

## SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

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Social science in Latin America is a relatively new phenomenon. Until very recently, it was perhaps possible to talk about social philosophy or social history, but scarcely about social science as such. However, as is well known, preoccupation with social problems is not new in Latin America, though for a long time the universities were not considered to be the most appropriate places for the discussion or the study of social problems.

The traditional Latin American university emphasized letters and law, classical and book learning. On the other hand, anybody who had anything to say about the "social question," about the political state of the country or about the characteristics of its population, was easily considered a "sociologist." Towards the end of the 19th century, "sociology," as associated with positivist philosophy, made strong headway in quite a few Latin American universities, notably in Brazil and in Mexico, where positivism turned into an almost official philosophy. However, empirical research in the social sciences was long in coming. To be sure, many empirical observations and descriptions are to be found in any number of books and articles written by Latin Americans during the present century. The same can be said for general interpretations within the light of contemporary social theories (for example, the pioneering analyses of Molina Enríquez in Mexico even before the Mexican Revolution, of José Carlos Mariátegui in Peru, and of Oliveira Vianna in

Brazil, during the 1920s—though the ideological position of these various thinkers differed greatly). However, these are isolated attempts, carried out by individual scholars working on their own, or expounding their ideas in the classroom. Systematic and institutional research in the social sciences developed only after the universities had come to recognize officially the importance of including these sciences in their curricula and sometimes not even then. In some countries, this became possible only after certain political and economic changes had taken place. In Argentina, for example, the university reform movement after the First World War gave Argentinian universities the social structure necessary for further development in a modern age, which included increased preoccupation with the scientific study of social reality. In Brazil, social science as such can be said to have developed only after the political revolution of 1930,<sup>1</sup> though long before, of course, scholars and writers were concerned with the gathering and interpretation of social facts in that country. In Mexico, the revolutionary movement of 1910–1917 and its aftermath opened the way for, and created the institutional conditions necessary to, social scientific research. In Colombia, the involuntary exile during the Second World War of a number of European scholars contributed greatly to the founding of anthropological research in that country, which, in turn, has left its mark upon the more recent development of sociological (particularly rural sociological) research. In Venezuela, perhaps more than in other Latin American countries, the fate of the social sciences has been intimately related to the political fortunes of the country, so that one author has ventured to state that, “The periods of dictatorship have not been and are not propitious for the cultivation of the social sciences. Dictators are not interested in the knowledge of social reality and much less so in having other people know it and divulge it.”<sup>2</sup> In Uruguay it would seem that the democratic political structure of the country would favor the development of the social sciences yet, paradoxically, the absence of a national population census since 1908 has severely limited demographic and sociological research. In most other Latin American countries, only during the years after the Second World War has there been any significant advance in the social sciences. This can be attributed to increasing contact with Europe and the United States (through visiting researchers and professors, local students attending foreign universities), to the social and economic activities of international organizations such as UNESCO, the United Nations, and the Pan American Union, and, of course, to

the drive towards economic development that Latin American countries are engaged in, which has created an increasing demand and use for social scientific research.

At many Latin American universities courses in sociology were instituted in the late 19th or at the beginning of the 20th century, generally as part of the study of law. Empirical research, however, was usually not included in the curricula. The formal establishment of teaching departments of social sciences or of social science research institutes took place no more than 25 years ago (in some countries), and less than 10 years ago in most other countries.

Let us review briefly the formal establishment of the teaching and research in social science in some selected Latin American countries: In Mexico, a forerunner to teaching and research was the Inter-American School of Ethnography and Archaeology, established in 1911, under the joint auspices of the Mexican Government and Columbia University (whose department of anthropology was at that time headed by Franz Boas). The years of Revolution, however, did not allow this first endeavor to survive. In 1938 the National School of Anthropology and History was founded; it has been producing field workers and researchers for a quarter of a century, many of whom have drifted unwittingly into the vacuum of sociological research, and some of whom have lately been connected with research in the social and cultural aspects of public health. In 1933 an Institute of Social Research was established at the National University (reorganized in 1938), which has to its credit an impressive list of publications but relatively little empirical research. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that a School of Political and Social Sciences (which trains sociologists, among other disciplines) was not established until 1951. Some Mexican economists—the National School of Economics at the National University was established in 1935—have included demographic problems in their research (for example, Loyo<sup>3</sup> and de la Peña<sup>4</sup>). Other academic research centers, which are still of minor importance, are very recent in Mexico, as, for example, the Institute of Anthropology at the University of Veracruz, founded in 1958, and the Institute of Population Studies at the University of Michoacán, established in 1962.

In Brazil, the pioneering effort was carried out by the School of Sociology and Politics, a private institution which has connections with the University of the State of São Paulo. Established in 1933, it is principally a teaching institution, and has had the benefit of a number of

foreign professors, who have left their mark upon several generations of students, including A. R. Radcliffe-Brown of Great Britain, Bastide of France, Pierson of the United States, and Baldus of Germany. Social research has been an important complementary activity of the school, particularly didactic research in connection with specific courses, and it publishes what for a long time was the only sociological journal in South America (*Sociologia*, founded in 1939). Its influence in Brazil has been great; a recent compilation lists more than 600 publications produced "under the influence" of the school (Trujillo Ferrari<sup>5</sup>). However, demography has played a minor role in all this research, and emphasis has been more upon traditional ethnological and social anthropological research (though the problems—principally cultural ones—of migration have, of course, loomed large, in view of the fact that Brazil is a country of immigrants). In 1958, to satisfy the increasing demand of institutionalized research, an Institute of Social Research was established as a co-ordinating agency of the school. Another important university center for social research in São Paulo is the Department of Philosophy of the University of São Paulo, where a Social Research and Documentation Center has functioned since 1938, and where an important Center of Industrial Sociology and the Sociology of Work was created in 1962. A Social Science Institute was created at the National University of Brazil in 1958 (in Rio de Janeiro); more recently, the Catholic University, also in Rio, has established a sociological and political research center at which some of the graduates of its own School of Sociology and Politics are working. Minor research centers are to be found in Pôrto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, Bahia, and Recife, and more recently at the new University of Brasilia.

The University of Chile's Institute of Sociology started its activities in 1952, and it has in that short time become one of the better and more serious research centers in Latin America. Its activities are strongly oriented towards demographic work, and it has had the good fortune of being able to count on the help of CELADE in its projects. Also in Chile, the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), created in 1958, carries out didactic research. The recently established Center of Sociological Studies (1961) of the Catholic University of Chile has gotten off to a good start, and includes the publication of a "Manual of Chilean Demographic Analysis," as one of its seven major projects. It is under the influence of professors trained at Louvain University, Belgium.

In Venezuela, social research (mainly anthropological) has been carried out by the School of Anthropology and Sociology, in conjunction with its teaching activities. An Institute of Economics, established in 1948, at the Central University in Caracas, has done some socio-economic research. In 1962, the University created a new Center for Development Studies, which includes, among its projects, research on the planning of housing, public health, and education in the country, in relation to economic development planning. There is also a new Department of Sociology at the University of Oriente, where some didactic research is being carried out.

In Colombia, most research at universities is complementary to teaching activities. Since 1959, the country has had an autonomous School of Sociology, where teaching and research are mainly in the field of rural sociology.

Peru's San Marcos University established a Department of Sociology in 1961, and has begun empirical social research with the help of international bodies.

In 1962, the five Central American Republics pooled resources and man power to establish the Central American University Institute of Social and Economic Research, which is in San José de Costa Rica, and in which at present six major research projects are under way, though none of them is specifically in demography.

In Uruguay, the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of the Republic was created in 1959, and it already has several research undertakings to its credit, though it has to surmount serious administrative difficulties at present.

In Cuba, after the recent revolution, scientific research has been given institutional support unheard of previously. Social research has been split mainly between economic and historical research institutes, all of them subordinated to a National Academy of Sciences.

Argentina's Institute of Sociology, at the University of Buenos Aires, though one of the older centers in Latin America, has only during the last 10 years carried out systematic empirical research. In that time, it has become one of the important centers in South America. Another social research institute functions at the University of Córdoba.

As can be seen from the above bird's-eye view, the creation and establishment of organized research bodies is very recent in most Latin American countries, and many nations lack them entirely. If we have emphasized departments and institutes of sociology, it is not because of our

preference for them, but because it is in these institutions, as well as in the very few departments and schools of anthropology, that any kind of systematic research in the social sciences has been and is being carried out. Demographic research has not played a prominent part, up to now, in these institutions. Most demographic research in Latin American countries has been carried out by non-university institutions, as, for example, Brazil's first-rate Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), which owes its excellence partially to Professor Mortara, or Mexico's Dirección General de Estadística. Sociological and demographic research connected with problems of public health is also very recent, and in some countries nonexistent. Perhaps the first contact between social sciences and public health has come through the anthropologists who have long been concerned with food habits, taboos, and other customs of rural and/or Indian communities. Mexico's School of Public Health, a government agency, though not connected with any university, has a training and research program in the social sciences as applied to public health. So does the Nutritional Institute of Central America and Panama (INCAP), supported by an international body.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH AT LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

Most of the recently established departments and institutes of social research in Latin American universities are no mere exercises in academic investigation, and they have explicitly rejected the ivory-tower approach. To the contrary, it is always stated or implied that they are concerned with the great social, economic, and political problems confronting their nations, and that their establishment is an answer to pressing needs for more profound and detailed knowledge and analysis of social reality. In other words, the social scientist of the new generation, as against the older "classical" or "encyclopedic" lawyer-sociologist or philosopher-sociologist who still survives in some places, conceives of himself as a technician in the service of his country's development, rather than as a man of science engaged solely in the pursuit of truth. It is not for me to judge whether this position is good or bad, or what effects it will have, in the long run, on the development of the social sciences as such. It must be stated, however, that this seems to be a general development in the social sciences in Latin America, and just about

the only position viable for social scientists at the present stage of Latin America's development.

The structure of social research has tended to reflect the prevailing conditions of political and social organization. Some of the problems encountered in university research centers are the following:

1. Individualism has played an important role. Some of the institutions suffer from what is known as "caudillismo" or "caciquismo." That is, they are the personal creations and creatures of some "high priest" in the sociological or anthropological field, and are managed as a personal fief. While this may, at some time, give the institution an undoubted boost—especially when the "boss" has good political connections—it generally, as an end-result, eventually closes the institution off against new currents in social thought and research methods, whereas the new generation of researchers has to find its way around it, towards greener pastures. This is particularly so in those countries where social research has a somewhat longer history.

A corollary to this individualism in social research and organization is the lack of continuity between one administration and the next. It is not unusual for research projects which have been worked upon at one time to be jettisoned by an incoming administration which has its own pet projects.

2. A particularly serious problem is the lack of funds. Most research institutions are not independently endowed, and are subject to periodic budget pressures, reflecting the ups and downs of the national treasury. This not only limits opportunities for large-scale or long-range research, but, even more seriously, puts a heavy burden on individual researchers. In fact, a full-time researcher is still a rarity, and a badly underpaid rarity at that. Many of them hold several jobs at the same time, and have commitments with various institutions.

3. A more serious effect on the result of research is the inherent individualism and lack of co-ordination among the scientists. The "lone-wolf" approach is common; individual researchers have their own pet projects which they pursue tenaciously over the years and it is extremely difficult to get them to co-ordinate their efforts with other researchers, much less to co-operate on teamwork. Most institutions do not have integrated long-term projects to which they adhere, and though lists of priorities in research are regularly being drawn up and approved, they are seldom fulfilled. There is hardly any interdisciplinary research. Unless an individual researcher is associated per-

sonally with institutions other than his own (for example, a sociologist teaching or doing research at a medical institute), there is no inter-institutional co-ordination or co-operation in research. Exceptions to this are rare, and seem only to have had some success recently in Chile. Not only is direct co-ordination absent, but elementary communication between different research institutions at different universities in the same country, and even at the same university, is almost entirely lacking. Latin America has not yet successfully experimented with common American or European practices such as the interdepartmental committee, or the information bulletin for internal distribution. Social research is still commonly considered a private domain, and its results—until published—are considered private and inalienable property. Yet publication of research results takes a long time. While any statistical data on this are of course extremely difficult to get, it may perhaps not be an exaggeration to state that at least half of the research being carried out in Latin America does not get published. Worse than that, much of it never sees any final form as a report or structured document. Half-finished research, untabulated data, uncoded questionnaires, unanalyzed punch cards, fill up space in local institutes. Authors and researchers have moved on to new tasks and new challenges. The waste in human and financial resources that this represents is, of course, great. And the loss to the progress of social science is incalculable.

Lest it be thought that I am exaggerating the situation, may I be permitted to let some authors speak for themselves. The situation in Brazil has been described as follows: "Without sufficient financial resources and without a strong base in the efficient institutional organization of sociological research, Brazilian sociologists are forced to limit themselves to research projects which require less money and which can do without the co-operation of other researchers. This results in consequences that hurt the progress of sociology as a science, as well as Brazilian society which faces social problems, the positive knowledge and practical treatment of which could gain much if social scientists could devote themselves to their study systematically." And further: "This results in a more or less plastic circumstance of scientific responsibility, which gives the researcher the liberty to adjust himself to his obligations according to scales of evaluations in which scientific interest as such does not always prevail. The effects of this limitation in the field of work of the sociologists are aggravated by the fact that sociological research lacks, even today, well-defined patterns of internal organiza-



tion.”<sup>6</sup> In Mexico: “Indeed, co-ordination is nonexistent, particular investigations are fragmentary in respect to the total research being carried out in the institution; there is no defined orientation of the activities, and instead of a co-ordinated whole, of a team of researchers, what is observed is only an aggregate of researchers who work in isolation, individually. In this sense, the institution does not exist as such.”<sup>7</sup> A Uruguayan social scientist puts it this way: “The systematic organization of research presupposes the co-operation of various specialists within one discipline or of similar disciplines. Now, in a small environment such as that of Uruguay, it has been common up to a few years ago that no more than one or two specialists were available in any one social science, for example, sociology. Even today, we cannot say that there is any specialist in demography. The low density of the cultural environment imposes insurmountable difficulties in this sense. But if to this we add the fact that Uruguayans are thorough individualists, it will be understood that even if there is a certain number of specialists, albeit very few, it is still difficult to expect any kind of co-operation among them. The most common occurrence is that these specialists find themselves in opposition and tend to transform their ideological differences into personal questions. . . . It will be seen that this makes all co-operation impossible.”<sup>8</sup> And in Venezuela: “Whenever co-operation and help are asked for the establishment of personnel and equipment for some research project, almost automatically the researcher assumes a number of obligations with those who furnish the said facilities, with the result of a relative variation in the absolute ‘purity’ of the selection of a specified research project.”<sup>9</sup>

4. One more type of problem must be mentioned at this point, a problem which has produced some acrid discussion among Latin American social scientists, and which has in a large measure influenced the course of research and the development of the social sciences in these countries. Many of our social research institutions have been established with the help of foreign public or private organizations, and, as often as not, under the direct influence of one or various foreign scientists (in recent years, mainly North Americans). This has had the advantage of bringing to these institutions the latest research methods and techniques, the accumulated experience, as well as mechanical equipment—when the funds have been available—which were already in use in the more developed countries at that time. It has, in some places, allowed the research institutions, under expert guidance, to pass over fairly rapidly

the unsure formative stages of research, and to acquire a high level of technical and scientific competence. This is notably the case in Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, and Chile. It has also helped in focusing research problems that are being tackled elsewhere and has thus contributed to increase the comparable value of research results, which is something that most scientists in the area have long hoped for.

However, this has also raised a number of important issues. Some of our institutions have invested great amounts of money in the acquisition of electronic machinery, blinded perhaps by their great success and efficiency in the more developed countries, and have then found out that they do not yet possess sufficient research data, or specialized personnel to make maximum use of these machines. More serious, perhaps, is the fact that some of our social scientists have tended to become overspecialized in a particular branch of social science, or in particular research techniques, in an attempt to imitate the latest tendencies of social research elsewhere, without stopping to consider sufficiently whether these are the procedures most adequate to the present level of development and the social and economic conditions of their countries. This tendency has equally been felt in the choice of research problems, drawn from present research tendencies and fashions in other countries (mainly in the United States), without sufficient previous critical evaluation of the usefulness and adaptability of these research orientations in Latin American countries. Let one or two examples suffice: In studies of Indian populations, the prevailing approach for a long time was acculturation or community studies, under the influence of the North American school of cultural anthropology, whereas the historical fact that Indians—at least in Indo-America, or Mestizo America as it is sometimes called—have been a part of the total society, of the national society in its development, was usually overlooked or was considered of secondary importance. This has contributed to a fragmentary and incomplete knowledge of Indian populations. In Brazil, an impressive literature on race relations has been produced, most of which is implicitly based on a model of race relations as they exist in the United States, and this has been criticized as being an inadequate approach to the Brazilian situation.<sup>10,11</sup> The study of social stratification has also suffered from this kind of alienation. Researchers are becoming increasingly concerned over social status scales and indexes of socioeconomic characteristics, and are more or less ignoring—surprisingly enough in countries where “revolution” is a common byword—the

complex and intricate problems of class conflict and structural cleavages. This does not mean that these approaches to social research are not useful and promising; it means only that they tend to be one-sided. This state of affairs has contributed to placing the social sciences in Latin America in a position of cultural dependency on centers of social research and social thought elsewhere. One author has somewhat unkindly, but perhaps with a grain of truth in his statement, assailed the "canned sociology" that Latin American social scientists are importing from abroad.<sup>10</sup>

#### MAIN FIELDS OF INTEREST OF ACADEMIC SOCIAL RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA

Leaving aside purely economic research, on the one hand, and historical research, on the other, several main fields of interest have characterized academic social research in Latin America, during its short period of development.

##### *Studies of Indian Populations*

Anthropologists showed an early interest in the survival of pre-Hispanic cultures on this continent. Though at first they engaged in purely ethnographic studies of Indian tribes, which were supplemented by archaeological explorations and ethno-historical reconstructions, more sophisticated techniques came into being soon in the systematic study of subsisting Indian populations. Studies of acculturation and community studies have been carried out for at least a generation, particularly in countries with large Indian populations. Many of these studies, however, have been carried out by non-university institutions (museums and the national Indian institutes in several countries). Nevertheless, most of the researchers have taught or are teaching at universities, and their experience as well as their approach goes into the training of new researchers and is generally the basis for didactic research (that is, research and field studies carried out under the program of specific courses). Indian studies have thus been the basis for the developing discipline of rural sociology in many Latin American countries, as well as for studies connected with practical programs of public health in rural areas, of community development, and of regional planning.

### *Immigration and Assimilation*

This is a field of study that has been of particular significance in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, whose development has been greatly influenced by immigration. The emphasis has usually been on the cultural aspects of immigration, on the assimilation of immigrants by their new environment, on the diffusion of cultural elements brought by them to the country, on the "syncretism" of different cultural traditions. More recently, structural aspects of immigration have been considered in terms of the growing middle classes and the developing tertiary sector of the economy. Purely demographic aspects of immigration are a very recent preoccupation; differential fertility, selective marriage, age-structure and its effects, have been increasingly studied. The universities in Buenos Aires and in São Paulo seem to be the pioneers in this field.

### *The Study of Race Relations*

Although this field overlaps the preceding one and that of Indian studies, it can be said that in Brazil it is a field of its own. Whereas its early emphasis was principally on folklore and on the purely ethnographic aspects of the interaction of different races, these studies have lately emphasized race prejudice, upward social mobility of Negroes, relationships between "race" and "class," and related subjects. This field of study has received a particular impetus from the UNESCO project on the study of race relations, as well as from American scholars wishing to study, in another country, a field they are well acquainted with in their own. Most university research centers in Brazil have at one time or another been engaged in research on race relations.

### *Urbanization and Industrialization*

This field of study has arisen almost simultaneously within the last 10 years at most Latin American research centers, as a reaction to the rapid social and economic changes occurring in the fields in these countries. They are taking over an increasing portion of research activities all over Latin America, as well as becoming special subject matter for teaching. Many of these studies are being carried out under an interdisciplinary approach, including sociologists, economists, public health experts, demographers, social psychologists, and architects. The most systematic research in this field, in its various aspects, is being carried out in São Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Santiago de Chile. Research

centers in Rio de Janeiro, Caracas, Lima, and Mexico City are also beginning to do studies on a large scale in this field.

### *Other Fields of Interest*

Other minor fields of interest in social research can be summarized as follows: regional studies and surveys (mainly in Brazil), general studies on national character (mainly speculative, generally psychoanalytical in their approach, for example, in Mexico); political science (with emphasis on its legal aspects, on constitutional studies, and only quite recently some analysis of electoral statistics: principally in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil); studies on educational problems (carried out more or less evenly in most countries, they have become more systematic and technically more developed lately, having been greatly stimulated by the activities of UNESCO in Latin America). Studies on agrarian structure and land reform have recently been widely carried out, and are still being carried out, under the influence of several U.N. agencies, such as ECLA and FAO, and the OAS. Demographic research has not been systematically carried out at any Latin American university, and only in very recent years has become a field of major concern. Great progress has been made in this by the universities of Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile.

### PROBLEMS AND TENDENCIES

As can be seen from this rapid sketch of social research at Latin American universities, great progress has been made during the last few years, particularly since the Second World War, but the situation is far from satisfactory. Many countries have no established research center yet; others have their institutes "on paper" but do not have enough resources or specialized personnel; still others are developing only in one or two fields of research. In Appendix I an effort is made to present the principal social research institutions, and their national distribution. In Appendix II, we present a selective list of current research being carried out at Latin American universities. It is necessarily incomplete and will serve only as an indication of what is going on: unfortunately one of the principal problems facing research in Latin America is the lack of communication among scientists and research centers. This lack has been sorely felt in the writing of this report, as can be seen from the data presented.

Demographic research has not generally found its way into the universities. Only recently have some departments included demography in their teaching, partial studies being carried out in this field. The same can be said for social research related to public health problems.

A growing consciousness of the need for systematic empirical research, based on solid methodology, will undoubtedly reinforce existing research centers in the coming years and contribute to the establishing of new ones. An increasing number of well-trained researchers as well as the increasing use of electronic equipment will stimulate research in demography. The principal problems faced by these institutions can be summed up by "lack of funds," but even if these funds should be forthcoming—as they certainly will be, sooner or later—some basic organizational changes will surely have to take place, before social research in Latin America can meet adequately the great challenges it faces in our time.

#### SUMMARY

The general background and historical beginnings of social research in Latin American universities are discussed, with a brief outline of the establishment of various research centers and institutions in recent years. An analysis of the organization of research is presented, and some of its problems are discussed. It is shown that demographic research is very recent and is being carried out in only a few selected research institutions. The main fields of interest in social research in Latin America are outlined. Appendix I shows the distribution of academic research centers, and a list of current research is presented in Appendix II.

#### APPENDIX I

##### PRINCIPAL SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH CENTERS AT LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

###### *Argentina*

Instituto de Sociología, Universidad de Buenos Aires

Instituto de Sociología "Raul A. Orgaz," Universidad de Córdoba

###### *Brazil*

Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro)

Instituto de Pesquisas Sociais, Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo  
Centro de Estudos Industriais e de Trabalho, Faculdade de Filosofia, Universidade de São Paulo

Centro de Estudos Sociais e Políticos, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro

Centro de Estudos Sociais, Faculdade de Filosofia, Universidade do Rio Grande do Sul

Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade da Bahia

### *Chile*

Instituto de Sociología, Universidad de Chile

Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Católica de Chile

Instituto de Investigaciones Estadísticas, Universidad de Chile

### *Colombia*

Facultad de Sociología, Universidad Nacional de Colombia

### *Costa Rica*

Instituto Universitario Centroamericano de Investigaciones Sociales y Económicas, Universidad de Costa Rica

### *Ecuador*

Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Universidad Central de Ecuador

### *México*

Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia

Instituto de Antropología, Universidad Veracruzana

Instituto de Estudios de la Población, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás

Seminario de Ciencias Sociales, Facultad de Economía, Universidad de Nuevo León

### *Peru*

Departamento de Sociología, Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima

Departamento de Antropología, Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima

### *Uruguay*

Instituto de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de la República

## *Venezuela*

Escuela de Antropología y Sociología, Universidad Central de Caracas  
Instituto de Antropología e Historia, Universidad Central de Caracas  
Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo, Universidad Central de Caracas  
Instituto de Investigaciones, Facultad de Economía, Universidad Central de Caracas  
Escuela de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Oriente

## APPENDIX II

### A SELECTIVE PARTIAL LIST OF CURRENT SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH AT LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

#### *Argentina*

1. Differential fertility and connected social factors in metropolitan Buenos Aires. Based on area random sampling of 2,078 families (women of 14 years and over). Carried out by A. Dehollain and M. Serge, under the supervision of G. Germani, at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Buenos Aires.
2. Study of fertility, in connection with the CELADE program for Latin America. Carried out by A. Dehollain, under supervision of CELADE, at the Institute of Sociology, University of Buenos Aires.
3. Integral analysis of Argentinian census returns. Special sociologically oriented tabulations, combining demographic and housing censuses, based on a random sample of original census return sheets of 1960. Also includes data of previous censuses, especially some unpublished material of the 1947 census, as well as data from the special agricultural, commercial, and industrial censuses. General orientation of the study: the preparation of a series of publications on the "Social Structure of Argentina," each one on a particular aspect of it: family, social classes and occupational structure, distribution of population, and urbanization and internal migrations; fertility, mortality, and other dynamic aspects. The definitive program is still under discussion. It will be carried out in co-operation with the Federal Council on Investments, and the Institute of Comparative Sociology of the di Tella Foundation. Director of the Project: G. Germani, at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Buenos Aires.
4. Regional distribution of demographic census data from 1869 to 1960 (five censuses), the object of which is to study the areas in expansion and the areas in depression, as well as the causes of the process of internal migra-



tions. Participating personnel: about 10 professors and students of the Department of Geography, University of Buenos Aires.

### *Brazil*

1. The industrial labor force of the state of Guanabara. Based on a sample of 237 enterprises in all economic sectors; includes information on stratification and mobility, levels of living, education. At the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Brazil.
2. Social stratification and morbidity in a Rio de Janeiro population. Based on an area sample, the object of the study is to relate social class position to morbidity. Carried out by S. Iutaka at the School of Social Service of the Catholic University, in co-operation with the Latin American Center for Social Research.
3. The development of the state of São Paulo as seen through demographic, sanitary, and educational indexes. Carried out under the direction of O. Nogueira at the Institute of Administration of the University of São Paulo.
4. A sociological study of the public health department of São Paulo, and a sociological study of a public health center in São Paulo. Carried out by E. B. Costa and D. S. Castão Bastos, at the Institute of Administration of the University of São Paulo.
5. Land tenure and the social and economic development of Brazilian agriculture. Case studies plus regional census analyses, including special emphasis on intrarural and rural-urban migrations; at the Institute of Social Science of the University of Bahia, at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Minas Gerais, and at the Center of Social Studies of the University of Rio Grande do Sul, in conjunction with the Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences and the Inter-American Committee for the Development of Agriculture. (Similar studies are being carried out by ICAD in several other Latin American countries.)
6. Foreign colonization in Rio Grande do Sul and rural-urban migration to Pôrto Alegre. Two studies being carried out under the direction of L. T. de Medeiros at the University of Rio Grande do Sul.
7. Comparative studies of the acculturation of Japanese and German immigrants. Several studies under the direction of E. Schaden and of R. C. L. Cardoso, at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of São Paulo.
8. Several studies on the adjustment of the rural migrant in an urban environment, on the economic transformations of rural areas, on the integration of Negroes into the class society and their upward social mobility, on the relationships between the State and economic development, being carried out, respectively, by A. Simão, E. R. Durham, M. Isaura, F. Fernandes, F. H. Cardoso, and O. Ianni, at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of São Paulo.
9. Surveys of the *favelas* (slums) of São Paulo and of several rural com-

- munities in São Paulo State, at the Catholic University of São Paulo.
10. Studies on rural exodus, public health programs in a rural area, and minors in a rural area, carried out by R. Zaccara at the School of Social Service in Campinas, São Paulo.

### *Chile*

1. Sociological aspects of health in metropolitan Greater Santiago. Object: To determine the health problems of the population; the opinions and attitudes of community about hospital and medical service of the National Health Service; specific sociological aspects of family organization and their relation to health problems. Two reports have already been published, on morbidity and opinions and hospitalization rates. Carried out in co-operation with the Faculty of Medicine, and the National Health Service, under the direction of Orlando Sepúlveda, at the Institute of Sociology, University of Chile.
2. Sociological aspects of morbidity in two communes of Greater Santiago. Carried out during the strike of medical personnel in May 1962. Based on a sample of 1,900 heads of families. Field work, card perforation, tabulation, finished in 1962. Analysis being done this year. In co-ordination with the National Health Service, under the direction of S. Díaz and O. Sepúlveda, at the Institute of Sociology, University of Chile.
3. Immigration to Greater Santiago. Based on a sample of 2,000 homes, to find out volume, historical tendencies, and areas of origin of urban immigrants, causes of migration, adaptation of immigrants, and their social and demographic characteristics. In co-operation with CELADE, under the direction of J. C. Elizaga, C. Miró, and A. Bocaz of CELADE, and O. Sepúlveda of the Institute of Sociology, University of Chile.
4. Social aspects of nutrition of pregnant women, and the use of dehydrated milk by pregnant women; two studies of Greater Santiago, both being carried out in collaboration with the School of Public Health and the National Health Service, under the direction of O. Sepúlveda, at the Institute of Sociology.
5. Sociological aspects of the structure and personnel of the National Health Service. A study of interpersonal relations within the service, degree of work satisfaction, social roles of medical and paramedical personnel. Under the joint auspices of the National Health Service, the Chilean Medical Association, and the Institute of Sociology; under the direction of O. Sepúlveda and S. Díaz.
6. Manual of Chilean Demographic Analysis. Based on statistics and other documentary information, the object of this work is the preparation of a methodological textbook on Chilean demography, for non-demographic students. Author: Professor Armand Mattelart, at the Center of Sociological Studies, Catholic University of Chile.

### *Central America*

1. Land tenure and the conditions of agricultural labor in Central America; carried out by the Central American University Institute of Social and Economic Research, in co-operation with the Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences, ECLA, FAO, and ILO.
2. Social stratification in San José, Costa Rica. In the designing stage. At the Central American Institute, under the auspices of the Latin American Center. (Similar studies have already been carried out in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Santiago and Rio de Janeiro.)

### *Mexico*

1. A statistical study of suicides in Mexico. Directed by Luisa Rodríguez Z., at the Institute of Social Research of the National University of Mexico.
2. The social impact of industrialization in a Mexican community. Long-range project in several stages. Directed by R. Pozas, at the National School of Social and Political Sciences, National University of Mexico.
3. Social and economic factors affecting the fertility of working-class women. Directed by R. Benitez, under the auspices of the Population Council, at the National School of Social and Political Sciences, National University of Mexico.
4. The emigration of Mexican agricultural workers to the United States. Directed by M. Mesa A., at the Institute of Economic Research, National University of Mexico.
5. Mortality of minors under 14 years of age, and social, economic, and epidemiological characteristics of the population of a middle-class district of Mexico City. At the School of Public Health (a non-university institution).

### *Peru*

1. Occupational mobility and the adaptation to social and economic change of industrial workers in Lima. Special attention is given to geographical origin of workers and rural-urban migration, to problems of adaptation to rural and industrial life, levels of education, history of occupational mobility. Based on a stratified sample of industrial workers. Under the direction of G. Briones and J. Mejía, with the co-operation of E. Flores, at the Department of Sociology of the National University of San Marcos.

### *Venezuela*

1. Changes in level of living of the Caracas population in relation to economic development. Includes analysis of stratification. Long-range project started in 1959, based on a stratified sample of the population. Under the joint direction of an economist and a sociologist, at the Institute of Economic Research, Central University of Caracas.
2. The degree of development of the agricultural sector. Includes a classification of rural populations by occupations, a study of production relations

and of productivity. Directed by C. S. Orta, of the Institute of Economic Research, Central University of Caracas.

3. Social and political conflicts in Venezuela. Long-range project, including a study of power relations and leadership, class dynamics and the structure of group loyalties and identifications. In collaboration with the New School for Social Research. (In the planning stage.) At the Center for Development Studies, Central University of Caracas.

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## DISCUSSION

*Mr. Eduardo Arriaga:* I want to express my thanks to the Milbank Memorial Fund for inviting me to participate in this meeting and to comment on the paper by Professor Rodolfo Stavenhagen. I accepted the invitation with special interest and pleasure.

Evidently the preparation of a study like the one by Professor Stavenhagen entails serious problems because it is difficult to gather complete information on such a subject within a limited period of time.

I feel that the paper has been focused more on the sociological than on the demographic point of view, which is fully justified, both by the specialization of the author and the fact that sociology has had a longer period of evolution than demography.

As Professor Stavenhagen points out, lack of funds, individualism, and lack of co-ordination, the "caciquismo" or "caudillismo" of some researchers, and lack of continuity in research show the sad reality through which the study of these subjects has gone.

With regard to the research studies carried out by some Latin American universities and listed in Appendix II, I should like to add that in the field of demography other subjects have been and are of interest, such as the following:

**Fertility:** Undoubtedly this is one of the topics of greatest interest in connection with demographic research in Latin America, especially the knowledge of the causes of high fertility in this area. High fertility, combined with the sudden decrease in mortality, produces a rapid growth of population, causing serious problems for the economic development. Recently an agreement has been reached between CELADE and Cornell University to make a survey on fertility in seven Latin American cities (Bogotá, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Mexico City, Panamá, Rio de Janeiro, and San José de Costa Rica). The National Universities of Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and San José will be in charge of this survey.

**Migration:** Studies on migration should be conducted to measure quantitatively the internal movement of the population and at the same time define the causes of the exodus from one area to another and establish the demographic and social characteristics of the migrants. Of equal interest is the study of migration between adjacent countries, such as Colombia and Venezuela; Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; Mexico and the United States.

**Economically active population:** Research work has been conducted

for some time on this topic with a view toward learning more about this part of the population, especially with regard to skilled labor and the number of unemployed. This research has tried to determine not only the number of unemployed, but also the underemployment or "disguised unemployment," as one economist has called it, in the different branches of the economic activity. Since 1958 the University of Chile has been conducting a periodic survey in certain cities of the country to determine underemployment and other characteristics of the labor force. The number of cities covered has increased gradually.

Today there is limited information on the distribution of family income, a topic related directly to the economically active population. Among the few works that have been carried out, mention should be made of the "Encuesta Popular; el Ingreso Familiar: su distribución en las clases obrera, empleada y jornalera de la ciudad de Quito" (Popular Survey; The Family Income, its distribution in the white collar workers and laborers of Quito) carried out in 1955 by the Instituto de Investigaciones Economicas de la Facultad de Ciencias Economicas de la Universidad Central de Ecuador (Economic Research Institute of the Economic Sciences Faculty of the Central University of Ecuador), and the one in Caracas, made in 1960 by the institute of the same name of the Central University of Venezuela, "Análisis de Presupuestos Familiares: Incidencia del Alquiler en el Ingreso," Volumes I and II (Analysis of Family Budgets: Effect of Rent on Income).

During 1952 and 1953, similar research was done by government organizations in other cities, such as Panama, San Salvador, Guatemala, and seven cities in Colombia; in 1958 in the Metropolitan Area of San José, Costa Rica; and on a national scale in Mexico in 1956 and 1958.

Mortality: Research on this topic has been, perhaps, the most usual and the one that received most attention by the early researchers in the demographic field. However, it would take too long at this time to list the works related to this topic.

In closing my remarks, I want to say a word about the teaching of demography in Latin America. Actually, this has been done only in some countries and by means of short courses within the study of other sciences or in research institutes. This has been the case, for example, in Caracas, Venezuela; San José, Costa Rica; Rosario and Córdoba in Argentina; San Salvador in El Salvador, and in other places already mentioned in Professor Stavenhagen's paper. However, demography is not taught in any Latin American university as a special course.

This is one of the reasons for the lack of trained personnel in this

field. This circumstance has contributed greatly to the general absence of research studies in the countries by national individuals or institutions. The place of demographic analysis is not yet well established in the work of the national planning offices and that of similar government agencies.

I have appreciated more clearly the importance of this situation in my present position with the Department of Social Affairs of the OAS, which prepares the annual report on the Estudio Economico y Social de America Latina (Economic and Social Study of Latin America) for the Inter American Economic and Social Council.

I want, finally, to stress the need for greater co-ordination and co-operation between social and demographic research, and the need for promoting demographic research as an essential tool for economic and social planning. In this respect, CELADE is making a great effort which needs more backing, particularly from Latin American countries.

*Dr. Freedman:* One part of Frank Lorimer's comment worried me. He started out at one point with what seemed to be a very attractive picture of intellectuals sitting together, engaged in good conversation, drinking good wine, eating good food. I am a little worried whether he is advocating that those people should be doing demographic research instead! I think we have to keep in mind that when the revolution comes, so to speak, and the aims of development are achieved, I trust we will all be doing what those people started out to do—not computing gross reproduction rates!

I wanted to address my remarks to that part of the paper that had to do with student training and research in the universities in particular. I was also much impressed with what is going on at the Demographic Center, where there are resources of people who can talk to each other, and facilities. But what about the universities?

I wanted to raise as a question the feasibility of doing what we do at our university and what I know is being done in some other places; that is, making use of what I think of as a great untapped intellectual resource: "student power," which is second, in my opinion, only to the untapped "woman power" in the intellectual area. What about the possibility of organizing in a university, where you have a man who does not have resources, a training program in which the students get training in social demography by doing field research? I mention this because this is a kind of do-it-yourself program. It really does not take much money. My experience is that students are very enthusiastic about this because it gets them into the real situation.

I suggest, as one possibility, actually doing small sample surveys in the area of the university, so that students can get formal training and this experience at the same time. My observation is that high-quality research results, so you can actually do research this way apart from the training that it gives students. I think such students, if they are in the demographic area, will know a lot more about census problems, for example, than if they study them only in books, and that they will know a lot more about the problems of the enumerator and the coder if they themselves have been involved in doing something like this from the start.

As a second possibility, if field surveys are regarded as out of the question for any reason, I would like to suggest making use of the existing data, taking samples of the census data or taking data for a particular area. I am referring to unpublished data as well as to published data. I think one of the classics in that area is the work that Professor Keyfitz did some years ago, in which he drew some schedules from the Canadian census and did two pieces of research, in a relatively short time, that were really first-class pieces of work. I think that was really a do-it-yourself operation. He can comment on that, but I think it cost very little. It is my impression that that could be done in universities for very little money.

This kind of project also has the advantage of training the staff at the same time. In the program we have had at our university, we started out with very few people who knew anything about survey research methods. The faculty, in the course of doing this work with the students, became quite expert and some of them are now quite well-known people in this area. They learned how to do it by doing it.

I hope Dr. Puffer will forgive me if I come back to the issue of imperfections. Another aspect of training which, it seems to me, is very important, is to have the students work with imperfect data, make cross-tabulations of them, and try to see whether some particular relationship or objective can be attained with the imperfect data. Suppose you have only 60 per cent completeness—what does that do to the relationship if you make certain assumptions about the other 40 per cent? I think that kind of thing can be done and is very instructive.

I have recently observed in a completely different part of the world, Southern India, a program in which this kind of student training activity is being introduced at what I think is a relatively modest cost in a program that used to consist only of formal statistics. It may be that you can tell me whether this is parallel to some of the Latin American



situations. This is a program that had been formal training in statistics, in which they trained about 20 students each year. It is a two-year program. They learned all about linear programming, factor analysis, all kinds of topics that I am not competent to deal with, but the fact was that they really did not learn very much about how to collect data and what to do with them when they got them. If everything did not fit just the way the textbook had it, it would not work out. They are now introducing a program in which the students, while they learn statistics but at a somewhat lower level, are getting field experience and are analyzing the data. I recommend that as a possibility.

I would like to close by taking the liberty, because of the fact that I am up here and the fact that I am ignorant and naïve, to ask a question which may be out of place. I have been puzzled by the fact that, so far in the papers, there has been little reference to research that would deal with issues in the field of family planning. I am very happy that we have a conference in which it is clear that population and demography involve something other than family planning. I think that is right. I think sometimes we get the notion that family planning is the only thing there is. But, on the other hand, it seems to me it should not be thrown out completely, and I hope it won't be.

I know, as an outsider to the Latin American area, this is supposed to be a special problem in Latin America. I am just naïve enough to doubt that that is so, on the grounds that in every other place I know of when they first started to do work in this area, it was said, "It is out of the question here." It seems to me, at least in a conference of specialists of this sort, that if we are discussing demography and public health, there ought to be some discussion of research in family planning.

*Dr. Kiser:* Let me say just a word about Dr. Freedman's last point. After he hears later papers of the session, I believe he will see at least the tacit inclusion of family planning in the paper by Dr. Stykos and his colleagues and in the paper by Professor Janer and Dr. Arbona. As Dr. Freedman knows, family planning has frequently been the subject of papers presented at the Annual Conference. He had a considerable part in the 1960 Conference on Research and Family Planning sponsored jointly by the Milbank Memorial Fund and the Population Council.\*

\* Kiser, Clyde V., ed., *RESEARCH IN FAMILY PLANNING*, Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1962.

*Dr. Nathan Keyfitz:* Mr. Chairman, I should like to refer to one or two of the empirical surveys that I have heard about in the course of a recent trip to South America, and which either have not been referred to or have not had the emphasis I think they deserve in a discussion of research in population in Latin America.

The results are now available on a study of migration into Greater Santiago, carried out by Mr. Léon Tabah and other members of CELADE, which included some population aspects that are of interest to us. I also heard much about the United Nations' and Population Council's venture, through Miss Miró and Dr. Stycos, into comparative studies of fertility in seven Latin American countries. A study of fertility to secure primary data on the simple matter of the birth rate in Guanabara, Rio de Janeiro, has been completed. It used a method very much short of developing a national registration system, an affair that takes several generations; it was nothing more than a simple family survey conducted on a small area sample, but it estimates the birth rate as well as do Brazilian vital statistics. It has pioneered methods that can be used widely. Miss Miró's project, to secure a sample of the punch cards from the 1960 censuses of the Latin American countries, would enable compilations to be made that would provide knowledge not obtainable from the official compilations. Mr. Gino Germani has been working on a study of social stratification in Buenos Aires, in the course of which he included a few questions on family size, which he is now engaged in tabulating.

It seems to me in each of these instances a small amount of outside funds combined with a good deal of local effort has brought into existence, as it were, a group of people that started to worry about sampling problems, design of questionnaire, the sorts of issues that might properly be investigated in an empirical field study. It seems to me that these local groups are the way of progress in Latin American demography.

*Dr. Grauman:* The speakers' comments lead me to think of a large reservoir of unpublished government statistics which could be a tremendous source of research. I am thinking of public health statistics. Public health statistics are being compiled in a great variety of forms in a tremendous amount of detail, but can be published only in a most summary manner. Tremendous labor is expended in compiling this material and little is ever analyzed.

As another instance of larger resources, the public health statistics

are tabulated in such detail that you get a 1200-page volume, and most of the tabulation categories are zeros or units or individuals, because it is broken down in a way to be of little analytic use.

Then there comes to my mind that sometimes the best migration records are collected in death registration cards containing information on place of birth and the time when the deceased person arrived at the place where he died. That would be another source of unpublished material for analysis.

I believe there are great treasures of this kind which very few people so far have thought about exploiting, and it would be worth doing some of these kinds of projects.

*Dr. Puffer:* I am glad you have gone a little into the field of health statistics because some work is being carried on outside the sociology departments, in schools of public health and through departments of preventive medicine in medical schools.

Mr. Somoza referred to the series of fertility studies in eight Latin American cities. Such field research, that is the co-ordinated research which he referred to and that which we are carrying on in the Inter-American Investigation of Mortality, not only will enable great contributions to be made but will give greater recognition to the value of vital statistics.

As a by-product of the Inter-American Investigation of Mortality, vital statistics are obtaining a little higher standing in the community. The schools of public health and medical schools have shown that they can carry out this field research and do a very fine job. I hope we can go forward with co-ordinated field research which will benefit the centers and programs in Latin America.