

# Future Social Research in Ireland

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I am asking tonight a general and a practical question. What are the main priorities for economic and social research in Ireland, looking up to five or ten years ahead? Within that list of priorities, what ought to be the main tasks of ESRI? The Institute's constitution authorises it to engage in economic and social research of practically any kind. The criteria for choosing projects within this potentially infinite field are a mixture of considerations of principle and practice. The Institute is intended to have not only academic freedom but an academic standard of work, meaning work of a kind on which staff with the abilities and interests which one would expect to find in a university can be employed without wasting the inabilities and with satisfaction to themselves. Projects must be relevant to Ireland, but subject to this can be weighted more towards direct usefulness or towards the advancement of knowledge in particular disciplines, according to personal interest. Personal interest is an important consideration. Once one leaves behind the more routine levels of research – and this is what I understand the institute's "academic" standard of work to mean – it is unreasonable to expect research workers to produce the standard of work for which one would hope unless their heart is in the job. It obviously cannot be an over-riding consideration in an institute with a strongly applied slant. There has to be a mutual process of fitting men to jobs and jobs to men, thinking not only of what are the current interests of current staff but of what fields should be borne in mind when new appointments are made or what projects might be talked around among existing staff to see which could be of interest in anything from a year's to five year's time. The present programme of ESRI, which will take up much of its resources at least into late 1969 or 1970, arose out of discussion in 1965/6 around the Henning Frus report on *Development of Social Research in Ireland*. In defining the broad fields of the Institute's work it is necessary to think at least five or six years ahead.

It is also of course necessary to think in terms not only of the Institute's own programme but of the way in which its particular work fits with that of other research centres in Ireland. There are large areas of overlap, and an institute whose work is not *prima facie* in a particular field may find itself picking up projects in that field because the institute primarily responsible for that field has for one reason or another not done that particular job. Several of ESRI'S current projects are of that kind. In general, though, each of the various institutes has plenty to do in cultivating its own garden, and you will notice this evening that as far as possible I keep out of the garden of neighbours such as An Foras Forbartha, The Agricultural Institute, The Institute of Public Administration, and The Irish Management Institute. ESRI will have this year nineteen or twenty research staff qualified at the level at which they can take substantial responsibility for their own projects or for the work of a team or research

unit, and spread over a range of disciplines including economics, sociology, social psychology and statistics. This is a substantial team by any standards, and especially in relation to the resources of Ireland, and one whose qualifications fit it to undertake any of the projects I shall be talking about in a moment. But it is still very small in relation to the number and variety of projects which could be undertaken, and there is no need to trespass on our neighbour's fields.

Most ESRI projects are at present within the limits of one discipline, and, though we have a good deal of inter-disciplinary discussion and criticism within the Institute, I think that this may well remain so. There is still though a certain priority in the Institute's work for problems of the economy rather than of society as such, and the work even of the social psychologists and sociologists is slanted towards problems of economic growth. I have written the rest of this paper round an economic framework, for one thing because I am myself an economist, but also because the development of the economy remains the Institute's central concern. I hope this will not be misunderstood. Whoever talks in Ireland today about priority for developing the economy is suspect of being a running dog of the Dublin Establishment with growth for his God and a fiendish delight in driving Juggernaut wheels over culture, participation, social welfare, and of course, the decline of the West. This is not a portrait in which any decent economist can recognise himself. Economic thinking is concerned as much with the worthwhile use of funds as with their generation, and our ever-swelling travel budget bears witness that the emissaries of the ESRI can now be found anywhere from Kerry via Cavan to Donegal. But it remains true that in the present stage of Ireland's development the generation of wealth (including the psychological and sociological problems of achieving this) and its economic use are of central importance, and that the economic approach therefore has a certain primacy.

A difficulty about any classification is that fields of work overlap and particular projects may turn up under any of a number of headings. In that sense any classification is bound to look artificial. I can only apologise if some of the divisions, that I shall be making, look rough and ready.

## 1. THE GENERAL PLANNING OF THE ECONOMY

The Institute is carrying or supporting work in this area on —

- short-term forecasting (centred round the Institute's Quarterly Commentary) (Baker)
- improved models of the Irish economy (Geary and Khan)
- input-output in the agricultural sector (O'Connor)
- factors in productivity growth in the manufacturing sector (Kennedy)
- the relation between short-term demand management and long-term objectives, with reference in the first place to that between demand management and the balance of payments (Kennedy)
- the size-structure of Irish industry (Kennedy)
- the future use of computers in the public and private sector (Foster)

This follows on from eight previous reports on the general and internal planning of the Irish economy, and five on Ireland's international relationships in particular. It looks to me as if there are three further main areas at which we ought to be looking

(a) *The year 2,000*

I put first what is really a blanket idea, arching over a number of projects, about lengthening the perspective of economic and social planning in Ireland. One of the criticisms commonly made of Irish planning is that it is too exclusively focussed on short and medium term objectives and what is immediately practicable. There are of course very good reasons why most practical planning should have a focus of this sort. Inevitably, however, the room for manoeuvre in short and even medium term planning is small. If one thinks ahead for twenty or thirty years the possibility of achieving what can clearly be called revolutionary change becomes much more realistic. I do not know whether we want to have ten million people in Ireland by the year 2000, or to ship the entire government to a Brazilia at Athlone, or to locate half a dozen new towns the size of Cork or Limerick up and down the West. The point is that if one thinks thirty years ahead a change on that scale is perfectly possible, and the decisions which we take now in the shorter run will either pave or block the way to it.

One cannot properly talk of forecasting for that distance ahead. The point is rather that choices are open and need to be clarified. We can make at least a rough guess, on the lines for example of the study of *The Year 2000* by Kahn and Wiener, at the resources that might be available a generation hence in terms of income per head and of potential population growth. We can ascertain here and now the values and attitudes of people who may be in leading positions at that time. It is a reasonable guess that the man or woman who will be Taoiseach in 1990 or 2000 is already a young adult active in political or student or labour movements, and one could form some idea from past experience about how far objectives formulated at this time of life are likely to carry forward into the days when today's younger people reach power. On this sort of foundation it ought to be possible to set up a number of alternative programmes which have a real chance of being pursued. The economic, psychological and sociological implications of these – for example the implications for demography and the family – can then be worked out. What would be required for the achievement of the various possible programmes, and how far are these requirements consistent with one another and with the general level of resources to be expected? I do not suggest that any very precise results will be achieved in this way. Given, however, that in the long run even revolutionary change may be practicable without revolutionary upheaval, the country can be put in a position to choose more realistically between the wide range of garden paths up which the longer term implications of current short term decisions may eventually lead it. I will not try to elaborate further on this now, but you will notice as I go along that in thinking about other possible fields of work I have kept this question of giving a much longer perspective to planning in mind.

(b) *Planning and business development*

Having said that we ought to lengthen our perspective on economic planning, I hasten to add that the main weight of economic and social research still needs to be directed to problems a shorter and more manageable distance ahead. The questions which it is useful to answer are those which will need practical decisions five or at most ten years in the future, and it is only by tackling these more manageable issues that a solid foundation for longer range thinking can be laid. At the risk of trespassing on the ground of the new research unit of the Industrial Development Authority, I suggest that one of the areas of this medium term planning which most needs explanation is the relation between national and business planning. A process of mutual education on this goes on in the contacts between government departments and business leaders. One outcome of this was the NIEC publication *Planning Your Business*, prepared by the Irish Management Institute and the Irish National Productivity Committee. A year before that Geary published his *Do-It-Yourself Economics of the Firm*, showing how firms could link their accounting systems to the official statistical returns which they are required to make. In the light for example of the findings about businessmen's price behaviour and profit targets reported in a recent paper by Black, Simpson and Slattery I think that we could usefully probe deeper. What information enters business of different types through what channels? How is it processed, and in the light of what criteria and motivations are decisions taken on it? How far are Government planning officials aware of the answers to these questions and building their approaches to business on them? A number of studies bordering on this are already being made, for example on the role of agricultural advisers in relation to farmers by the Agricultural Institute and the Faculty of Agriculture at U C D, or on the motivation of small businessmen by the Irish Management Institute and ESRI. We have still to tackle directly the central question of what I have heard called the "interface" between national and business planning.

At quite a different level, is there a gap between macro-economic planning on the one hand, and on the other the planning of individual projects such as is undertaken by the Industrial Development Authority? At the stage where the IDA is actually considering an individual project a decision on that project must of course be taken quickly. The time for elaborate analysis and consultations is limited. For a correct judgment of particular projects or development incentives it is necessary to have developed in advance, at more leisure, a strategic framework of economic analysis – backed by the collection of necessary data – by which to judge the probable wider impact of each project or incentive under such heads as

- (i) Prices, incomes and productivity, taking account of the sort of questions raised in a recent ESRI paper by Geary and Pratschke or earlier by Cowling
- (ii) The balance of payments
- (iii) Repercussions on the rest of the economy in an input-output sense,

or by way of further spin-offs of new enterprise or of infra-structural requirements

At ESRI Kennedy is examining demand management as it affects balance of payments problems. Is there a case for a further project directed to providing the strategic link between the Department of Finance's macro-planning and individual project decisions by the IDA or others?

(c) *International*

A number of studies are already being made on Ireland's international economic relations, including Kennedy's work on the balance of payments and various studies on the cattle trade. I shall come back in a moment to one major remaining need, a thorough study of the Anglo-Irish labour market. Apart from this it looks as if two areas might be particularly worth investigating.

The first is what one might call off-shore-islandmanship. This again is a question of laying the foundations for a strategy at a level intermediate between general demand management and the handling of particular projects. The country is committed to living not behind its own ghetto walls but as a region within a large free economic space, at first that of the British Isles and in due course that of all Europe. Much work is of course already being done on ways and means of maximising Ireland's benefit from association with Britain through such things as industrial development and tourist and export promotion. I still wonder whether there is not a case for seeing what more can be learned from the experience of other regions which have been successful in growing and developing within a large economic space of which they formed only a small part, and for looking over the whole pattern of relationships between Ireland and (first and foremost) Britain in the light of this. An example of the sort of experience of which I am thinking would be that of the Greater Boston region within the economic space of the United States. My attention was drawn to this through taking a look last year at the "Route 128" phenomenon around Boston, that is the success of the Greater Boston region in spinning off from within itself or attracting from elsewhere small high technology enterprises, exploiting the U.S. market in general and the U.S. Government market in particular. Greater Boston happens to have exactly the population of the Republic. How far can its experience be repeated in the relation between Ireland and Britain or Continental Europe? One can think of a number of related issues: some closer to business planning and others to national economic planning. A particularly tricky example of the latter which has recently reared its head is the question whether and in what circumstances devaluation can help a country in Ireland's position, or should one say rather an incomes policy, followed perhaps by revaluation? But I do not want to stand on any particular example. The main question is: is it not time to review in the light of international experience, and at more leisure than would normally be possible for the development and planning agencies themselves, the various systems by which our businesses and development agencies try to get the maximum benefit from our association with the British economic space and to consider what gaps

may remain and how they might be filled?

The other international issue which deserves a deeper look is Ireland's international aid programme. In the last Budget year, official aid added up to a little over a million pounds. The estimate of unofficial aid through the Churches and voluntary organisations published by the Irish Students' Development Movement in their "Bettystown Programme" totals between £3,500,000 and £4m. These are not high figures. The target now commonly talked about of 1% of GNP in official aid and a further 1% in voluntary aid would give a grand total of more like £20m to £25m. What are the conditions under which figures like these could be achieved and maintained? There are also questions about the direction of aid and the pay-off from it. Are we, for example, putting too much into classic forms of aid such as teaching, medicine, or even famine relief, might we do more to make available to developing countries the experience now accumulated in the planning departments and the various development agencies in Ireland? What would be the implications of following out the suggestion originally made in *Investment in Education*, and since taken up by Kennedy and in the Bettystown programme, of concentrating Ireland's aid effort into a many-sided and intensive relationship with one or two countries? What further developments in aid might be desirable in the interests not only of recipients but of this country? Israel, for example, appears to have made substantial political and economic gains from making its development experience available to other countries. Could there be an economic pay-off to Ireland, over and above the fulfilment of an international duty, from stronger encouragement to highly-qualified people in the Irish public services, professions and management to take spells of duty overseas? What would be the repercussions of this on export prospects and on the market for high-grade skills in and based on Ireland, and what would be the balance between possible gains in these directions and any immediate costs which a programme of this sort might impose on the balance of payments?

## 2 THE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION (1) CAPITAL

ESRI has published in the past Nevin's studies on *The Ownership of Personal Property in Ireland* and *The Capital Stock of Irish Industry*. It has now in progress studies by Geary and Jefferson on the measurement of firms' fixed capital stock and by Baker on the availability of capital for Irish industry. O'Donoghue (Trinity) has a study on the relation between investment and growth in output and capacity by sector and sub-sector and Drudy (U C G) one on the wealth of farmers in County Mayo. I hope that one day we may see a fuller analysis from one or other official source of the data of the Revenue Commissioners on investment and profit in Irish industry. Two other areas look particularly worth investigating

### (a) *The return on investment in agriculture and services*

Alternatively this might be called a study of relative marginal returns to capital in different sectors of the Irish economy. Do we know as much as we should for planning purposes about the return on investment in different

sectors, net of subsidies and tax differences? I am not sure how far we can get on this with services, where there is an obvious difficulty in obtaining a measure of real output. On the side of agriculture this could be a classic case for co-operation between ESRI and the Agricultural Institute.

(b) *Potential sources of capital in Ireland*

Starting from a map of the existing sources of capital in and for Ireland, this study might draw on the experience of other reasonably comparable countries (on the lines of a recent study by Kaim-Caudle for the Department of Finance on differing patterns of social welfare expenditure) in accelerating the intake from existing sources of savings and calling up new ones, particularly on the side of the smaller saver. There is also the question of activating capital in the sense of diverting it from passive into productive investment. What could we learn on this from the experience whether of a relatively small country such as Holland or of larger countries such as Germany, France, or the United States, each of which has developed special approaches of its own? In Ireland's case a study of internal sources of capital must of course be linked to an examination of the two-way flow of foreign investment, which in any case deserves to be studied in its own right.

### 3. FACTORS OF PRODUCTION (2) GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

Regional planning, especially physical planning, is the field of An Foras Forbartha, but in so far as it touches the fields of the social sciences – economics, sociology, human ecology, and even in some cases psychology – ESRI may also be able to contribute something, and has in fact done so in several fields. Work published or in hand in ESRI has included Attwood, Geary and Ross on county incomes, Walker on local government finance, Baker on regional employment patterns within Ireland, and Geary and Hughes on Ireland as one employment region among others in the labour market of the British Isles, Reynolds and Blackwell on road transport problems and prospects, and Ross on regional planning in general and agricultural planning in particular. I see currently four main areas to which ESRI might contribute further. The general problem underlying all four is that of human ecology, the economics, sociology and psychology of different patterns of settlement and of communication between them.

(a) *The economics of scale in regional and local planning*

The debate over concentrated versus dispersed growth is nothing new. I wonder, however, whether it is not sometimes carried on in a too short-term perspective. There is a link here with the project on *The Year 2000*. Suppose that we look forward over a time long enough to let really major changes in size and distribution of the population and industries be envisaged. What sort of patterns of size and distribution could be envisaged twenty or thirty years hence? Which of them would seem most economic from the private and social point of view once they were set up and operating? What costs would each entail to set it up? I would not

like to anticipate the answers, but it may well be that they would be different from those which will emerge over the same period from a succession of more limited choices based on short term considerations alone

(b) *Effective local participation – the structure and functioning of local communities*

There has been public and press discussion recently of alleged failure on the part of Dublin planners to keep fully in touch with attitudes and needs in the more outlying parts of the country. My own work on the Committee on Industrial Relations in the ESB has brought home to me how remote Dublin can look from even a couple of hours' drive away. Ross has suggested in *Two-level planning* a method by which local planners could be wired into a central planning agency and a two-way exchange of facts and plans could be facilitated. This is the kind of suggestion which might well be taken into account in Foster's study on the future use of computers in Ireland.

There is another whole range of questions for sociologists and political scientists on how best to improve communications and to make local as well as national opinion fully effective in decisions. One question, for example, which sticks in my mind from the ESB experience is "Who from headquarters visits where, how often, for what?" It would be useful to begin simply by establishing more precisely what the present structure and functioning of natural local and regional trade and service communities and labour markets is, and where the power within them resides. To quote a note by my colleague Dr Hannan

"The geographical or spatial aspects of community structure have not been given sufficient attention, I suspect, in school consolidations nor in the discussion about the establishment of development centres in many areas, for instance, schools have been consolidated and pupils are being transported with no consideration for pre-existing natural community boundaries. Many difficulties and squabbles have arisen as a result. If the designated hierarchical organisations of the new primary, secondary, and tertiary centres proceeds in the same way – as if there were no pre-existing natural wholesaling and retailing service areas and locally defined labour markets – they also are likely to run into trouble"

As Dr Hannan also adds, differences within communities in who holds power and how community decisions are made are likely to be as important as the differences in values and attitudes which are the special business of the psychologist in explaining differences in economic development.

(c) *Internal and external migration the Anglo-Irish labour market*

A central question for economic and especially regional planning is not merely whether people will move but who will move in response to which incentives, and who is likely to be attracted to centres of what sort. There is now a growing problem of centres apparently suffering from under-employment and from which there has been emigration, yet where it is



difficult or even impossible to staff new plants ESRI and other organisations have made or have in hand a number of studies which throw light on this, by Hannan on migration by young people from Cavan by Kelly (U C D) on patterns of migration and commuting by young people in an Irish town by Kavanagh (U C D) on mobility and re-settlement by Forrest on emigration among managers by Jackson on the satisfaction of Skibbereen people with their town and district by Van Beinum on the attitudes of Shannon workers to their new industrial environment by Lucey on the adjustment in local living and family patterns which followed the establishment of two factories in the west of Ireland and of course there are the reports of the Emigration Commission and Jackson's study of *The Irish in Britain* The manpower surveys by Conor Ward in Drogheda and O'Neill in Galway and Waterford are also relevant So, from quite different angles, are Raven's work at ESRI on the values and attitudes which may underlie migration decisions – we have a hen and egg argument in the Institute over which comes first in determining these decisions, values and attitudes or the economic and social structure – and Eileen Kane's study of the transition from a traditional peasant society in Donegal

What we need now is to draw all this together and round it out so as to give an up-to-date understanding of the way in which the Anglo-Irish labour market as a whole works, both within Ireland and with reference to movement across the sea In what respect do migrants to Britain differ from those who do not migrate? Why and by what stages do some move to Britain while others move to centres within Ireland? On what conditions do migrants move back, and what are the personal characteristics, qualifications and social ties of the migrants who will return to particular occupational and community settings? What are the processes of growing roots in Britain? How do they differ from one group of migrants to another and how long do they take? How effective have different measures of guidance and training for migrants within and out of the country been, and what can we learn on this from experience in other countries, notably in the European Community? This general area is one on which I hope that ESRI will be able to make a start early this year

(d) *Transport*

I venture rather gingerly into the field of transport, for most of the possible projects which I have heard suggested seem to me more properly in the field of An Foras Forbartha, the Department of Transport, Bord Failte, or the individual transport undertakings, or are ancillary to other projects such as *The Year 2000* It has for instance been suggested to us that we might bring together the major transport undertakings to develop between them a general model from which to predict developments in Ireland's internal and external transport, whether by road, rail, water or air The idea seems to me worth exploring but, in line with a recent paper by Geary, I wonder whether this is not a case where naive forecasting will get results at least as good as an elaborate model Certainly, again, a careful study is needed of the cost and benefits of loosening or abolishing the present restrictions on competition in both goods and passenger transport,

particularly over longer distances. But to see what if anything remains to be done on this we shall have to wait for the outcome of the present official enquiry in this area by the Department of Transport and Power.

My favourite transport project arises out of plans with which I was associated some time ago for a study of the full integration of transport in an English rural area, linking together goods and passenger services, (local carriers as well as national concerns), postal and school services, and casual private services such as hire coaches and taxi services. The plan would have been carried out partly by administrative action (for example the integration of postal with local goods and passenger services) and partly by voluntary action. It could entail the provision of special vehicles and substantial modification of licensing regulations. The prospects of obtaining better service at a given level of subsidy or of paying less subsidy for a given level of service as a result of integration on these lines seemed good. There could be a case for making a similar study for one or two selected areas in Ireland.

#### 4 THE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION (3) HUMAN RESOURCES

This is an enormous area in which a great deal of work has already been done in Ireland. For convenience I have divided it into three not always clearly separate areas.

##### *A Demography, the family, and work-force participation*

Following on earlier work by Geary, McCarthy and Leser, ESRI recently published a study by Walsh on general trends in Irish demography and work-force participation. It has also in hand work by O'Connor which should incidentally make it easier to measure the extent of part-time participation in the non-agricultural work force, and my own study on women in higher managerial and professional work in Britain. It looks to me as if the next priority should be for two large and closely related areas of study.

##### *(1) Married women in the work force - alternative family patterns*

The proportion of married women working in Ireland is traditionally low. There are several reasons for this, including unemployment and emigration among men and traditional attitudes to a married women's role. One reason, however, is that the demographic pattern traditional in Ireland, with relatively late marriage and high fertility within marriage, is unfavourable to the pattern of breaking and resuming a working career now becoming normal in Britain and most industrial countries. The pressure from employers to recruit married women is now increasing, among other things because the age of marriage is falling and the frequency of marriage increasing, so cutting into the supply of single women available for work. The traditional pattern of fertility within marriage has not yet changed substantially, but Walsh and FitzGerald have suggested that the threshold of a change may have been reached. There is a complex of questions to investigate here. What in fact are likely to be the opportunities of employ-

ment for women in general and married women in particular in the coming years? What implications might they have for traditional patterns of marriage and fertility? Conversely, what implications might changes in these traditional patterns have for women's employment? What might be the implications of all these changes for internal relationships within the family? What might be the social and psychological as well as economic gains and losses from these changes, having regard to the experience of countries such as Britain which have already largely adopted the pattern which may now be on the way in Ireland?

## (2) *The Irish Family*

The question of married women's work and its possible effects on the family arises out of the practical needs of industry. We also, however, need a more general and straightforward study of the family in Ireland as a strategic factor in the whole range of social and economic problems in the light of the many changes in Irish society in recent years and to be expected in future. I again quote on this my colleague Dr Hannan

"We have very limited knowledge of the structure and functions of the Irish family or of variations in it. Arensberg's study is thirty years out of date. Humphries' 1950 study is very limited methodologically and is also out of date. Kane and Gallagher will provide some such information but only for traditional farm areas. Even projections such as Walsh's as to actual or likely changes in fertility patterns or in occupational or educational patterns suffer from this lack of knowledge about Irish families. Some of the major economic and social problems in Irish farming stem from the inability of the family to cope with property transfers from father to son. Similar types of family malfunctioning and generational conflict occur in urban areas, especially among the poor. A project dealing with family structure, even though not directly concerned with providing answers to practical questions, would provide very valuable information on many social problems from farm inheritance problems to poverty cycles, educational problems, alcoholism, and delinquency. As regards demography generally, it would provide the kind of background information that appears necessary for any predictions."

### B *Motivation and social structure—general*

In this area there is a whole series of current and recent studies. Hannan, Kane and Raven have been studying the values and attitudes of rural people. The characteristics and aspirations of young people in towns have been looked at by O'Donoghue, Cullen, O'Doherty, Whitney (U C D) and Kelly (U C D), O'Sullivan (U C D), Rosegrave (U C D), and Lynn and Hart from ESRI. Values and attitudes among working groups have been studied by O'Doherty (U C D), O'Donoghue (T C D), O'Briain (ESRI), Behrend (Edinburgh University with ESRI), O hEideain (U C G), and Van Beinum (Tavistock). Lynn (ESRI) and Barron and Egan (University of California and I M I) have studied personality

patterns associated with business leadership Hutchinson has been studying social structure and mobility as they affect economic and social growth On the side of education, over and above the official reports on *Investment in Education* and *Higher Education* and projects in what might be called the classic areas of education such as that by Kelly (U C D) on national teachers' understanding of their own role, Raven and Egan have been working on a curriculum for developing enterpreneurial attitudes among both urban and rural businessmen and Hannan has been associated with a curriculum development project for agricultural advisers in the Faculty of Agriculture at U C D The Agricultural Institute is making a full-scale study of the agricultural adviser's role, and Roche (U C C) has a study of effective communication in Irish agriculture Conor Ward (U C D) has made a broad study of people's reaction to a new urban environment in one of the newly developed areas of Dublin Some of the new projects suggested earlier would of course also be relevant here, for example the work suggested on the family, on migration, and on community structures and processes

As regards further work, one of the central points of the Friis report still remains valid There are many things which we would still wish to learn about the economy of Ireland, but we can at least draw a reasonably up to date map of it and identify and quantify many of the strategic factors in it This is much less true in the fields of sociology, social psychology and anthropology, because of their relatively recent arrival on the Irish scene Whereas economists, taking their basic map for granted, can proceed to pick out on it areas on which more light needs to be cast in the light of prospective practical needs, the social scientists (if I may give them that label for short, with apologies to the economists) have much more of their groundwork still to do I have noticed in discussions in the Institute that they tend to respond less freely than the economists to suggestions about research directly into practical problems and practitioners' felt needs, and to have as their general concern (whatever particular project any of them may be engaged in) the building up of a basic text on values, attitudes, and social structure in Ireland Many of their findings will certainly have an immediate application, but their immediate task is as Friis suggested to build the infrastructure on which more specifically applied projects must rest If this is the task of the social scientists, three or four headings automatically write themselves The basic work under each of them looks like taking a number of years to complete

#### (1) *Values and attitudes in Ireland*

I leave it to the professionals to finish the argument how far values and attitudes are an independent variable or on the other hand are conditioned by the economic and social structure Certainly they are at least an intervening variable and need to be studied accordingly Such studies can have considerable immediate value, particularly as regards what might be called the conditions of consensus, that is the extent to which in areas of key importance for national economic and social planning there exists a consensus on the objectives to be pursued and the methods by which they can

be achieved. How much agreement is there about the desirable pace and direction of economic change? What are the attitudes of national leaders and the general working population to income differentials and income increases – a key question for incomes policy? This is one question on which ESRI is working already. How do secondary or vocational teachers or agricultural advisers understand their role from the point of view both of what they have to convey and how they convey it? Is there a consensus between teachers, parents, and students themselves on the purposes of education? A recent Government Social Survey study in Britain has established that in that country consensus between these three is imperfect and the teachers are the odd men out. On what conditions, given the attitudes of all concerned, would it be possible to develop a policy for steering students into those branches of higher education which are preferred from the point of view of the national interest? I hope that the Institute may shortly begin to work on some of these educational issues. Stepping aside for a moment from the values and attitudes aspect, it would be interesting to establish not only what people have thought about the changes in the Irish educational system that have followed from the publication of *Investment in Education* but what in quantitative terms the change has amounted to.

Or again, there are the questions I have already touched on about the conditions for cohesion and participation in local communities and the motivation of potential Irish business leaders actually to innovate businesses. Or, quite simply, to put the \$64,000 question last, in what sort of society do people in Ireland wish to live and in what respects will this differ from the society they have now got? It could be particularly important for the future (and again I am thinking of *The year 2000*) to answer this question in terms of differences between the values and attitudes of younger and older age groups in Ireland. What permanent differences (as apart from those which will mellow away with age) exist between the values and attitudes of men and women now in their twenties and those of forty or fifty?

All these are practical aspects of the general map of values and attitudes in Ireland which needs to be built up. My colleagues in that field remind me, however, that there is a prior question. Before we can get the best results in answering any of these questions, we have to build up the attitude scales, and generally the methodology appropriate to this type of enquiry in Irish conditions.

#### (ii) *The social structure of Ireland*

I quote again on this a note by Dr Hannan on the case for extending much further the work on social structure and social mobility in Ireland carried on in the last year in ESRI by Professor Hutchinson

“A study of prestige patterns and of the general process of status climbing or status groupings would not alone be of interest itself but would also throw light on many side issues. Over the past decades there has been a great increase in white-collar employment, especially in Dublin. Many of our middle-class patterns of behaviour appear to

be based on English models. At the same time a nationalistic ideology and some contending Irish and Catholic values tend to conflict with these patterns. In a sense, the new middle class appear to feel somewhat guilty and ambivalent about some of these patterns of behaviour. These conflicts are particularly noticeable in regard to the Irish language and some traditional norms. A study of this process of cultural change – the embourgeoisment of the new middle class from farms or older traditional middle class origins – would be of great value in itself and would also have implications for instance for the revival or demise of the Irish language, and, since it is directly relevant to productive and consumer behaviour, for industrial development generally.”

(iii) *Social institutions in Ireland*

I have said something already about the case for a new look at two key social institutions in Ireland, the family and the local or regional community. To them I would like to add the firm and the trade union, but I shall be coming back to that in a moment.

(iv) *The total culture*

The largest remaining gap in the social sciences in the Republic is that we do not yet have any regular teaching or research in anthropology, the branch of social science which knits together the threads of the rest by studying the complete system of relationships within a society or one of its units. There have of course been anthropological studies of Irish society, for example Arensberg's classic study of the Irish family or Eileen Kane's current series of studies on changing peasant communities in the West. These have, however, been done by visiting scholars, we have not been training our own. This winter ESRI has made a modest beginning by financing an Irish research student who is working with Eileen Kane's team. I hope that the time may not be too far off when either we or one of the other research centres in the country can begin to recruit anthropologists on to the regular research or teaching staff.

(c) *Industrial Relations and Management*

Here again an impressive amount of work has been going on. Problems of recruitment, selection, and training are touched on incidentally in some of the studies already mentioned, for example, in Conor Ward's on attitudes to a new urban development and in several of the studies mentioned on urban youth. Studies specifically in this field have been or are being made by Black and Simpson (Queens), Dempsey (U C C), and Donovan (U C C), by Huysmans (U C C) on the Verolme dockyard, and Bristow, Smith, Ahearne and Crean (I P A) on the Placement Service. Scafe (T C D) has been studying management-worker communications in Irish industry and Drechsler (T C D), Murray (T C D), Donovan (U C C) Murphy (T C D), and McLoughlin (U C D) various aspects of management and supervision over and above aspects covered in the recruitment,

selection and communication studies. The I M I has published its general report on *The Management of Irish Industry*. Wages patterns and job evaluation have been studied by Nevin, O'Herlihy, and Cowling (ESRI), Kennedy (U C C) and Walsh (I N P C.) In addition there are the studies mentioned under previous heads on incentives by O'Broin, O'Doherty and O'Donoghue and on attitudes to income differentials and increases by Behrend. Murphy has studied industrial health services in Ireland and O'Mahony and Sams the general pattern of trade union and industrial relations in respectively the South and the North.

It looks to me (though I may have a professional bias here) as if the next step chiefly needed is a close-up look at the way in which the machinery of industrial relations in Ireland works and at the concepts underlying it. There is a lot of background material in studies such as those by Nevin, O'Herlihy, Cowling and O'Mahony, and a fair amount of material on front line issues on the management side, for example on the selection and training of supervisors. O'Neill is studying productivity bargaining for the Human Sciences Committee. The biggest gap is in the realistic study of trade unions, with an accent at least as much on sociological and psychological aspects as on economics. I suggest three lines of investigation in particular

(i) *The manning of Irish trade unions*

I use "manning" rather than "staffing" because I am thinking here not only of full-time staff but of stewards and other unpaid officials. We need for Ireland studies like those by Clegg, Marsh, Flanders and McCarthy in Britain on the working of the detailed mechanisms of industrial relations and on who gets elected or recruited to what post, with what experience and training, whether acquired before or after election or appointment.

(ii) *Members' expectations of their unions*

What do members expect of their unions today? There is uncertainty on this among union leaders themselves. What is the right balance between bread and butter issues and more radical programmes of social and political reform? Among bread and butter issues, what priority does which category of members give to straight pay increases, deferred benefits such as sick pay or pensions, educational benefits such as day release for training, or to shorter hours, a shorter working week or longer holidays? We could also use studies such as have been made for Britain, the United States and Yugoslavia on members' participation in and attitude to union branches organised and acting in various ways.

(iii) *Ideas underlying the movement for participation and "industrial democracy"*

The concepts which might underlie demands going in this direction are clear enough, they can be set out in a neat schedule. The concepts which do in fact underlie them in Ireland are often confused both to observers and in the minds of those who hold them. Several of the bodies professionally concerned, including the Institute of Personnel Management, the Federated Union of Employers, and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions are now trying

to clarify them. It would be premature for any research institute to leap into this particular breach until the first run over the ground by the practitioners has been completed. I strongly suspect, though, that when this has been done its outcome will be not so much to provide answers as to define a series of questions which need a deeper investigation in the light both of Irish conditions and of international experience.

In a rather general way I hope that specialists in all branches of the social sciences – economists, sociologists, social psychologists, or specialists in management and industrial relations – will converge more than they have done hitherto on the firm as well as the trade union as an institution of Irish society. I have been told again and again in the last few months that Irish management and industrial relations are immature. In terms of the sheer lapse of time this statement is rather surprising, after all the railways and Guinness', and even the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union or the E S B have been around for quite some time. Nor do I think that relationships in some of these concerns or in say, Waterford Glass, could be called immature by any other standard. The real point is a more complex one. We have in Ireland the mixture normal in any developing country of new industries and old, of highly-experienced managers and trade unionists and new beginners. By virtue of Ireland's special circumstances – its size, its special relation with Britain, its general economic, political, and social history – the mix is peculiarly our own. One cannot simply translate into Irish the large body of findings on industrial sociology or psychology built up from experience in America, Britain, or France. Practitioners have a right to expect more from us social scientists than they have had so far in the way of a body of theory thought through in terms of Irish conditions and directly applicable to them.

##### **5 DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF INCOME THE EXPENDITURE AND USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS**

Work so far completed or under way in ESRI has focussed mainly on two areas, the distribution of personal income and expenditure (Leser and Pratschke, together with O'Connor's study on a methodology for a rural household budget enquiry), and the allocation of public funds for social services (Walker and Kaim-Caudle). There have been a number of relevant studies outside ESRI, including some already mentioned such as Conor Ward's study on urban redevelopment. There have been several studies on health services. Kelleghan (St Patrick's Training College) has studied deprivation and disadvantage in Ireland and O'Connell (I P A) Home Assistance Discussion in ESRI in 1968 roughed out the outlines of a programme on poverty in Ireland, of which several components have since been going ahead. One is Pratschke's study of the relation of family expenditure to household size and composition. Another is O'Connor's project to develop a sound basis for rural household budget enquiries. Kaim-Caudle is studying Irish social welfare provision in comparison to that in other countries of reasonably similar size and stage of development, together with two specific aspects of the social services, the cost and



benefit of expenditure on health services in Ireland and income maintenance and care for the physically disabled. At longer range, he hopes to illustrate the choices opened for social welfare expenditure by probable developments in the economy through the next generation.

One obvious gap has been mentioned already, a study of Ireland's expenditure, whether through official or private channels, on international aid, taking account of actual and potential benefits to Ireland as well as of the help which others can claim from us and the cost of providing it. I add three others.

(a) *A more comprehensive study of the impact and cost-benefit of expenditure on the social services, whether public or private*

The partial studies already being carried out could be supplemented with a number of others on the same level, dealing either with existing services or with those which might be established in future. Examples might be studies of the effects of children's allowances, of the possible effects of changing the age of retirement, or of extending social insurance to new groups, of the characteristics of the unemployed, or of methods for providing more accurate data for wage-related social security benefits. What are chiefly missing, however, are studies of a type which would bring the cost and benefits of all public and private social services into perspective by showing them in relation to one another as they make their impact on the consumer. We need a series of intensive surveys of small populations to obtain a comprehensive picture of who is in need, what the relative urgency of their needs is, and what is the relative effectiveness of the present ways of meeting them.

(b) *Alternatives to compulsory State provision of social benefits*

One country after another is today finding that the ideal is a system of social security which relies exclusively neither on compulsory Government benefits nor on voluntary private schemes but uses both together, along with intermediate variants such as compulsory non-government provision (for example, a requirement that employers shall provide sick pay at full normal wage or salary rates for so many weeks of sickness, or shall affiliate their employees to a pension scheme) or voluntary provision through the Government. The bare facts of what other countries have done are available in reports from the ILO, the European Community, and a number of other agencies. It remains to link these up with factual studies of what has been done in Ireland, especially by way of industrial fringe benefits and other non-government provisions, and to present the whole in a form which can make a better foundation than we have yet for public discussion in Ireland. I hope that ESRI may shortly be collaborating with the F U E to start work in this area as a contribution to the golden jubilee year of the ILO.

(c) *New possible priorities for public expenditure for example expenditure for leisure and amenities*

There are obvious reasons for giving priority to problems of poverty. We ought not, however, particularly in a country with the somewhat grey

visual tradition of Ireland, to forget amenities or even, in the fine mediaeval term, "magnificence" Ireland is still some way from the American prospect of a thirty or twenty-five hour week and average incomes of several thousand pounds a year. Even so, problems of leisure and amenities are beginning to press themselves, whether in the form of a demand for swimming pools, of resistance to the abolition of the Grand Canal, of pressure for tidy towns and against the present type of Dublin suburban development, of demands for more and different holidays or simply of a wish for more colour and quality in life generally. The lines of action and levels of expenditure which this might imply need to be investigated.

#### 6 STUDIES OF SPECIFIC SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY

ESRI has published studies by Booth on fuel and power in Ireland and by Geary on the woollen and worsted industry. A number of sector studies have also been made elsewhere, over and above those already mentioned, for example, by O hUiginn (U C G) on the grocery trade, O'Connor on the higher civil service, Hart on executive civil servants and Murphy on the medical profession. This can always be a useful approach, but I would prefer to think of it here as one which might be used in exploring some of the fields I have talked about earlier rather than as a separate line of study in its own right. The construction industry, for example, could be a particularly favourable area in which to study problems of the interface between national, economic, and business planning, though it is also obviously one where there could be a danger of duplicating the work of An Foras Forbartha. For almost any further work on national income and investment, we need more exact ideas on the quantity of output in the service sector. The importance of this for national planning was underlined in a recent ESRI paper by Geary and Pratschke.

#### 7 CONCLUSION

I am very conscious that this paper represents only a partial view. It is a view from inside ESRI, and in particular is likely to have taken too little account of new thinking going on both in other research centres, such as An Foras Forbartha, I M I, I N P C, the Agricultural Institute, the Institute of Public Administration, or the universities, and also among practitioners in business, professions, and the public service. A whole new area of thinking is now likely to be opened up by the emergence into active life of the Medico-Social Board. I have also been conscious in writing not only of the different priority which might have been given to different topics but of the tension between alternative approaches. One can start a paper of this kind from practical needs already felt or likely to be felt within a more or less distant time horizon. I personally prefer to give priority to this sort of approach, since in an institute for applied research a primary consideration must be delivering research results in a form and to an address such that they will in fact be applied. It is equally legitimate, however, to start from the personal interests of the available research staff and to ask in what sort of areas they are most likely to be interested and to do their best work. Alternatively again, one can start from the current state

of particular disciplines and the problems which they throw up and look for areas of study which are strategic in the sense, not of directly providing answers for current problems, but of providing tools and resources for answering a whole range of questions in future. In the end one has to play the choice of approaches by ear, area by area, and that is what I have done.

The final question, however, is about priorities. Any of the fields of work which I have suggested would be worth following up. So, very possibly would others which I have left aside. Any of them would also be possible in the sense that they could be followed up in ESRI with the resources available. But not all can be followed up together. What are the priorities to be? That is where I would particularly welcome guidance.

#### REFERENCES

ESRI has available on request

1 Its own list of publications

2 A half-yearly *Register of Research Projects in Progress in Ireland*. This is fairly complete in the general economic and social field, but less so in the specialised fields of other Institutes such as the Agricultural Institute, An Foras Forbartha, or the Irish Management Institute.

3 A quarterly summary, not for publication, of work in progress in ESRI itself.

Among other sources, the Irish National Productivity Committee has prepared a *Summary of Research Projects*.

This paper has been based primarily on these sources. The issues of the Register of Research used are those for March and September 1968, the issues of the ESRI summary of work in progress used are for May, September and December, 1968.

Items published or shortly to be published not referred to in these sources, and for which the source is not given in the text include

##### On Ireland

*Report of the Emigration Commission, 1948-54*

*Investment in Education*, Report of the survey team appointed by Dept of Ed Oct 1962

*Higher Education*, Report of the Commission 1960-67

C Arensberg, *The Irish Countryman*, Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass 1959

H Friis, *Development of Social Research in Ireland*, I P A, 1965

A J Humphreys, *New Dubliners*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966

J A Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963

D Lucey, *Impact of Industrialisation on Two Rural Communities in Western Ireland*, to be published by Geoffrey Chapman, 1969

##### Other

Government Social Survey (H M S O, London), R Morton-Williams and others, *Young School Leavers 1968*

Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations (H M S O, London), series of Research Papers by McCarthy, Fox, and others, original sources in themselves, and with a number of further references. Additional references in the same field can be found in M P Fogarty, *The Rules of Work*, Geoffrey Chapman, 1964, and *Company and Corporation—One Law?*, Geoffrey Chapman, 1965 (bibliography on pp 201-205)

H Kahn and A J Wiener, *The Year 2,000*, Collier-Macmillan, 1968

#### DISCUSSION

*Professor Kavanagh* Professor Fogarty has certainly given us all plenty of food for thought. I can only touch on a few points.

I think he is right in asking us to consider the year 2000, provided we do not try to set goals too explicitly. But the kind of society we are likely to

have then – highly computerised, more productive with greater leisure – is or should be, bound to affect our attitudes towards the infra structure we are at present building

Professor Fogarty has given a very interesting account of research finished or in progress and he has suggested some areas which need fuller investigation. Taking the latter point first, with some of my own predilections in mind, I would like to see depth studies on the manning of Irish Trade Unions and the members' expectations re the unions, (might I also make a plea that such studies, even if critical, be available to the general public?) We also need intensive studies of actual social needs – much of our knowledge in these areas is imprecise and unscientific

We are asked in the paper to suggest priorities. I think we could do with some horizontal studies of our social institutions. By this I mean that we need to look at studies already completed, so as to extract certain key factors which seem to emerge from related studies. I would like to see studies of the origins of plans – e.g. how is pressure for certain types of planning generated – and also what happens to the plans in practice. Industrial Relations is another obvious area of priority. Problems of economic growth, including the role of development centres, will always have a key place, and as I have already indicated, studies in depth are needed in the Social Welfare field.

Professor Fogarty has indeed made us all ask ourselves some crucial questions. He deserves our best thanks and that of the community for his thought provoking paper.

*Dr G. Dean* First of all I would like to congratulate Professor Fogarty on an outstanding and concise discussion of the thoughts of the Institute of Economic and Social Research about the long range programme of the Institute and also for the excellent documentation of his report. It certainly whets the appetite to hear more.

The visit to Ireland in 1965 of Henning Friis from Copenhagen, as an advisor from the United Nations, and his well thought out advice, has been responsible not only for the way the Economic and Social Research Institute was formed and developed but also his support of proposals about the establishment of the Medico-Social Research Board, under the chairmanship of Professor Paddy Lynch, were implemented. I took up my post of Director of the Medico-Social Research Board three months ago.

As director of the Medico-Social Research Board I have been impressed with the need to obtain accurate basic information before any specialised medico-social research can be carried out. The five projects that the Medico-Social Research Board hope to have under way very shortly are

1. A full-time doctor appointed to improve certification of deaths. At the moment our vital statistics are most unsatisfactory. Death certificates are often very inaccurate and a proportion, for instance 12% of deaths in County Leitrim, are not medically certified but only registered. An unknown number are neither certified nor registered. This is not only unsatisfactory for the study of the causes of death in this country, but it also gives a bad impression abroad.

- 2 We would like to see a hospital in-patient summary sheet completed for every patient discharged from hospital which will give basic information about these patients. The summary sheets will be sent to the Medico-Social Research Board and, with the aid of our staff and a computer, detailed information will be tabulated and returned to the hospitals and doctors concerned. This information can be used for research and administration on a national scale.
- 3 We propose a study into the question why the mental hospitals of the Republic of Ireland have twice as many in-patients per 1,000 as those in England and Scotland or, for that matter, of Northern Ireland. It is planned that Dr Dermot Walsh will be working for my Board on this study.
- 4 The Board would very much like to carry out a proposed study on the morbidity and mortality from coronary thrombosis in a population of about 200,000, which has been recommended to the Minister of Health by W H O. Coronary thrombosis is responsible for one-third of all male deaths today and we need accurate information about the incidence, morbidity and mortality from this most important disease so that more lives can be saved and the incidence of the disease reduced.
- 5 The problem of alcoholism. The Irishman overseas and in Ireland has a reputation of being often a heavy drinker and yet we know almost nothing about the drinking pattern and attitudes towards drink of the urban and rural communities of Ireland. I have proposed that we join with the Irish National Council for Alcoholism and with a cultural anthropological study that is being undertaken, under the supervision of Dr Eileen Kane, in the West of Ireland so that we can obtain this information.

In many ways the work of the Institute and the Medico-Social Research Board interlock and it is perhaps a good omen that Michael and I start with a similar background, we both went to the same school, Ampleforth College. Michael and the Secretary of the Institute, Mrs Dempsey, gave me most practical help in the establishment of my office, not to mention the personal friendliness they have shown to myself and my wife.

I am greatly honoured to be asked to reply to Professor Michael Fogarty's account of the long range programme of the Economic and Social Research Institute.

*Dr J Raven* (written contribution) It seems to me that the programme of research outlined in the paper fails to mention what is, perhaps, the most important social research for Ireland. This would be a programme of market research abroad and product development at home. The IDA proposes to do this, but, as far as I can make out, their programme is to be on very conservative lines. My own view is that some really bold original thinking followed by careful market research abroad is urgently required for the economic development of Ireland. I do not think that this should really be a function of the ESRI, but if no-one else is to do it then the ESRI should

The sort of thing I have in mind is to take some, at first sight, fairly crazy ideas and then find out how feasible they are and how they could be developed into more sensible suggestions. One example already mentioned, and at first sight absurd, is the suggestion that butter and turf should be combined to produce a better fuel. Even if the proposition is not feasible as it stands I am sure that the principle is right: the Dutch now grow wheat for straw rather than grain because the former, in the form of straw-board, is a highly profitable product. The Department of Agriculture, outlining the place of agriculture in the Second Programme of Economic Expansion, mentioned that the sale of wool brought in more per annum than the total sales of lamb on the hoof or in carcass form, they failed to draw the conclusion that the future of agriculture lies in the development of products leading to textiles or building materials rather than food. In the field of food production itself I think that the development of expertise in the field of food technology (psycho-physiology, nutrition, and chemistry) would place Ireland in a very strong position both in the short and in the long run – in the short run by increasing exports in the near future and in the long run by placing Ireland in a position to lead in the development of synthetic foods rather than being a laggard pushed along by economic constraints. Food marketing likewise seems open to development through the social sciences: at present people seem to regard cheese as something to be eaten in small quantities with biscuits or bread (cf. the stinginess of the cheese board in Ireland's hotels). Instead it could be regarded as something to eat on its own in fairly large quantities (six ounces at a time say). In other words its image could be changed.

In the field of social and economic development the pressing problems facing the world are no longer in the area of economic development for private consumption, but in the field of public consumption and social development. To diagnose the current political and student problems in the U.K. as a "demand for participation" is, in my opinion, to mistake a symptom for the cause. To develop *and then export* expertise on social organisation and town planning could perform a very real function, not only in the social development of Ireland but, by generating a money income, in its economic development as well. The ESRI itself might take on this function in conjunction with Bord Failte. If it were decentralised to an attractive area of the country (people attending conferences like to be able to go on visits to relax) and provided with conference facilities (good auditoria etc.) it might well be able to become an international conference centre able to carry out international social research of considerable export value (in the form of consultancy on such problems as regional planning, management, conflict resolution, crime, and political organisation).

In conclusion I would emphasise that the setting up of agencies to carry out market research and product development, and an International Social Science Research Centre, would have the advantage over Industrial Development that they would employ a much higher proportion of the professional and white collar workers of which modern society is so largely composed and thus provide for a relatively rapid rise in incomes.