in B. If the correlation were .80, the amount of variation "accounted for" would be 64 percent.

[4] McQuitty, L. L. "Elementary Linkage Analysis for Isolating, Orthogonal and Oblique Types and Typal Relevancies." *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 17 (1957), pp. 207-229.

Economic Development and Social Research

by Rodman C. Rockefeller

The author redfines the meaning of "success" for business and economic enterprises in Latin America. He demonstrates the need for extensive applied social research as a necessary pre-condition to intelligent planning and development. The conclusion is that U.S. private investors can do much to improve both their performance and effect by encouraging and using the results of social research. Mr. Rockefeller is a Vice President of the International Basic Economy Corporation.

LATIN AMERICA today is an area of great striving and small accomplishment in the field of economic development. The Alliance for Progress was conceived by the American states as a great cooperative movement, both economic and social, which would meet the gravest of their problems. Unfortunately, the Alliance has had many troubles in its very brief career.

At Punta del Este in August, 1961, Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon insisted that the vast majority of the effort, capital and leadership of the Alliance would have to come from the private resources of Latin America and to a lesser extent of the United States.

It was asserted that 80% of the hundred billion dollars needed in the decade 1962-72 to achieve the goals of the Alliance must come from non-governmental resources. Yet, the Alliance has come to be regarded as a public give-away program!

Much of the reason for the lack of private activity in the Alliance, I believe, has been the lack of a satisfactory intellectual framework. The Alliance has never clarified the relation between social progress and economic development. Indeed, the two concepts are largely separate in the activities of the Alliance. For example, the Social Progress Trust Fund of the Inter-American Development Bank is rigorously separated from other Bank functions as though there were no social value from economic activities and as if the "social" lending had no impact on the economies of individual nations.

The thesis of this article is that economic development in Latin America or elsewhere requires extensive applied research, not only economic, but sociological and psychological as well, as a precondition to intelligent economic planning and development. Applied research consists of using what is known about human behavior to achieve specified goals. Our basic idea is simple: In economic development we want to gain something from helping others to gain something that they presumably want. However, the combinations and ramifications of the simple idea are many. When we ask what we want to gain of economic development, there can be many answers and all of them have to be explained. When we ask what do the others want, we get into difficulties over what they should want or what they may want or how many of their wants warrant consideration. And when we come to the question of how do we help others gain what they want, we become involved in nothing less than the whole range of fundamental problems of education, of applied sociology and anthropology, of comparative gain, of scientific management, and of the economic operations and decision making.

This research is as fundamental to the success of public investment as it is to non-governmental investment. However, accepting Mr. Dillion's estimate that private investment will bear the bulk of the burden, let us focus on the role of research in the private sector.

What Is Gained by Economic Development

What the "provider" wishes to get from participating in the economic development of another country is not a simple problem. Perhaps it may have been simple at one time. Then quick, large profit without helping anyone except by accident might have been the typical motive. (Of course, there were many such accidents and imperialists, exploiters and just plain simple-minded merchants and traders have brought out, after the events, the fact that business, even most narrowly construed and conducted, cannot help but help many people.)

But the old formula is no longer tolerable, except in exceptional cases. The typical motivation must be much more broad and complex. We now have an ethic of sorts developing which recognizes what we permit ourselves to want. This is conditioned by *our* desires, by the public policies of *our* country and *other* governments and the the desire of *people* in other countries.

If simple, quick, large profit-taking is not the only rule of "gain" in modern economic development, what are some of the others?

1. Restating the old profiteering rule, we should certainly assert that the profit motive still pertains along with other rules; today we say, "earn a net profit in United States dollar accounting terms." If business cannot earn money in its economic development work abroad, the American taxpayer will have to pay for the value of that work abroad or else that work will not get done. The rule is absolutely plain to my mind. I cannot understand why there is so much noise and smoke surrounding it.
2. The second rule is "show a breakeven in the social accounting terms of the country." By this is meant that an ideal operation in any land, including our own, should be able to publish, if that were necessary, a set of books showing that what goes into the business in the way of resources, human and material, is not greater than what it produces in the way of benefits of all kinds, monetary, social, educational and ideal. Actually, in doing business in a foreign country, we should be prepared to show that the profits in the traditional and conventional accounting terms that go out of the country are counter-balanced by an extra investment and gain that is left in the country.

3. Rule three of what we should perhaps be calling the behavioral axioms of gain in economic development would be "earning net profit for one's country's policies." Within the conditions of international business, which are tied up with problems of law and order, one must figure one's country as a silent partner in the enterprise. The interests of that partner have to be watched. If on some occasions one's country's policies are flagrantly in conflict with one's own beliefs, one must avoid observing this commitment to a certain extent. But, if the conflict becomes frequent, one would have to pick up stakes and depart, or engage in a political struggle back home. The next three axioms are clear without comment, perhaps:
4. "Earn respect for one's self and one's country."
5. "Do enjoyable and useful work."
6. "Teach others the value of one's ideas and methods."

Concerning all of these rules, we ought to ask about our own business and that of others, "Did we know this in any way when we went into the country?" I think the answer in our case was that we had some good will and we felt some intention of doing a useful task and we enjoyed the thoughts of the work to come, but that we were not organized, disciplined or totally researched on all of these points.

One might also ask, "Are American businesses in Latin America set up to know these rules and apply them?" I do not believe so, nor do I believe that the kind of accounting and statement of motives that we are discussing here has been well thought out in our own country. I do not feel that the careful and wonderful system of financial accounting that we have derived from many great thinkers, both known and unknown since the middle ages, is adequate to the decision making problems of modern business. This is especially true in relation to modern business abroad where one is immediately subjected to cultural shocks and pressures that demand prompt realignment of ideas and beliefs and subsequent practice. A new kind of social science systems analyst is required in this area who could engage himself with tools as sharp as those of the accounting world and with powers as large, meaningful and necessary as the discoveries that the new social sciences are making.

The Worlds of Others

There is as much to do for social sciences in discovering, systematizing and converting into operational tools the worlds of other people as in dealing with our own motives. There are numerous differences though one might expect the basic desires of human beings to remain the same. We can see certainly in the motives of those with whom we deal abroad the same motive that we see among those with whom we deal at home or among ourselves. The basic desires of human beings—respect, power, skill, education and economic conditions—are present everywhere. But attention is to be directed at these motives with a somewhat different emphasis when we are concerned about those who work for us, deal with us, buy from us and govern us abroad.

1. While we are abroad, we are much less concerned with holding and getting a job than are those with whom we deal. This is sometimes forgotten. Many problems would be eased if economic developers were to appreciate that the greatest number of those with whom they deal are interested fundamentally in any high status, regularly-paid job.
2. The need for training becomes almost a religious desire among peoples who have been deprived of their former ritualistic ways of life and would like to incorporate themselves in the new rituals of technical and business education.
3. If one could have the circumstances of profit without using the word, business would be much easier abroad. It is certainly true that many governments and many citizens of the least developed areas have only a primitive conception of profit and regard it as synonymous with embezzlement.

   It seems to me that we need to protect the concept of profit and through it the whole system of private economic development, the best system that has been invented thus far, by joining the natural desires for profit on the part of local owners to our own desires for profit as foreign investors. The distribution of shares, the joining together with businessman, the payment over the earnings into a variety of activities—preferably non-governmental—are some of the ways in which profit-making can become accepted business. It used to be said—and I believe it was Aristotle who first said it—that what is everybody's business is nobody's business. More and more in under-developed countries we have to say "what is everybody's business is the only kind of business there is."
4. The rulers and people of the developing areas want the products that our enterprises can enable them to make and enjoy, but they are politically suspicious of the foreign control of their economy which may be involved in our investments for the making of these products.
5. They have, too, a desire for respect and affection that is considerably above the level we are used to dealing with in the United States. They wish to find respect in the work that they engage in, in collaboration with North Americans, and they wish to receive affection as part of their pay. They are not as impersonal as North Americans often are.
6. And finally, we might mention the motive of political and economic power which unhappily causes more trouble than anything else in the relations of foreign and indigenous business interests. In most countries of Central and South America, there is no barrier separating the desires for power from the direct exercise of that power in every human situation where power can be employed. The constitutional, legal, psychological and habitual restraints that prevent a North American businessman, official or politician from extending his power over economic machinery for personal exploitation are not found in most other worlds.

Again we might ask "Did we know this all when we went in?" and the answer would have been "No." Does North American business know it now? The answer would again be only operationally and on the basis of hard experience. The main point here is that we should find an answer, and the social sciences can do so, to the question "How can we know the psychology of others and know it readily?"

How Do We Help Others Gain

When we apply ourselves to the question of how we help others to gain in economic development in which we have an interest ourselves, we must ultilize the whole range of the social sciences. Unfortunately, there has been all too little work done in Latin America. The social sciences there are young professions, still strictly influenced by classicism with rigid standards of theory primarily found in the field of economics. But, rural sociologists, cultural anthropologists, industrial relations experts and political scientists are emerging in the world as in the United States.

Readers will easily recall that splendid report by William F. Whyte and Allan R. Holmberg on "Human Problems of United States Enterprises in Latin America" that was published in *Human Organization*, 1956. There, for the first time, to my knowledge, we had an extensive discussion of the cultural differences encountered by the North American working in South America. With some adaptations, I would point them out to you again.

We find the class structure more rigid and more openly recognized. We find a sacred egoism called *personalismo* which makes relations with authority sometimes all

too submissive and other times completely anarchic. The family is larger and closer. Sex relations are more formal. Bureaucracy is everywhere in the air; initiative, though at a high level when compared with other parts of the world, is rather suppressed and confined in early schooling. The value of working for its own sake is much less than for many Americans, especially for those Americans from the United States who could contribute most to economic development in Latin America. In other words, the most desirable people to have from one point of view—those with a zeal for achievement and work—are poor people to have from another point of view, because they may be the most alien culturally.

The belief in the possibilities of social change and mobility which lies at the root of personal ambition is not nearly so common as in North America. In its place there is a common fatalism about human affairs, entailing submission, resignation and frequent pessimism. The large differences are, of course, apparent and the reasons for not bridging such differences and the problems that arise from such differences constitute a field of study in itself.

Then come a range of practices that differ, including the differing notions as to the value of time and the keeping of time, and the mixing of social and economic decisions in different social settings. Finally we should mention the violent winds of change that so clearly dominate men's minds. As Professor M. Richard Shaull of Princeton Theological Seminary wrote about Brazil recently, "Brazil is now in the midst of a dynamic revolutionary process in which growing pressures for radical reform are evident. The most important thing now happening is the formation of attitudes and perspectives on the part of young people . . . who are committed to social revolution . . . a new vision of a more just social order."

The "social revolution" is a moral, a political and an individual force that has swept Latin America as it has swept our country. It is not hostile to the U.S., but many followers of hostile ideologies are trying to make it so. Even were all other differences to be eased, there would still be fundamental miseducation about America and our free institutions to contend with.

These are all facts, yet almost never taken systematically into consideration in investment planning by private businessmen, for lack of social research to supplement economic analysis.

Another realm of social science which should be utilized is the introduction of educational skills to elementary recruitment and training when building an enterprise. A wide range of techniques of change are needed. A company that expects to stay anywhere for more than several years can do well in the very beginning to invest in special education of children. The discovery of talents has been left to the most primitive means in most business ventures abroad. The Whyte and Holmberg study shows what has been done in certain areas to select supervisors. It was discovered that even where the average aptitude and preparation for supervisory positions was very low by North American test standards, by proper testing techniques an adequate number of good supervisory talent could be discovered in South American settings.

What has begun to be done in recruitment of workers and managers has not been done in the recruitment of entrepreneurs. No research that I am aware of could be so productive of results for economic development as research on how to move into a community, any community, and uncover all those persons who are by nature and/or by training equipped to organize, manage and merchandise. One could have a hundred billions of dollars for economic development in Latin America and after a few years might see in the spending of that vast sum of money only a few huge state institutions rising out of an economic desert. If, on the other hand, our work were determined by our intelligence and not by our dollars, we might very well expect with a hundred million dollars to produce results in a few years of a kind that would be socially and economically more broad and enriching.

Whatever may be called the technique of introducing capitalistic behavior should be studied and codified so that it might be employed in training and education. By capitalistic behavior, I mean those psychological traits of rationality, planning, saving and a thorough respect for what is called "unearned income" for its social benefits.

Macroscopic Organization

It must be obvious to the reader that there has been a great deal more research done on the folk and primitive cultures of Latin America, of which there are a great many, than on the industrial psychology, the industrial sociology, the applied anthropology and the economy of Latin America. We need, for example, perhaps more than any other single thing, to know what causes people to become competent business initiators. There is not only a lack of proper research sources, but there is a lack of decent research facilities. Very few Central and South American countries have access to any social research facilities whatsoever. There is no well-instructed and locally knowledgeable profession of business advisors. The United States development machinery, despite its great investment in many a country of Latin America, limits its economic development staff largely to conventionally and economically trained personnel. The other social research aspects of development usually have to make do for themselves.

The situation is changing somewhat. Most of the change has been brought about by unheralded and unsung men of the social sciences who have, for some reason or another, taken on the rare interest that is the subject of our discussion. But social sciences are and will be more organized as part of the processes of economic development in Latin America. I can see that the businessman will more and more recognize that he moves into another area, not alone, as an atom, but as part of an economic development system. He may think he is alone, but he is already surrounded by others with whom he must interact and on whom his actions have effect as he himself is affected by them. Even the large business that goes into a developing country is more and more part of a system despite its great resources and many specialized personnel.

Already our investors are beginning to find available certain specialized knowledge from certain kinds of research agencies and foundations such as the Ditella Foundation of Argentina, the Creole Foundation of Venezuela, the Vargas Foundation of Brazil, and the Agricultural Research Institute of Costa Rica. Next our investors will find it advisable to create auxiliary and independent agencies to deal with the total social accounting of their enterprise.

Conclusion

The drive for economic development, both on the part of the Latin American governments and their peoples is inexorable. While intellectually both our government and the Latins recognize the necessity for private participation in this development, practically little is, and perhaps can be done by governments to affect this participation.

The evidence that something is wrong with the process of private investment to the South is not hard to find. From the statistics of capital investment flow to the profit records in country after country, the general impression is pessimistic. The participation of private U.S. and other investors is vital to the successful development of the Latin countries, not only because of the volume of capital investment required, but perhaps more importantly because of the immense, intangible cultural and educational interchange necessary to the motivation, the initiative, the training and the experience necessary to transform the societies through the developmental process.

Armed with the knowledge and the insights made possible through systematic, applied social research, U.S. private investors can do a much better job, for themselves, for Latin America and for the United States.

Recent Stirrings: A Note on the Seminar on Latin American Studies, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, Summer 1963

*by Robert Heussler**

Mr. Heussler, a staff member of the International Training and Research Program of the Ford Foundation, reports on an interdisciplinary seminar which investigated the work accomplished in Latin American Studies, possibilities for future research, and questions of method and methodology of social research in the Latin American context.

THREE of the contributors to this special issue, Messrs. Cline, Kling and Olafson, took part in a seminar on Latin American studies at Palo Alto during the summer of 1963. The editors of the *American Behavioral Scientist* thought it would be useful to accompany their articles with a brief statement on the aims and patterns of the Seminar and a word on some of its after effects.

The structure and procedures of the Seminar may be stated quite simply. A permanent panel was constituted, consisting of eight people, most of them present for the full seven-week period. After a week of planning and preparation the panel heard presentations by six successive groups of visitors. One session was devoted to special problems of land use and land tenure and of legal concepts and institutions; the others were taken up with approaches to the study of Latin America by, respectively, anthropologists, political scientists, historians, sociologists and economists. Papers submitted in advance were used in each case as points of departure for the panel's discussions with its visitors. Revised in the light of Seminar interchange and subsequent criticism and accompanied by a synthesizing chapter these will appear this fall as a volume edited by a member of the panel, Charles Wagley, Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Institute of Latin American Studies at Columbia University.

The idea of holding such a seminar emerged from talks in November 1962 between Howard F. Cline and Carl B. Spaeth, professor of law at Stanford and at the time a consultant to the Ford Foundation. Messrs. Cline and Spaeth in considering the needs of the Latin American studies field had in mind several earlier stock takings which summarized research and pointed to the needs for future work, among them Arthur M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, 1922 and Harold H. Fisher, ed., *American Research on Russia*, 1955. Mr. Spaeth recommended the convening of the seminar as a means of taking the measure of the field prior to the designing of programs to support it. The Social Science Research Council, through its Joint (with the American Council of Learned Societies) Committee on Latin American Studies was then invited to convene the Seminar, which was chaired by the director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Scope of the Seminar

Three categories of inquiry were paramount among the vast array of questions confronting the Seminar: What was the record of research and publication on Latin America in each discipline? What were the outstanding opportunities for future work and what have been the particular concerns, in substance and technique, of each discipline? What relationships have they shared with one another? In considering these the reader will have observed that the Seminar's scope, while broad, was by no means all-encompassing. The environmental sciences were virtually untouched; geography, though represented briefly at the meetings and by a chapter in the volume edited by Professor Wagley, did not receive attention commensurate with its contributions to the literature on Latin America; and, perhaps most seriously of all, the crucial fields of language, linguistics and literature were only faintly and parenthetically considered.

As to the first two categories, work done and work do-able, the published papers will speak for themselves. The SSRC plans a meeting in Mexico in January 1965 to undertake a review of the papers by Latin American scholars. European interest in the area will be the subject of another conference, in October 1964, where from the more distant perspective of the Italian lakes the Palo Alto stock-taking will be again looked at and discussed.

The third category continues to intrigue disinterested outsiders and to exercise the professionals: how have workers in the various disciplines gone about the business of analyzing, describing, criticizing and comparing aspects of cultures not their own? What is the nature of the complex interplay between changing taxonomies and tools on the one hand and changing subject matter in the other? In particular, what can be done or has been done to help our knowledge and understanding of Latin America by two distinguishable if not entirely distinct types of academic species now at large, the self-confessed area specialist and the specialist of another sort who may look in occasionally but does not come to stay? At Palo Alto these came to be spoken of as devotees of baptism by immersion or by sprinkle.

During the course of Mr. Spaeth's survey of Latin America studies for the Ford Foundation a number of comparisons were made by specialists in other fields. At a conference in New York in January 1963, for example, Professor Fairbank of Harvard, speaking for East Asian studies, and Professor Black of Princeton, speaking for Russian studies, agreed with Professor Wauchope of Tulane and Mr. Cline, both Latin Americanists, that social scientists with their new techniques and different concerns are welcomed by the more traditional area specialists. They felt, however, that the contributions of newcomers will be greater if they have added on top of their disciplinary bases a super-structure of cultural, including linguistic, study equipping them to enter unfamiliar territroy.[1]

From the beginning it was the intention of the planners that the Palo Alto Seminar be followed by a conference devoted to inter-institutional organization throughout the country. Such a conference will in fact be convened this fall by Dr. Schuyler C. Wallace, Director of the Foreign Area Training Program. The conference, to be held at Cuernavaca, will bring together the heads of NDEA language centers, spokesmen of the six U.S. universities taking part in a special program of faculty exchange with Latin America and others concerned with organization of Latin American programs and with cooperation among universities.

Scholars and university administrators interested in Latin America will welcome the articles in this issue of the *American Behavioral Scientist* as they will the published results of the Palo Alto Seminar. The roles played in the Seminar by the three authors whose articles appear in this issue may be of interest. Mr. Olafson, not a specialist on Latin America, was a member of the permament panel. Mr. Kling wrote the paper on political science which forms part of the book edited by Professor Wagley, and Mr. Cline was a member of the group in the Seminar which dealt with Latin American history.

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* Mr. Heussler was on the permanent panel of the Palo Alto Seminar. In this statement he speaks for himself only, and his views should not be construed as necessarily reflecting those of either the Ford Foundation or the Palo Alto Seminar.

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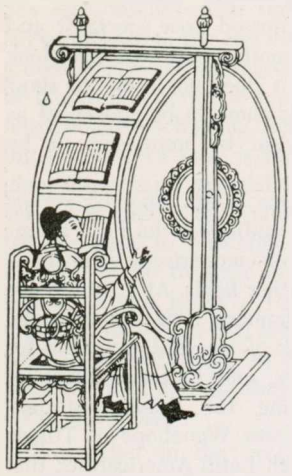


New Studies Report

A Monthly ABS select list of new studies to maintain professional levels of information and awareness over the full range of the social and behavioral sciences.

These items are selected, annotated, and coded by the ABS staff in a periodic search of issues of 360 journals and reviews, including about 100 that are published outside the United States, and from announcements and review copies of books and fugitive materials recently published. Some items are boxed for emphasis. Users should note that a detailed index of topics dealt with and methods used in the items annotated here will appear every three months.

ABU-LUGHOD, J. "Urban-Rural Differences as a Function of the Demographic Transition: Egyptian Data and An Analytical Model," *Amer. J. of Soc.*, 69 (Mar. '64), 476-90. Data from contemporary Egypt is seen as refuting almost all the generalizations about urban-rural demographic differences that have been developed from the study of industrialized countries. Proposes a model to account for discrepancies. **5893**

ALLISON, J. L. "Poverty and the Administration of Justice in the Criminal Courts," *J. of Criminal Law, Criminology & Police Sci.*, 55 (June '64), 241-45. Comments on the "invisibility" of the poor, the indigent defendent unable to raise bail, and the right to counsel in all criminal cases. **5894**

ARMYTAGE, W. H. G. "From Formula to Policy in Education," *Pol. Q.*, 35 (April-June '64), 182-92. Problems of educational planning in Britain: rise in school population, changes in labor patterns, the unemployed teenager, new patterns in secondary and university education, and improved teacher training. **5895**

ARROW, K. J. "Control in Large Organizations," *Mgmt. Sci.*, 10 (Apr. '64), 397-408. Problems of control is defined as that of choosing operating rules for members of an organization and enforcement rules for the operating rules so as to maximize the organization's objective function. The essential roles of uncertainty and of differential amounts of information are stressed. **5896**

ASHRAF, S., *et al.* "India and World Affairs: An Annual Bibliography, 1962," *Intl. Studies*, 5 (Jan. '64), 313-51. Extensive, unannotated bibliography dealing with India's foreign relations and expressions of Indian opinion on world affairs. **5897**

BAKER, J. E. "Inmate Self-Government," *J. of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Sci.*, 55 (Mar. '64), 39-47. Urges a new look at the modern counterpart of self-government—the inmate advisory council. It should be considered as a part of social education for inmates, a morale raising device, and a two-way communication channel between staff and inmates. **5898**

BARLUND, D. C., and HARLAND, C. "Propinquity and Prestige as Determinants of Communication Networks," *Sociometry*, 26 (Dec. '63), 467-79. Although architecture and geography may determine the frequency of communication among individuals in the early stages of social organization, psychical factors such as prestige can polarize communication along status lines even in the presence of adverse physical conditions. **5899**

BAUMOL, W. J. and QUANOT, R. E. "Rules of Thumb and Optimally Imperfect Decisions," *Amer. Econ. R.*, 54 (Mar '64), 23-46. Performance experiments show rules of thumb do not penalize decision-making. **5900**

BECKER, D. G. "Exit Lady Bountiful: The Volunteer and the Professional Social Worker," *Social Service R.*, 38 (Mar. '64), 57-72. The image of past characteristics of volunteer social work in a hindrance to both volunteers and professional social workers who are trying to develop new forms of citizen participation. **5901**

BERG, P. S. D. and TOCH, H. H. " 'Impulsive' and 'Neurotic' Inmates: A Study in Personality and Perception," *J. of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Sci.*, 55 (June '64), 230-34. Laboratory experiment shows that a characteristic of extreme impulsivity is increased awareness of impulsive behavior in others and the perceptual test used has diagnostic value in the treatment of anti-social problems. **5902**

BERLE, A. and Moos, M. "The Need to Know and the Right to Tell: Emmet John Hughes, *The Ordeal of Power*—A Discussion," *Pol. Sci. Q.*, 79 (June '64), 161-83. Two commentaries investigating the ethical and political implications of publishing information acquired as a privileged member of the White House staff. **5903**

BITTNER, E. "Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements," *Amer. Sociological R.*, 28 (Dec. '63), 928-40. Essay attempts a theoretically pure description of radicalism. Radical beliefs have a polemic disadvantage vis-a-vis the outlook of common sense which jeopardizes the integrity and continuity of radical movements. To cope with this disadvantage is the principal organizational task of radical movements. **5904**

BLEGVAD, B. M. P. "Newspapers and Rock and Roll Riots in Copenhagen," *Acta Sociologica*, 7 (#3, '64), 151-78. Content analysis of newspapers which relates degree of condemnatory coverage of the riots to the political orientation of the newspapers. **5905**

BLOOM, B. S. *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964, 237 pp., $7.00. Examines and

interprets a large mass of data from hundreds of longitudinal studies on the course of development of a large number of human characteristics. Results reveal the importance of the first few years of life for all that follows. Considers the implications of these results for prediction, research, and problems of measurement. **5906**

BLOOM, L. "Some Psychological Concepts of Urban Africans," *Ethnology*, 3 (Jan. '64), 66-95. A pilot survey of the psychological world of urban Africans revealing attitudes and knowledge about basic psychological issues, psychodynamics, and anti-social behavior and mental abnormalities. **5907**

BOHLKE, R. H. "The Teaching of Sociology in Secondary Schools: Problems and Prospects," *Social Forces*, 42 (Mar. '64), 363-74. In seeking to introduce their subject into the high school sociologists should encourage experimentation in respect to content, method of instruction, and type of student for whom it will be offered. The teaching of sociology is likely to have consequences for the social system of the high school and the sociological profession. **5908**

BOSKOFF, A. and ZEIGLER, H. *Voting Patterns in a Local Election.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964, 154 pp., $1.45 paper. Case study of a bond issue in a local community which attempts to locate and assess the importance of (1) status, (2) influence processes, particularly mass communications, and (3) commitment to the community for the behavior of voters. Includes a short history of voting behavior research. **5909**

BURMA, J. H. "Interethnic Marriage in Los Angeles, 1948-1959," *Social Forces*, 42 (Dec. '63), 156-65. Marriage license records of Los Angeles County were examined for the 1948-1959 period for which data were available. Some 1,200 intermarriages were found. Negro-white and filipino-white marriages were most common. Intermarriage rates at the end of the eleven year period were about triple the rates at the beginning of the period. **5910**

CARROLL, R. L. "The Metropolitan Influence of the 168 Standard Metropolitan Area Central Cities," *Social Forces*, 42 (Dec. '63), 166-73. Suggests a negative answer to the question, "are all central cities of Standard Metropolitan Areas special types of cities performing integrative services for outlying areas far in excess of the average urban place?" **5911**

CASSEN, R. H. and GERVASI, S. D. "Social Priorities and Economic Policy," *Pol. Q.*, 35 (Apr.-June '64) 131-47. Analysis, in context of the British welfare state, of future needs in health, education, transportation, and housing. Considers also the size of transfer payments for pensions and national assistance. Taxable capacity, productive bottlenecks, and competition for resources are seen as limits of planning. **5912**

CHRISTIE, G. C. "Vagueness and Legal Language," *Minn. Law R.*, 48 (Apr. '64), 885-911. ". . . vagueness is not always a hindrance to precise and effective communication. Indeed an attempt has been made to show that vagueness is sometimes an indispensible tool for the achievement of accuracy and precision in language, particularly in legal language." **5913**

COOPER, A. C. "R & D is More Efficient in Small Companies," *Harvard Business R.*, 42 (May-June '64), 75-83. Small companies develop new products at less cost than large ones because of 1) higher-than-average capabilities of technical people in small companies, 2) attitudes toward costs, and 3) problems of communication and coordination. **5915**

CLELLAND, D. A. and FORM, W. H. "Economic Dominants and Community Power: A Comparative Analysis," *Amer. J. of Soc.*, 69 (Mar. '64), 511-21. Economic dominants in both a satellite city and an independent city withdrew from elective political offices as business became integrated into national markets. Dominants in the independent city were involved more frequently in local issues and projects and were more often cited as top influentials. **5914**

COUGHENOUR, C. M. "The Rate of Technological Diffusion Among Locality Groups," *Amer. J. of Soc.*, 69 (Jan. '64), 325-39. Relative pace of diffusion among localities in Kentucky for recommended farm practices is most closely related to the median educational level of farmers, median level of contact with communication media, and an index for localities of the integration of community structures. **5916**

DAVIS, L. "The Cost of Realism: Contemporary Restatements of Democracy," *Western Pol. Q.*, 17 (Mar. '64), 37-46. "Contemporary democracy is less a guide to future action than a codification of past accomplishments. By translating the descriptive principles of present democratic theory into prescriptive terms, it vindicates the main features of the status quo and provides a model for tidying up loose ends. Democracy becomes a system to be preserved not an end to be sought. Those who wish a guide to the future must look elsewhere." **5917**

DAVITZ, J. R., ed. *The Communication of Emotional Meaning.* New York: McGraw Hill, 1964, 214 pp., $7.50. Studies of the communication of emotional meanings in a variety of non-verbal media—vocal, facial, musical, and graphic. Notwithstanding differences between individuals, "results demonstrate incontrovertibly that non-verbal, emotional communication is a stable, measurable phenomenon." **5918**

DEXTER, L. A. and WHITE, D. M., eds. *People, Society, and Mass Communications.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, 595 pp., $7.95. Major examination of mass communications stressing how communicators and audiences are related to each other within the larger contest of society. Interdisciplinary analysis of all media with an extensive bibliographic essay, reviews and reports of current research, and a projection of future developments and possibilities. **5919**

DRAPER, G. J. "A Suggested Method for Constructing Indices of Morbidity," *Applied Stat.*, 12 (Mar. '63), 26-37. How aspects of health may be studied by constructing indices other than death rates, based on illness censuses, length and degrees of disability. Sources of such records listed as hospital, insurance, etc. **5920**

DYSON, F. J. "Defense Against Ballistic Missiles," *Bul. of the Atomic Scientists*, (June '64), 12-18. Discusses the technical, military and political factors in both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. of the security necessities and advantages of various combinations of conventional and exotic missile defense systems. **5921**

FERGUSON, L. L. "Social Scientists in the Plant," *Harvard Business R.*, 42 (May-June '64), 133-43. General Electric's experiences with the feasibility and the utility of in-plant behavioral research. Discusses selection of research problems, competence of scientists, control of projects, and application of results. **5923**

ETZIONI, A. *The Moon-Doggle: Domestic and International Implications of the Space Race*, Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1964, 195 pp., $4.50. Analyzes American space policy in terms of excellent short term planning ruined by a lack of long range perspectives. Examines the patterns of policy-making, power coalitions, interest groups, and the collaborations of agencies and services involved in the race to the moon which must be changed if America is to face its domestic and international problems without looking to the sky for solutions. **5922**

FOX, R. "Sin, Crime and the Psychopath: Medico-Legal Problems of Psychopathic Personality," *Modern Law R.*, 27 (Mar. '64), 190-98. Recommends that the concept of criminal responsibility be discarded rather than holding fully responsible every person deemed psychopathic. The reason is that all classifications of psychopathology are unsatisfactory, legally and medically. **5924**

GILLESPIE, D. T. C. "Research Management in the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, Australia," *Public Admin.*, 42 (Spring '64), 11-31. Report on the organization and management of research in a large government-sponsored research organization. The research staff is brought into appropriate areas of management responsibilities. The merit system and the research environment is described. **5925**

GRAHAM, B. D. "Theories of the French Party System Under the Third Republic,' *Pol. Studies*, 12 (Feb. '64), 21-32. Historical approach to the question of France's future: a return to parliamentary democracy and government by parties or continuation toward a presidential and technocratic state? **5926**

GUTTSMAN, W. L. *The British Political Elite*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964, 398 pp., $7.50. History of the British political leaders from the oligarchy of the early 19th century through the period of middle and working class control to today's complex bureaucratic forms of government. Sociological analysis of parties, leadership, and career patterns of political and government office holders. **5927**

HABERLER, G. "Integration and Growth of the World Economy in Historical Perspective," *Amer. Econ. R.*, 54 (Mar. '64), 1-22. A brief history of closer economic relations among different intranational and international groups, followed by deeper analysis of the comparative rates of economic growth around the world, showing that poorer countries have been improving as result of richer countries' greater improvement trickling through world trade. Recommends free economic policies. (A speech.) **5928**

HARARI, C. and CHWAST, J. "Class Bias in Psychodiagnosis of Delinquents," *Crime and Delinquency*, 10 (Apr. '64), 145-51. A psychologist examining delinquents must take into account the social class differences between himself and his subject before he can arrive at an accurate evaluation of the test responses. **5929**

HARRIS, M. *The Nature of Cultural Things*. New York: Random House, 1964, 209 pp., $1.95 paper. Attempts to show how a taxonomy of cultural things can be grounded in the observation of the non-verbal behavior of individuals. A new vocabulary is constructed to discuss the operationally defined categories and classifications. **5930**

HAUSER, P. H. "Man and More Men: The Population Prospects," *Bul, of the Atomic Scientists* (June '64), 4-8. Summary of trends and implications for world population increases resulting from the destruction of the equilibrium between the birth rate and the death rate. **5931**

HERMANN, C. F. "Some Consequences of Crisis Which Limit the Viability of Organizations," *Admin. Sci. Q.* (June '63), 61-82. Tentative series of interrelated propositions suggesting how a crisis in an organization's external environment can activate behavior within the organization which hinders its response to the crisis. Attention is directed towards making the eight principal variables operational. **5932**

HOGAN, J. C. and SCHWARTZ, M. D. "The Manly Art of Observaitno and Deduction," *J. of Criminal Law, Criminology and Polcie Sci.*, 55 (Mar. '64), 157-64. Examples from the cases of the master of observation and deduction—Sherlock Holmes. **5933**

HUGHES, E. C. "Race Relations and the Sociological Imagination," *Amer. Sociological R.*, 28 (Dec. '63), 879-90. "Our problem (as sociologists) is not that we are too deeply involved in human goings-on but that our involvement is so episodic and so bound to the wheel of partciular projects with limited goals; in short, that we are too professional." **5934**

IRISH, D. P. "Sibling Interaction: A Neglected Aspect in Famliy Life Research," *Social Forces*, 42 (Mar. '64), 279-82. Research has been impeded by social problems which have focused attention on the adult-child dimension. Freudian thought has stressed the regimes of infancy, not socializing influences during childhood. Occupational pressures upon family sociologists have prompted an emphasis on dating, courtship, and marital interaction . **5935**

JONES, D. L. and SMITH, R. A. "Management and Labor Appraisals and Criticisms of the Arbitration Process: A Report with Comments," *Michigan Law R.*, 62 (May '64), 1115-56. Survey respondents indicate a preference for the arbitration process over court action or exclusive reliance on collective bargaining. **5936**

JONES, N. T. "Electronics in Voting," *Natl. Civic R.*, '53 (June '64), 306-10. High-speed equipment is promising a new era of fast counting, economies and consolidations. **5937**

KATZ, F. E. and PIRET, F. V. "Circuitous Participation in Politics," *Amer. J. of Soc.*, 69 (Jan. '64), 367-73. Forms of political participation exist outside the formally structured political mechanisms which are chiefly based on using non-political mechanisms for political purposes. Based on data from Gallup polls on presidential popularity. **5938**

KILSON, M. "Grass-Roots Politics in Africa: Local Government in Sierre Leone," *Pol. Studies*, 12 (Feb. '64), 47-66. Points up weaknesses of the District Council as modern local governments, particularly their too small share of local finances. **5939**

KURODA, Y. "Political and Psychological Correlates of Japanese Political Party Preference," *Westren Pol. Q.*, 17 (Mar. '64), 47-54. Analysis of the party identification of Japanese students as related to: beliefs about scope of government, political obligation and efficacy, authoritarian personality tendencies, and desire for Lasswellian values. **5940**

LAUE, J. H. "A Contemporary Revitalization Movement in American Race Relations: The 'Black Muslims'," *Social Forces*, 42 (Mar. '64), 315-23. Black Muslims are seen as an example of the theory of revitalization—a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." Several directions for new research are suggested. **5941**

LAZEROWITZ, B. and ROWITZ, L. "The Three-Generations Hypothesis," *Amer. J. of Soc.*, 69 (Mar. '64), 529-38. National sample survey data supports the finding that increasing church attendance is associated with increasing Americanization for both Protestants and Catholics. Protestant-Catholic differences are pointed out and are seen as stemming from the secular orientation of Protestant immigrants. **5942**

LEVI-STRAUSS, C. *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, 1963, 410 pp., $10.00. Application of the author's "structural method" to a wide range of anthropological concerns. Examines the role linguistics plays with respect to the social sciences, the relationship between kinship terminology and prescribed behavior, the problem of dual organization, and the relationship between myth and ritual. Includes a section on method and teaching in anthropology. **5943**

MACKINTOSH, J. M. "The Relevance of Western Experience to the Needs of Cities in Developing Countries," *Population Studies*, 17 (Mar. '64), 311-20. ". . . one of the prominent functions of the health services is to make strenuous efforts to create and support the neighborhood spirit in the less organized areas of expanding towns, and so to link the people together in bonds of common interest." **5944**

MADDISON, A. *Economic Growth in the West: Comparative Experience in Europe and North America*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1964, 246 pp., $4.50. Comparison and analysis of rates of economic advance in the twelve leading countries of the industrial West. The willingness of postwar governments in Western Europe to use direct methods to promote economic growth as contrasted with timidity in such matters in the U.S. and elsewhere accounts for the difference between spectacular European expansion and much slower rates of growth in the U.S., Canada, and the U.K. **5945**

MARCUS, S. "Studies of the Defense Contracting Process," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 29 (Winter '64), 19-31. Bibliographic essay dealing with law and procedure, impact of defense contracting on the economy, and political implications of the defense contracting process. **5946**

MCKEOWN. T. "The Next Forty Yeras in Public Health," *Population Studies*, 17 (Mar. '64), 269-92. Discussion of future problems in light of principal causes of morbidity and mortality, practical and ethical questions of inheritance control, and the future organization of the medical services in Britain. **5947**

MILES, M. B., ed. *Innovation in Education*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia U., 1964, 689 pp., $8.75. Collection of studies of how educational innovations are introduced, adopted—or rejected. Includes case histories of specific innovations, results of research and theory on the educational process and innovative practice, and studies of the American educational system as a setting for change. The future of American education is projected for the next decade. **5948**

MILLER, S. M. "The American Lower Class: A Typological Approach," *Social Research*, 31 (Spring '64), 1-22. Cross-classifies the two dimensions of the two variables of economic security and familial stability in a 2 x 2 table. "We must begin to demarcate types of poor people more sharply if we are to be able to understand and interpret behavior and circumstance and to develop appropriate social policies." **5949**

MOORE, F. T. "Efficiency and Public Policy in Defense Procurement," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 29 (Winter '64) 3-18. Deals with the structure of the market, possibilities for effective competition, firm behavior and market results, and some implications of these factors for changes in public policy in defense procurement. **5950**

MURPHY, R. and GOLDBERG, I. A. "Strategies for Using Programmed Instruction," *Harvard Business R.*, 42 (May-June '64), 115-32. Complete briefing covering methods, costs, applications, limitations, operating procedures, and corporate experience. Challenges management to analyze, in depth, task requirements and to plan ahead in manpower as well as in plant and equipment. **5951**

NETER, J. and WAKSBERG, J. "Effects of Interviewing Designated Respondents in a Household Survey of Home Owners' Expenditures on Alterations and Repairs," *Applied Stat.*, 12 (Mar. '63), 46-60. Experiment to determine what happens when different household members are designated in sample surveys shows little change in information on house repairs from husband, wife, or others. **5952**

NORBECK, E. "African Rituals of Conflict," *Amer. Anthro.*, 65 (Dec. '63), 1254-79. Supports Gluckman's general hypothesis that conflict may have positive functional value but challenges his specific hypothesis concerning rebellion as well as some of his data. **5953**

NORDENSTAM, G. "Destalinization in Soviet Political Science," *Acta Sociologica*, 7 (#3, '64), 131-50. Analysis of the editorial development of "Soviet State and Law," a leading monthly political science journal, after the death of Stalin. Includes a quantitative test on changes in the use of sources by hundreds of Soviet scholars. **5954**

ORNSTEIN, J. "Africa Seeks a Common Language," *R. of Pol.*, 26 26 (Apr. '64), 205-14. Description of the social and political problems resulting from the barriers of 800 distinct languages south of the Sahara. Concludes that generations of Africans will have to grow up to be bilingual or trilingual. **5955**

O'ROURKE, J. F. "Field and Laboratory: The Decision-Making Behavior of Family Groups in Two Experimental Conditions," *Sociometry*, 26 (Dec. '63), 422-35. Both the quantity and the quality of the groups' interactive behavior changed as they moved from home to laboratory. The positivity of fathers and children decreased while that of mothers increased. **5956**

PACKER, H. L. "Making the Punishment Fit the Crime," *Harvard Law R.*, 77 (Apr. '64), 1071-82. Criticzes Mr. Justice Goldberg's proposal for judicial control of the administration of the death penalty. **5957**

PAUL, J. and LAULICHT, J. *In Your Opinion* Vol. I, Clarkson, Ontario: Canadian Peace Research Institute, 1963, 140 pp., $2.95. Describes the attitudes and opinions of a representative sample of voters and of business, labor and political leaders in Canada on defense, disarmament, the United Nations, and communism. **5958**

PERSINGER, G. W., VIKAN-KLINE, L. and FODE, K. L. "The Effect of Early Data Returns on Data Subsequently Obtained by Outcome-Biased Experimenters," *Sociometry*, 26 (Dec. '63), 487-98. Experimenters obtaining "good" initial data also obtained good subsequent data. Experimenters obtaining "bad" initial data obtained bad subsequent data. Discussion of methodological implications of the "early returns" effect. **5959**

PLATT, J. R. "Research and Development for Social Problems," *Bul. of the Atomic Scientists* (June '64), 27-9. Brief restatement of the nature of and the need for social invention as an organized activity. Cites past examples and future possibilities and calls for social R & D organizations corresponding to those engaged in technological and scientific problems. **5960**

QUINNEY, E. R. "The Study of White Collar Crime: Toward a Reorientation in Theory and Research," *J. of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Sci.*, 55 (June '64), 208-14. Delineates new units of study and suggests employment of different levels of explanation in future studies of occupational crime and deviation. **5961**

RANKIN, N. H. "Social Adjustment in a North-West Newtown," *Sociological R.*, 2 (Nov. '63), 289-302.. The social interests and attitudes of Newtown residents who had moved from a Liverpool slum were no more characterized by anomie than they had been in their old environment. **5962**

REYNOLDS, H. W., JR. "Local Government Structure in Urban Planning, Renewal, and Relocation," *Pub. Admin. R.*, 24 (Mar. '64), 14-20. "The seven communities in this study having integrated structures and poor relocation results, and the five communities having weak structures but good results, demonstrate that structure was not the only requisite to a good relocation outsome in renewal." **5963**

RIDLEY, F. "The Parliamentary Commissioner for Military Affairs in the Federal Republic of Germany," *Pol. Studies*, 12 (Feb. '64, 1-20. Study of a constitutional device which attempts to assure political control of the army and to protect the rights of soldiers. **5964**

RIKER, W. H. and NIEMI, R. G. "Anonymity and Rationality in the Essential Three-Person Game," *Human Relations*, 17 (#2, '64), 131-41. Small group experiment suggests a strong sociological restriction on the applicability of game theory, both as a description and as a prescription of behavior. **5965**

ROBSON, W. A. "The Reform of Government," *Pol. Q.*, 35 (April-June '64), 193-211. Suggests sweeping changes in British political and administrative system. Parliament, the Cabinet, Civil Service, the Departments, all must adapt to modern science and technology and modern policy-planning devices. **5966**

ROGERS, L. "Notes on 'Political Science,'" *Pol. Sci. Q.*, 79 (June '64), 209-32. Essay reviewing Lasswell's *Future of Political Science* with incisive comments on the past and present, as well as of the future, of political science. **5967**

RODMAN, H. "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," *Social Forces*, 42 (Dec. '63), 205-15. Lower class value stretch refers to the wider range of values, and the lower degree of commitment to these values. Data on level of aspiration and on illegitimacy in the Carribbean supports the idea that the value stretch is the major response of the lower class to its deprived situation. **5968**

ROMOSER, G. K. "The Politics of Uncertainty: The German Resistance Movement," *Social Research*, 31 (Spring '64), 73-93. Places the Anti--Nazi Resistance Movement within the historical context of the earlier Resistance Movement against the Weimar Republic in Germany. Sees the dilemmas of the Resistance as making us aware of the dilemmas of all political action. **5970**

ROKKAN, S., *et. al.* "International Conference on the Use of Quantitative Political, Social and Cultural Data in Cross-National Comparisons," *Social Sci. Information*, 2 (Dec. '63), 1-20. Report of a conference which dealt with the theoretical context of different types of data, the methodology of national and cross-national data comparisons, and current efforts to bring together social science information for the countries of the world. **5969**

ROSEN, B. C. "The Achievement Syndrome and Economic Growth in Brazil, *Social Forces*, 42 (Mar. '64), 341-54. It was found that Brazilians had lower achievement motivation, were less activistic and future oriented, placed less emphasis on planning and the postponement of gratifications, put a lower evaluation on work and were less willing to be physically mobile than their American counterparts. **5971**

RYDER, N. B. "Notes on the Concept of a Population," *Amer. J. of Soc.*, 69 (Mar. '64), 447-63. The concept of a population is advocated as a frame of reference in investigation of population composition and process, in the resolution of differences between macroanalysis and microanalysis, and in the design of studies of social change. **5972**

SCHAPIRO, L. "Lenin's Contributions to Politics," *Pol. Q.*, 35 (Jan.-Mar. '64), 9-22. Examines the influence on Lenin of Saint-Simon as well as the relation of activism and Utopianism to Lenin's thinking. **5973**

SCHEFF, T. J. "The Role of the Mentally Ill and the Dynamics of Mental Disorder: A Research Framework," *Sociometry*, 26 (Dec. '63), 436-53. Development of a sociological theory of the causation and course of stable mental disorder. Presents nine propositions requiring empirical testing. Mental illness is seen as part of the social system and analytically separable from psychic behavior. **5974**

SCHWELB, E. "Marriage and Human Rights," *Amer. J. of Comp. Law*, 12 (Summer '63), 337-83. History of national and international law dealing with marriage. Concentrates on an explanation of the UN Convention on Marriage. **5975**

SHERWIN, C. W. "The Management of Science in the Public Interest," *Bul. of the Atomic Scientists*, (June '64), 9-12. "Scientists and engineers must face up to three new facts: the inevitability and urgency of their new public service functions; the need for a new and respected career pattern to fulfill these functions; and the need to develop methods to maintain the highest technical competence under these conditions." **5976**

SMITH, P. "The History and Future of the Legal Battle Over Birth Control," *Cornell Law Q.*, 49 (Winter '64), 275-303. Review of the legislative and judicial history of the birth control controversy in America focusing on the federal government and the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York. **5977**

SMITH, V. L. "Effect of Market Organization on Competitive Equilibrium," *Quarterly J. of Econ.*, 78 (May '64), 181-201. Report on experiments testing hypotheses concerning the price equilibrium and adjustment behavior of markets whose organization permits either buyers or sellers, but not both, to engage actively in the "higgling" and bargaining process. **5978**

SPONSLER, G. C. "The Military Role in Space," *Bul. of the Atomic Scientists*, (June '64), 31-34. While sceptical of the aggressive uses of space such as an orbiting bomb, emphasizes the importance of surveillance from space of military developments on land, in the sea, and in space itself. Priority is given to development of a manned orbital laboratory. **5979**

STARR, M. K. "Management Science and Marketing Science," *Management Sci.*, 10 (Apr. '64), 557-73. Appraises the contribution of management science to marketing science in terms of decision theory. Discusses the two-culture problem and its inhibiting effects upon advancements in marketing science. **5980**

STOESSINGER, J. G. and Assoc. *Financing the United Nations System.* Washington: Brookings Institution, 1964, 348 pp., $6.75. Complete survey of the financial history and background of the U.S. and other past and present international bodies; membership costs; budgetary and assessment procedures; and possible sources of future revenues. All aspects set within the political context of the U.N. **5981**

STOIKOV, V. "The Allocation of Scientific Effort: Some Important Aspects," *Quarterly J. of Econ.*, 78 (May '64), 305-23. Assuming that scientists and engineers can produce either more scientists and engineers or produce research findings, conclusion is that optimal allocation requires that the fraction of graduating scientists and engineers entering teaching be increased considerably. **5982**

STORING, H. J. "The Crucial Link" Public Administration, Responsibility, and the Public Interest," *Public Admin. R.*, 24 (Mar. '64), 39-46. Review of *Nomos III: Responsibility* and *Nomos V: The Public Interest* edited by Carl Friedrich and *Ethics and Bigness: Scientific, Academic, Religious, Political, and Military* edited by Harlan Cleveland and Harold Lasswell. **5983**

TAEUBER, K. E. and TAEUBER, A. F. "The Negro as an Immigrant Group: Recent Trents in Racial and Ethnic Segregation ni Chicago," *Amer. J. of Soc.*, 69 (Jan. '64), 374-382. Negro residential segregation has remained high, despite their social and economic progress. Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, the most recent inmigrants, are economically less well off than Negroes, but their residential segregation is already less. **5984**

TURK, A. T. "Toward Construction of a Theory of Delinquency," *J. of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Sci.*, 55 (June '64), 215-29. Presents a working theory of delinquency in order to illustrate the theoretical and methodological considerations entering into verification studies. The study was based on an assumed correspondence between culture conflict and social conflict. **5985**

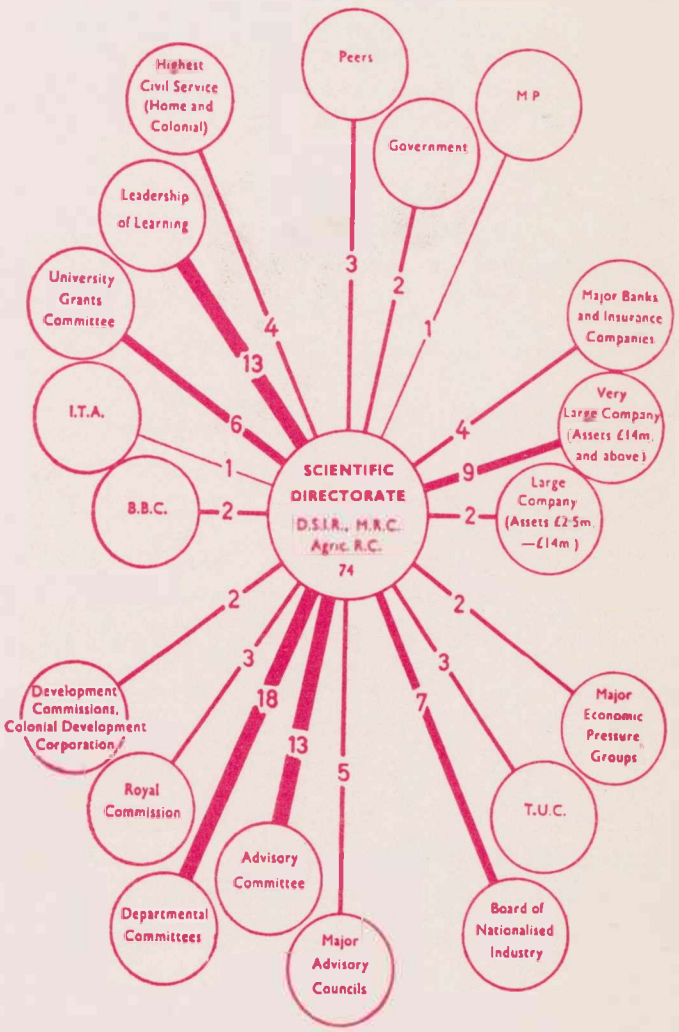
VAIDYANATH, R. "Survey of Research: Select Russian Source Material on Soviet Nationalities Policy in Central Asia up to 1936," *Intl. Studies*, 5 (Jan. '64), 304-12. Brief bibliographic essay. **5986**

WALLIN, P. and CLARK, A. L. "Religiosity, Sexual Gratification, and Marital Satisfaction in the Middle Years of Marriage," *Social Forces*, 42 (Mar. '64), 303-9. Religiosity reduced the impact of women's lack of sexual gratification on their general marital satisfaction. This did not occur with the men. These findings are consistent with those of a study of the early years of marriage. **5987**

WILLIAMSON, H. F., ed. "Papers of the 76th Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association," *Amer. Econ. R.*, 54 (#3, May '64), 1-628. Papers on the following topics, among others: Theory of Monopolistic Competition after Thirty Years, Efficiency in the Labor Markets, The Regulated Industries, Taxation, Comparative Costs and Economic Development, Efficiency of the Soviet System, and The Teaching of Economics. **5988**

WOFFORD, J. G. "The Blinding Light: The Uses of History in Constitutional Interpretation," *U. of Chicago Law R.*, 31 (Spring '64), 502-33. Essay intending to free the present from the strictures of the past. "History makes no judgments; only individuals do. History should be merely one aid in helping that individual come to a sensible—but necessarily personal—judgment." **5989**

Yale Law Journal. "The Jewish Law Student and New York Jobs—Discriminatory Effects in Law Firm Hiring Practices," 73 (Mar. '64), 625-660. Survey of Yale graduates indicates that discrimination is on the decline, conscious exclusionary policies have become relatively unimportant. However, past discrimination still affects the employment picture often because of self-erected barriers by Jewish job applicants. **5990**



Affiliations of Members of the 'Scientific Directorate' with other Elite Group, from W. L. Guttsman, cf. item 5927 above.

19770

BOOK REVIEW OF THE MONTH: *"Behavioral Science Fiction"*

The 480* by Eugene Burdick (co-author of the *Ugly American* and *Fail-Safe* and author of *The Blue of Capricorn*).

To get angry over having Professor Burdick's new novel foisted on us is futile. If a wad of advertising dough that would choke a horse is stuffed into the hungry mouth of the press, loud grunts will come forth. We cannot stop our ears to them. Why blame Burdick? He is an honest writer who says many socially helpful things to a multitude of sub-intellectuals. His hero, for instance, is disgusted with the picayune maunderings of Americans on racial and religious relations. On the other hand, Burdick feeds the anomie and paranoia of many people, because he has them being grossly manipulated.

The 480 scarcely reveals the fact that Burdick can write well and even sweetly; one will see so if he's read an essay or story from his earlier book on the South Pacific, *The Blue Capricorn*. On political subjects he and C. P. Snow have much in common. They stumble and heave, trying to carry sociological truths. Burdick reminds us of Upton Sinclair (another Californian of kindred disposition) with his Lanny Budd novels. Burdick, of course, being younger and *au courrant*, has his characters committing more obscenities.

The 480, if you must know, concerns the rather perfunctory efforts of a couple of Eastern fat-cats to find an opponent against President Kennedy and then President Johnson. A folk hero of America's foreign aid program in India-Pakistan, one John Thatch comes to their atteniton. They are hep to the latest applications of behavioral science and after looking him over to assure his fitness as a machinable politician, launch his career as a "Dark Horse" candidate for President. Polling techniques are used, but the electronic imitation of human behavior known as computer simulation is much to be preferred these days. A fictional company, Simulations Enterprises, using (apparently without copyright release) the ideas of real-life Simulmatics Corporation, has the nation chopped up into 480 sociological bits and pieces. These are used to project behavior and test reactions. (The research design is not very clear.) Politics is hell, all must conclude, but at the end John Thatch is still in there preening his charisma.

Actually the new-fangled devices do not win by themselves. Hoary wampum, vicious rumor-mongering, classical charisma, and old-fashioned tender love count for more. So *The 480* does not represent the victory of all that we hold dear: behavioral science, indeed, far from being the monster threatening our liberties—as the ads would have it—reveals itself in the novel to be a Wizard of Oz.

The 480, together with the *Ugly American* and *Fail-Safe*, belong in the category of science fiction. They are *behavioral* science fiction. Like the authors of *Creatures of the Abyss* and *Flash Gordon*, Burdick dwells upon details of manipulative social science in modern life and projects them somewhat grotesquely onto a fictional screen. Not-quite accurate descriptions of administrative procedures, mass media capabilities, opinion testing, computer systems and political structures are put forward. The inaccuracy does not result from technical inability but from a desire to entertain (and instruct) an audience by imaginary creations.

The imagination, however, must cling to the "realest of the real," that is, science, because of its promise to control man and nature. At the same time it has to leap into the implausible to satisfy megalomanic and paranoid tendencies. "Look at what can be done to man by the power of behavioral science," says the behavioral science fiction writer. His characters are stilted manikins because he will not let them go; they must mechanically express his subconscious love of evil-doing in the ostensible acts of exposing evils. "There is more going on behind the scenes than you can possibly imagine," Burdick seems to tell us; people are dirty-handed and dirty-minded; there is a skeleton in every closet; "inside dope" is to be searched out in every situation. No wonder, then, that Burdick loves the innocent (because strange) South Seas and writes lividly, luridly, and lumpishly about the vastly different new world of social controls.

REFERENCE

* McGraw-Hill Publ. Co., New York, 1964, $5.

NEWS ROUNDUP (*continued from page 3*)

E. Hammel (U. of Calif., Berkeley), *Industrialization* and Social *Change*, $12.2M.
J. L. McGaugh (U. of Calif., Irvine), The Effect of Selected *Drugs on Learning*, $14.3M.
T. R. Trabasso (UCLA), Extensions and Tests of a Model for *Concept Learning*, $10.3M.
H. S. Becker (Stanford U.), Educational Experiences of *Non-College Youth*, $30.3M.
A. H. Brayfield (Amer. Psychological Assoc., Washington), International Congress of *Applied Psychology*, $14.1M.
R. E. Ulrich (Ill. Wesleyan U.), Analysis of Conditioned and Unconditioned *Fighting*, $13.7M.
J. L. Zinnes (Indiana U. Foundation, Bloomington), *Discrimination, Matching*, and Simple Generalization, $11.2M.
L. R. Good (Menninger Foundation, Topeka), Behavior and *Architecture*, $17.9M.
D. Shapiro (Harvard Med. School), Social-Physiological Factors in *Group Interaction*, $31.7M.
V. A. Stehman (Mich. State Depart. of Mental Health, Lansing); *Operations Research* Applications in *Mental Health*, $63.4M.
M. D. Dunnette (U. of Minn., Minneapolis), Measurement of *Emphatic Skills*, $31.1M.
B. J. Colby (Museum of New Mexico, Sante Fe), Computer Analysis of *Oral Communication*, $20.6M.
C. Wagley (Columbia U.), *Social Structures* During a Period of Cultural Change, $6.4M.
E. T. Carlson (Cornell U.), The Definition of *Mental Illness*, $6.1M.
M. Y. Quereshi (U. of North Dakota), Procedures for Determining Optimum Limits of *Testing*, $10.7M.
G. H. Zuk (Eastern Penna. Psychiatric Institute, Philadelphia), Conference: *Family* Process and *Psychopathology*, $5M.
G. W. Fryer (U. of Tennessee), Improving *Decision-Making* of Young Low-Income Couples, $76M.
H. W. Ludvigson (Carnegie Institute of Technology), *Frustration* In Basic *Learning* and Performance, $14.8M.
P. G. Zimbardo (NYU), Delayed *Feedback* and Conformity of *Behavior*, $41.9M.
H. Moltz (Brooklyn College), Experimental Determinants of *Maternal Behavior*, $5M.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

Among research grants recently announced by SSRC committees:

W. V. D'Antonio (Sociology, U. of Notre Dame), Comparative study of the role of *voluntary associations* and *political parties* in party organization and local elections.
James Eayrs (Political Economy, U. of Toronto), Research in Canada on the making of *Canadian national security policy*, 1945-65.
R. A. Gordon (Social Relations, Johns Hopkins U.), Research on *Family* and *peer relations* of *gang delinquents*.
C. H. Hubbell (Sociology, State U. of Iowa), A matrix-algebra analysis of the adaptations of *group structure* to internal *stress*.
R. W. Resek (Economics, U. of Illinois), Research on the socio-economic factors affecting *banking*.
D. J. Saposs (International Labor, American U.), Research on the history of *labor ideologies*.
R. H. Dawson (Political Science, U. of North Carolina), Research in Europe on *decision-making* in weapons selection at the international level, with special reference to operations research groups in NATO (joint with G. E. Nicholson, Jr.)
E. Stein (Law, U. of Michigan), Research in Europe on assimulation of *national laws* as a function of *European integration*.