

Chapter 8

Shaping Social Science Research

Introduction

In addition to its general promotion of science and technology, OEEC particularly influenced the institutional shape of Irish social science research. At the prompting of EPA, the National Joint Committee on the Human Sciences and Their Application to Industry (HSC) was set up in tandem with INPC in 1958. Through EPA it sponsored the training abroad of young research workers, promoted awareness of ergonomic issues and participated in the development of plans to construct a model industrial community at Shannon Free Airport. It also unsuccessfully sought funding for the setting up an occupational psychology research institute. As EPA was disbanded, HSC began to support substantive research studies. In 1964 HSC was merged with INPC and began to provide grants to research projects based in the Irish universities.

John Vaizey's advocacy and OSTP's support were factors that operated in favour of Ford Foundation grant aid for the establishment of the Economic Research Institute (ERI) in 1960. Two figures active in the international economics of education network, Patrick Lynch and Henning Friis, were subsequently involved in the developments that widened the remit of ERI and transformed it into the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI). Civil service discussion of planning for social development that would complement ongoing economic expansion plans provided another context for this move.

Integration between the INPC HSC and ESRI had been envisaged when the latter was created but the two remained separate and did not collaborate to any significant extent. The HSC declined after INPC was reorganised as the Irish Productivity Centre in the early 1970s. Starved of money, its eventual death helped leave university-based social research without a source of funding support for nearly two decades as ESRI dominated the field. These developments established the sharp division between the 'sociology of the research institutes' and the 'sociology of the universities' that has come to characterise Irish social science research.

The Human Sciences Committee, 1958-63

The composition of National Joint Committee on the Human Sciences and Their Application to Industry (HSC), as agreed in July 1958, is set out in Table 8.1

TABLE 8.1

Constitution of Committee to operate Project 405 as agreed at the Fourth Preliminary Meeting To Consider the Establishment of a Joint Committee To Implement E.P.A. Project 405 (1st July 1958)

Organisation	Number of Representatives
Federated Union of Employers	1
Federation of Irish Industries	1
Irish Management Institute	1
State Sponsored Companies	1
Provisional United Trade Union Organisation	4
Universities	2
City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee	1
Catholic Workers' College	1

In the case of the University representatives, it had been agreed 'that University College Dublin might be asked to nominate a representative skilled in psychology and Trinity College a representative skilled in medicine'. The first meeting of HSC was held in November when it elected as its Chairman the Rev. E.F. O'Doherty, Professor of Logic and Psychology at UCD. Arrangements for liaison between HSC and INPC were agreed between the bodies at a 16 April 1959 meeting. Both committees would communicate directly with Industry and Commerce in relation to financial support. The department provided both committees with secretarial support but neither had a budget: TA grants provided the potential source of national support for their activities. All requests for EPA funding were to be routed through the INPC and the HSC was to make regular progress reports to the INPC.

During the lifetime of the EPA HSC concentrated on trying to create an Irish human sciences research infrastructure starting more or less from scratch; on promoting ergonomic awareness and on studies of adaptation to industrial and social change, particularly in relation to the Shannon area.

At its first meeting in November 1958 the HSC decided that it would be 'desirable to narrow the field of action' and 'concentrate on a small number of important problems which are regarded as urgent by both management and labour'. A circular letter issued shortly afterwards to a range of interested bodies elicited replies suggesting a wide variety of subjects for study - 'accidents, resettlement of unfit and partially disabled workers, working conditions, job satisfaction, recruitment and training, promotion, vocational guidance, incentives, human relations etc.' Considering these responses at its second meeting in January 1959 the HSC decided 'provisionally to limit consideration to problems coming under the heading "job satisfaction" which was understood to include matters such as human relations and incentives'.¹

Whatever limits it chose to work within, HSC had to address the reality that in Ireland 'there are no persons or centres specialising in research in the Human Sciences'. EPA projects that offered opportunities for researchers to study abroad and for research institutes to obtain technical assistance were to provide the HSC with a means of beginning to overcome this obstacle. A Trinity junior lecturer and four holders of UCD postgraduate diplomas were funded under EPA Project 7/07 Section C to go to centres in Britain, France and the Netherlands between 1959 and 1962 (Murray 2004: 13). Project 7/07 Section D made available 'a pool of highly-qualified consultants who would assist existing research institutes in carrying out their programmes or contribute to the setting up of research centres in countries where they do not exist or are too few' but the HSC decided to approach Industry and Commerce on this issue rather than to seek EPA's help.

On 8 July 1960 Fr. O'Doherty informed the Minister for Industry and Commerce (Jack Lynch) that the Committee 'could not fulfil its intended function unless some positive steps were taken towards the provision of research facilities'. The ideal to be aimed at, O'Doherty went on, 'would be the establishment of a research unit, either as a completely independent body or in association with one of the University colleges'. A 'less expensive alternative' was also put forward: state funding of a number of research scholarships or fellowships tenable at the Department of Psychology UCD with a suggested value in the range of £800 -1,000 each 'which would be used to promote the

study of specific problems recognised as being of particular importance in Irish industry'. A specific proposal for a Research Institute in Industrial Psychology, with an estimated initial establishment cost of £20,000 and an annual running cost of £7,000, was put forward at a 7 October meeting between O'Doherty, accompanied by Rev. M.J. Moloney S.J. (the Catholic Workers' College nominee to the HSC), and Industry and Commerce officials. The establishment costs should, the promoters argued, be entirely borne by the state, as they believed the trade unions would not contribute to its support 'and financing by management in these circumstances might prejudice labour against the scheme'. On 3 June 1961 the most senior civil servant to attend the 7 October meeting (an Assistant Principal) wrote to O'Doherty asking the HSC 'submit detailed proposals related to a specific fellowship project' and inquiring 'if a project could be selected which could be carried out in participation with E.P.A.'.

The day before this letter issued O'Doherty had sent his research institute proposal directly to the EPA. The reply of 14 June from the Head of the Social Factors Section informed him that EPA had no means of providing such an institute with financial assistance. The best way to proceed, it suggested, would be to select a few concrete projects dealing with issues relevant to the Irish context, such as the training of rural manpower for industrial work. EPA's Project 7/07 schemes could be used to provide suitable study placements for the researchers who would carry out these projects on their return to Ireland and also an opportunity for an Irish person to acquire abroad the type of management skills that would need to be available in order to establish a research institute back home. But funding for the selected projects would need to be sought from Irish sources or from 'the great research foundations such as the Ford Foundation or the Rockefeller Foundation'. O'Doherty then turned to UCD for support in establishing the proposed institute but again without success (Murray 2004: 13-15)

Fitting The Job To The Worker

While the HSC was not in its own estimation 'a suitable body to undertake or direct research' it was better adapted to the purpose of sending delegations to or organising its own conferences and seminars. Here the EPA's promotion of ergonomic awareness through its Fitting The Job To The Worker project provided a focal point. This project

had commenced in Ireland's period of minimal EPA involvement with the two-month visit to the USA of a European mission comprising eight specialists and a European Free Trade Unions representative in late 1956. This was followed up by a technical seminar at Leiden in Holland in March 1957. To this point there was no Irish participation but by late 1958 EPA preparations for a major conference to be held in Zurich were coinciding with the Irish process of creating the HSC and the INPC. Industry and Commerce's TA budget paid for a delegation comprising the HSC's two university representatives, an employer and a trade union nominee as well as a member of its factory inspectorate added by Department to attend this conference in March 1959.

Back in Ireland the HSC organised a national follow-up conference to promote public awareness of ergonomic issues. This was held in the Rupert Guinness Hall in November with five speakers from Britain and continental Europe. This attracted an attendance of over two hundred people. At the European level the Fitting The Job To The Worker project continued with an EPA study seminar aimed at those responsible for the programmes of schools of engineering held in Liege in September 1961. The Irish delegation nominated by the HSC consisted of representatives from UCD, Trinity College and the City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee's Bolton Street College of Technology. As with the Zurich conference, the HSC organised an Irish follow up to the Liege seminar to which 'teachers of engineering and architecture together with others to whom these principles [of ergonomics] may be important, e.g. industrial medical officers and engineers in national concerns' were invited. In September 1962 seven speakers from Belgium, Britain, France and Sweden addressed a Dublin seminar held over four days. A further Dublin 'Joint Engineering-Psychological Meeting' was organised in February 1963 but HSC involvement with ergonomic issues faded thereafter until, as discussed below, it was revived at the end of the 1960s.

Planning and Studying Industrial and Social Change

In addition to events promoting ergonomic awareness, the HSC also organised a May 1962 seminar entitled 'The Impact on the Individual of Change in Industry'. The creation of the 'first Air-Age Industrial Development Zone in the world' at Shannon Airport in 1958 (Callanan 2000: 82-105) also provided a site for extensive HSC collaboration with INPC, EPA and EPA-backed Dutch researchers. This aspired to develop plans for a

radically new kind of industrial community in Ireland. The Shannon area's special industrial development status had arisen out of fears that the advent of larger airplanes requiring fewer stops would render the airport redundant and make its workers unemployed. The new zone was envisaged as 'a regional growth point within the total framework of national development with the accent on effective manpower utilisation, community development, good social conditions and sound industrial relations'.

With encouragement from Lemass and Erskine Childers, whose new Department of Transport and Power had taken over responsibility for Shannon, this initiative got under way in November 1959 with a visit from EPA's Adrianus Vermeulen to Shannon and Dublin. Vermeulen highlighted as central issues the supply, recruitment and training of the labour force together with the provision for employees, preferably through employer/worker co-operative bodies, of housing and welfare facilities. An official request that EPA arrange visits to Shannon by vocational training, housing and social welfare consultants was submitted in December while SFADCO at the same time set about reviewing the adequacy of its management structure in these areas. A memorandum by SFADCO's Chairman identified the need for an Administration Manager who would work with a range of support organisations including EPA, INPC and HSC as well as supervising and co-ordinating the activities of a Housing and Estates Officer, an Employment Officer, a Welfare Consultant and a Labour Liaison Officer. This team's main human science input was to be provided by the Employment Officer:

Mr. McNabb (B.A. Hons in Philosophy, Post Graduate Studies in Social Psychology and in Sociological Survey Work in Wageningen University, Holland) who will be the Company's Employment Officer responsible for conducting introductory training courses for potential new workers. This officer will be assisted by Dr. O'Doherty, the Chairman of the National Joint Committee on the Human Sciences and Their Application to Industry. Mr. McNabb will also consult with factory Managers, draw up definitions of the characteristics and aptitudes required for various positions, and conduct aptitude tests in manipulative skills. It will be this officer's special task to ensure that potential new workers understand the overall aims and responsibilities of work at Shannon, and that they can secure by lecture and discussion group methods, the outlook that will enable them to commence to work enthusiastically in the special environment of Shannon. Mr. Nabb (sic) because of his special qualifications will also assist in the Social planning required in connection with Housing for workers.¹

Prior to his employment by SFADCO Patrick McNabb had worked on the Limerick Rural Survey which Muintir na Tire carried out with funding from Agriculture's portion of the £350,000 Grant Counterpart Fund TA allocation. In the course of this work he had gone for a period of initial research training to the University of Wageningen whose Professor Hofstee (the 'doyen of European rural sociologists') was one of the overseas experts to whom Muintir na Tire had turned for advice (Newman 1964: vii-ix). In September 1960 McNabb was one of two HSC nominees to attend an EPA seminar held in Groningen on the adaptation and training of rural workers moving to industrial centres.

Shortly afterwards a proposal emerged for a study of Shannon and its hinterland to be carried out with EPA support by the Sociological Institute of Leiden University. After a preliminary visit to Ireland by Professor Emile Vercruissje in December 1960, McNabb and UCD's Francis D'Arcy, whom O'Doherty described as 'attached to my department of psychology and trained in sociology at Columbia, New York', spent two weeks in Leiden in February 1961 discussing Irish society and observing the functioning of the Dutch sociological institute. In April four members of the Institute staff came to Ireland for a month, divided between the Shannon area, where three parishes were selected for the survey, and Dublin where meetings were held with two government ministers (Industry and Commerce, Transport and Power), the Director of the Central Statistics Office, the sociological staff at UCD and the National Farmers Association among others.

Subsequent refinement and revision focussed the survey on five issues: the nature and prospects for expansion of the Shannon Airport complex's local labour market, the information local people had about this labour market, the educational preferences of different strata of the local community, the kinds of jobs preferred in different social strata and tendency to emigrate existing among the different strata. In May a party of six staff members and thirty students arrived to carry out the fieldwork. This lasted for three weeks during which 769 people were interviewed. The students, who stayed in family homes, 'were also required to keep a diary of their experiences, and to make written

observations on the families with whom they lived'. In October D'Arcy and McNabb revisited Leiden to take part in the analysis of the data (Murray 2004: 18-19).

By this time, however, the idea of Shannon as the site of a model industrial community was fading fast. SFADCO had presented Transport and Power with a plan entitled 'Review of Residential and Community Requirements of New Industries at Shannon' in April 1960. This drew on EPA advice and the British New Town experience, particularly that of Crawley, and was later supplemented by proposals based on further work carried out for SFADCO by Irish architects. A Memorandum which Transport and Power brought to the government in April 1961 noted that 'in assessing the future position the Company is convinced that considerable further expansion of the Free Airport Industrial Estate is possible; that the Estate presents an opportunity of a model for an Irish Industrial Community; that the result should be more than a justification of the State capital invested in Shannon and that it should set standards for industrial development elsewhere throughout the country.' But the memorandum also revealed the strength of the opposition to this view.

SFADCO's plans envisaged Shannon having a resident population of 25-30,000 people and an industrial estate employing up to 10,000 workers within a 10-15 year period. Finance argued that the scale of investment involved could only be considered within the context of the development of the economy as a whole and opposed any increase at Shannon in the extent to which housing costs were currently subsidised by the state. Reflecting the views of the affected County Councils and averse to disruption of the administrative *status quo*, Local Government favoured expansion of Limerick, Ennis and smaller existing centres rather than the building of a new town at Shannon. Locating industry in existing centres was the preference of Industry and Commerce which found the size of Shannon's projected population and the concentration of industrial workers it would contain disquieting. A concentration of export industries sustaining a population of up to 30,000 could, it observed, be particularly vulnerable to trade recessions or to unsettled international conditions: 'if, for any reason, the impact of such conditions were

to cause a collapse of the industries at Shannon the Company and Government would be faced with a colossal task in dealing with a five figure resettlement problem.’

The Cabinet agreed to provide SFADCO with some additional finance to build factory units and a small stock of housing in the short-term but referred consideration of the longer-term development issues to an interdepartmental committee dominated by unsympathetic departments. This committee recommended that planning for Shannon be based on a population of between 1,500 and 2,000 while ‘provision for community services should be on a minimum, but expandable, basis’. EPA enthusiasm had contributed to SFADCO’s formulation of expansive plans but now Finance based its arguments in favour of a conservative approach on the uncertainty regarding Shannon’s position in EEC conditions while Transport and Power concurred that ‘it would be well at this stage to hasten slowly’. By the end of 1962 the bulk of the Committee’s recommendations had been adopted as government policy. ²

The cost of HSC during the last year in which it enjoyed EPA support was, as Table 8.2 shows, a little over £1,000.

TABLE 8.2 Expenditure of the Human Sciences Committee in the year ended 30th June 1962

Project	Irish TA (£)	EPA (£)
September 1961 – Study Seminar in Liege for those responsible for teaching programmes in Schools of Engineering	-	227
September 1961 – June 1962 Training of junior research workers in the human sciences	300	300
October 1961 – Participation for training purposes in survey of Shannon hinterland conducted by Sociological Institute, Leiden University	46	46
January 1962 - Study Seminar in Paris for research workers on the adaptation and training of rural workers	16	35
May 1962 – Dublin Seminar “The Impact on the Individual of Change in Industry”	94	20
Total	456	630

HSC after EPA's demise

The minutes of HSC's February 1962 meeting conclude that 'the date of the next meeting will be fixed by the Rev. Chairman when O.E.C.D. announce their future programme'. But EPA's encouragement of human science research suffered the fate of death by protracted, indeterminate committee discussion. At the beginning of 1963 HSC began to plan its own programme of work and to discuss its future relations with INPC in the light of a suggestion from Vermeulen (who had been appointed INPC's Technical Consultant) that it become a sub-committee of the productivity centre.

The programme envisaged three funded scholarships 'at a recognised institution in Ireland' worth £1,200 each; a grant of £1,000 to the Sociological Institute of Leiden University – where Patrick McNabb was now a Research Fellow - to carry out a study of Limerick that would explore 'what has hindered Irish urban-industrial agglomerations developing at a quicker pace' and an initial grant of £400 for a migration case study proposed by J.A. Jackson, an English-based sociologist who had already published a major study of the Irish in Britain. In March Industry and Commerce forwarded the application for a grant of £5,000 from its TA funds to Finance. Finance indicated to Industry and Commerce that the future relationship between HSC and INPC should 'be clearly defined before the grant question is decided' as 'once the Human Sciences Committee were given the status of a grant receiving body it would be difficult to cut off the grant subsequently'. By the time sanction for a grant of £2,400 issued in October, the revamped INPC into which HSC was being absorbed had been publicly unveiled. By then the Leiden project, whose fieldwork like that of its Shannon predecessor was to have been carried out in the early Summer months, had fallen by the wayside. In the interim HSC agreed to sponsor without funding 'research into some problems of human relations in C.I.E. which the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations would be undertaking'.³

The integration arrangements, agreed in July 1963, and coming into effect in February 1964, provided for INPC to appoint five Labour and five Management members to its HSC and for these members to co-opt 'not more than eight people qualified in the Human Sciences field'. In practice the numbers co-opted were much larger than eight: by the

second meeting of the new HSC they had reached eleven and by 1968 stood at eighteen. Of the first eleven co-opted members, four had engineering or technology backgrounds and in most cases connections with earlier ergonomics activity, three were from psychology, two from medicine and two from social science (broadly defined). Two of those initially co-opted had been recipients of EPA-funded training abroad. O'Doherty stepped down as Chairman at the time of the HSC's reconstitution and was succeeded by a trade union nominee, Charles McCarthy, who was to hold the position for more than a decade.

Operating within the INPC from January 1964 the HSC provided grants to support research projects, with the amount devoted to this purpose running at approximately 10% of the INPC's grant-in-aid in the late 1960s (see Table 8.3).

TABLE 8.3 INPC Grant-in-aid and HSC Research Project Expenditure 1963 -1979

Year	Grant-in-Aid (£)	HSC Grants (£)	% of Grant-in-Aid
1963-64	40,000	2,000	5
1964-65	58,000	4,182	7
1965-66	72,000	7,250	10
1966-67	80,000	6,875	9
1967-68	80,000	6,077	8
1968-69	84,500	9,000	11
1969-70	110,000	9,000	8
1970-71	108,400	9,491	9
1971-72	163,000	15,890	10
1972-73	183,000	13,775	8
1973-74	205,000	8,439	4
1974 (nine months)	220,000	11,997	5
1975	300,000	13,000	4
1976	300,000	16,330	5
1977	350,000	7,300	2
1978	385,000	750	0.2
1979	439,400	-	-

Source : INPC and Irish Productivity Centre *Annual Report and Accounts*, Various Years.

After four years in operation it had, as Table 8.4 shows, provided almost twenty such grants with an average value of almost £1,500. Apart from the Tavistock Institute, the grant recipients were all based in Irish institutions with HSC explicitly assuming a

capacity-building responsibility for stimulating research activity in the Irish universities. Publication of the Dublin busmen study (Van Beinum 1967) and the Skibbereen survey (Jackson 1967) was followed by the launching of a Human Sciences in Industry Monograph Series in which ten titles appeared up to 1975. By 1970 'a reasonable record so far in producing research of an acceptable quality at a reasonable price' was being claimed on HSC's behalf.⁴

The Ford Foundation and the Economic Research Institute

In the form of a request from the Director of EPA, the initiative that led to the foundation of the HSC came from outside Ireland. HSC's funding department, Industry and Commerce, played a relatively passive role in the process, handing over the task of acting on the request to IMI. By contrast, active moves initiated by Irish governmental actors were much more in evidence when the Ford Foundation was approached for a grant to support the foundation of an Economic Research Institute (ERI) in 1959.

In April of that year reports reached the Department of the Taoiseach from New York that the Ford Foundation 'seemed prepared to consider economic aid' to Ireland. When other departments were circulated with this information, Finance put forward the idea of seeking grant aid to establish an economic research centre. As meetings of Department Secretaries and diplomats advanced the idea, it was judged best to submit the application through a non-governmental body, and the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland (SSISI) took on the role of the centre's sponsor. The application was received by the Ford Foundation in late August and was discussed at a luncheon meeting in its offices on 9 October. Present on the Irish side were Frank Aiken, the Minister for External Affairs, T.K. Whitaker, Secretary of Finance and an Honorary Secretary of SSISI, J.J. McElligott, Whitaker's Finance predecessor and now Governor of the Central Bank as well as two diplomats based in New York – Frederick Boland and Jack Conway.⁵

Table 8.4 Projects Sponsored by Human Sciences Committee 1964-67

Project	Director(s)	Cost	Location	Progress
The Morale of the Dublin Busmen	H. Van Beinum [Tavistock Institute]	£2,000	Dublin	Report published 1967
Skibbereen Social Survey	J. Jackson [Sheffield]	£900	Skibbereen	Report published 1967
Management/Worker Communications	G. Scaife [TCD]	£1,100	Ireland	Report completed
Management Control Systems	J. Murray [TCD]	£2,000	Ireland	Report completed
Attitudes of Workers to their new Industrial Environment in Shannon	H. Van Beinum, E. McCarthy [Tavistock]	£2,000	Shannon	Report completed
Extended study of data from the Shannon Survey	Ditto	£1,200	Shannon	Completion in 1968
Industrial Medical Services	T. Murphy (UCD)	£500	Ireland	Report published 1967
Leaders and Innovators in Irish Management	D. Egan ([MI])	£2,000	Ireland	Journal/book publication forthcoming
Mobility and Resettlement	J. Kavanagh (UCD)	£2,650	Ireland	Completion in 1968
Juvenile Employment	T. Roseingrave [UCD]	£1,000	Ireland	Completion in 1968
Managerial Emigration	D. Forrest [TCD]	£1,500	Ireland	Report completed
Psychological Investigation of Incentive Schemes	D. Forrest [TCD]	£1,250	Ireland	Report completed
Motivation of Female Textile Factory Workers	E. O'Doherty [UCD]	£1,200	Dublin	Completion in 1968
Industrial Supervisors	P. Dempsey [UCC]	£1,500	Ireland	Report completed
Extension of Supervisors Project	Ditto	£750	Ireland	Completion in 1968
Productivity in Galway port	E. O'hEideain [UCG]	£1,615	Galway	Completion in 1968
Organisational change and resistance to change	F. Dreschsler [TCD]	£1,925	Ireland	Completion in 1969
Development of a test of disposition	P. Dempsey [UCC]	£1,500	Cork	Completion in 1968
Job Satisfaction and Occupational Stratification	E. O'Doherty [UCD], D. Egan [IMI]	£1,000	Ireland	Completion in 1968
Total		£27,590		

But while the Irish side came away from the meeting in an optimistic mood, the supporting documentation subsequently sent from Dublin seems to have raised as many questions as it answered and the International Affairs Division was reluctant to become involved with yet another country. Reviewing the material, Stanley Gordon recommended either 'a very neutral note to Whitaker indicating that early action is not practicable and that... [a] member of the Foundation staff will try and pay a visit during the coming year' or, 'if, on the other hand, it is decided that the Foundation should stretch to give more active consideration', taking the immediate step of communicating with John Vaizey, 'who wrote such a good letter to me about Ireland a month or so ago'.

Writing on 1 November Vaizey's letter dealt in turn with 'the economic and political situation, 2) the state of the Universities in relation to education, 3) hopeful and helpful people, 4) the proposed Institute, and 5) how we might break into education'.

For Vaizey, Ireland's economy was indissolubly linked with that of the UK while inefficiency in agriculture and industry underlay its recurrent economic crises. A new realism was emerging among politicians and civil servants but had to struggle against the power of a church 'responsible for a terrible education system' and of a backward-looking nationalism exemplified by Irish language revival policy. Turning to the universities, Vaizey stressed their poverty. Of his fellow economists, he wrote: 'they all teach inordinately, their salaries are so low that they have to hold innumerable jobs and hardly any of them do any research'. However 'the innate quality of the academic staff is high (no other employment opportunities probably explains a lot)' and their existing deficiencies were curable by adequate time and money.

Appearing on Vaizey's list of 'hopeful and helpful people' were T.K. Whitaker, M.D. McCarthy, Patrick Lynch and George O'Brien of UCD. These were linked through SSISI but they lacked 'coherent research', 'a forum for debate and dissemination of their ideas' and – with the exceptions of Charles Carter and Vaizey himself - 'outside informed experts'. The proposed economics institute could supply these wants as well as being 'above all...a means of educating the informed public (members of the Dail included) in

the realities of the Irish situation'. Education should be a priority area of study - 'in its present state it is an immense handicap to the country and above all to the individual emigrant who can only go to England in an unskilled capacity'.

With its 'ray of light', Vaizey's letter provided a narrative – an inward looking country reintegrating with the Atlantic Community under guidance from an enlightened group that was struggling to overcome entrenched resistance to necessary change - around which subsequent recommendations that the Foundation support the Irish application were framed by its staff. Another key point of reference was OSTP, with whom Vaizey was working and from whom the Foundation obtained all the reports written in the course of the 1959 annual review of Ireland. To OEEC was attributed the conclusions that 'the time is now propitious to get at Ireland's problem through education' and 'the improvement of economic and social research and training programs would establish the best base on which further educational steps could be taken'.⁶

After the ERI became operational, Vaizey continued to be a source on information and comment for the Ford Foundation on how the new institute was taking shape. In September 1960, when he complained of a lack of attention to the economics of education and an over-emphasis on econometrics, Shephard Stone, head of the International Affairs Division, raised the issue with T.K. Whitaker when the two met while Whitaker was in the USA attending World Bank meetings. Educational research continued to be urged on ERI by the Ford Foundation until early 1962 when a firm government commitment to the OECD's pilot study proposal emerged.⁷

Apart from the type of economic research it was carrying out, the other issue to spark debate about the ERI's work was whether it should get involved in social as well as economic studies. There had been ambiguity from the outset about the scope of the work to be carried out by the proposed institute. Muintir na Tire, which had become active in the social research field through its Limerick Rural Survey, complained to Lemass about the absence of sociology from the new institute in January 1961. This prompted discussion of whether social research should be referred to in the Taoiseach's speech at

the ERI's official opening ceremony later that year. It was agreed that it should be and the speech stated that 'the Institute's net will be cast wide... it does not intend to confine itself to purely economic affairs, important as these are... it is planning also to undertake research into wider social and community affairs'. Hosting visiting scholars from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds provided a foothold for non-economic research within ERI prior its mid-1960s restructuring.⁸

HSC and the emergence of the Economic and Social Research Institute

Overlap between HSC and ERI was not initially a serious issue as HSC delimited its field of operation to specifically exclude economics:

The Human Sciences Committee is concerned with the development of research bearing on the human problems of work in all sectors of the economy. This includes problems which are external to the enterprise and which have a direct influence on attitudes and behaviour at work and on the organisation and conduct of the work. Consequently, the Committee is concerned with the applied human sciences and more particularly industrial sociology, psychology and physiology. Purely economic and medical research are excluded in principle.

However in 1963, as HSC was formulating a post-EPA programme of work and discussing its future relations with INPC, a Social Research Committee (SRC) was formed under the auspices of the Institute of Public Administration (IPA) with UCD economist Patrick Lynch as its chairman. A friend of Vaizey – and one of 'the hopeful and helpful people' he identified to the Ford Foundation – Lynch was at this time Chairman of Aer Lingus, an influential NIEC member and the central figure in the two seminal OECD-supported team studies of early 1960s Ireland discussed in Chapter 7 above. As was the case with Lynch's career, SRC straddled the civil service (it included seven Department Secretaries) and academia (UCD, Trinity College and St. Patrick's College Maynooth) as well as including a number of state-sponsored research institute directors (ERI, IIRS, IPA and the Agricultural Institute). A Document it drew up envisaged a scheme of university-based postgraduate research fellowships whose holders 'would investigate specific problems of Irish sociology, preferably of an applied nature'. The cost of such a scheme would, it was estimated, average a minimum of £10,000 a year over an initial three-year period (Friis 1965: Appendix 1).

An 'indication of how our thoughts are forming' on this proposal was provided by T.K. Whitaker in September 1963. Social research was unquestionably desirable, but so was avoidance of 'the proliferation of agencies and duplication of functions' by organisations looking to the state for funds and competing for scarce expertise. Quoting the passage that had been inserted into the speech delivered by the Taoiseach at ERI's June 1961 opening ceremony in response to Muintir na Tire's criticism that sociology was being neglected, Whitaker observed that 'the ambit of the Economic Research Institute covers social as well as economic research and there is much to be said for having both carried out by one organisation'.

At a meeting in October, Lynch and other SRC representatives accepted that in the longer term an economic and social research institute was to be desired but argued that its establishment at the outset 'would be a mistake'. Lack of trained social research workers was an immediate task to be tackled and here 'the Economic Research Institute had no special advantage, organization or skill'. Social studies 'would at this time be wholly overwhelmed by the superior sophistication of economic studies and the standing of the Economic Research Institute would not, in any event, be enhanced by operating at two contrasting levels of sophistication'. The civil service Secretary members of SRC had, it was pointed out, been invited 'from specifically non-economic departments' - 'they were ready to co-operate in social studies; their co-operation was essential in much of the possible research, but a number of them would be likely to be highly suspicious of a preponderantly economists' approach to their problems'. The need for research-based improvement of policy-making in social spending departments was 'so urgent that those who wanted to get it started should be permitted to do this'. But, hopeful that foundation funding could be obtained for social research, Whitaker resisted the commitment of domestic funds sought by SRC.

Thus, like the HSC before it, SRC did not succeed in sourcing funds for a scheme of fellowships. But, unlike the HSC, it did pursue to a successful conclusion the acquisition of expert analysis from abroad:

The United Nations Organization had expressed a desire to help with the assignment of experienced directors of research, should the committee be able to get funds to conduct this research. When this failed that project fell through. The occasion of a recent visit to New York by the Chairman of [IPA]... and the Director... was taken to discuss with the United Nations what might possibly be done to help clarify the whole situation concerning social research in Ireland, and to see what allocation of roles might be made so that the advance of knowledge, the training of research workers and the formulation of social policy might all be best developed. It was suggested that the United Nations might be able, say as from September 1964, to send over to the Committee, if the Committee so wished, a very senior and experienced administrator in the social field who might draw up a report for the guidance of all the interested parties on the best allocation of roles.

In July 1964 SRC met to consider this proposal and 'to discuss, from amongst a list of very eminent social administrators supplied by the UN, the one whose experience would best commend itself to the Committee for that purpose'. The chosen expert nominated in the application for assistance to the UN was Henning Friis, Director of the Danish National Institute of Social Research. Earlier in 1964 ERI had, at the suggestion of Patrick Lynch, invited Friis to speak on the topic 'The Organisation of Social Research on a National Basis'. Friis had accepted but indicated that his schedule would not enable him to come to Dublin until the Spring of 1965. Difficulties that for a time prompted the UN to seek another expert having been overcome, it was as a consultant rather than as a lecturer that Friis visited Ireland between February and May 1965.⁹

At a meeting with HSC on 30 March Friis outlined his thinking, which converged with the view expressed earlier by T.K. Whitaker rather than with that of the SRC:

His investigations so far led him to believe that a permanent central organisation was desirable to carry out social research in this country – especially in view of its small size. In the absence of such a body there was likely to be a mushrooming of minor institutes all operating in this field. Small scale studies were currently being undertaken which were not bringing up the evidence for national policy formation. In regard to research on policy formation, many questions could not be answered by one discipline and the co-operation of many disciplines was, in fact, necessary. Moreover it was extremely difficult to build up social research on an ad hoc financing basis – people tend to move to other countries or areas. Therefore he was of the view that it was necessary to establish a permanent body for policy related research in the social sciences.¹⁰

Completed in May, the Friis report set the stage for the conversion of the existing ERI into the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI). In August the matter was brought before the government by a memorandum from Finance entitled “Social Development Programme”. This obtained approval for two proposals. One was that the Friis recommendation of an integrated economic and social research institute with a survey unit attached be accepted in principle. The other was that M.D. McCarthy, the CSO Director, be asked ‘to formulate a preliminary programme for the organisation and integration of the studies and inquiries on which the official aspects of a social development programme should be based’. The two were linked by the expectation that, when the ERI’s Director Roy Geary retired in the following year, McCarthy would succeed him. In June 1962 a visiting Ford Foundation officer had noted:

The close relationship between the Institute and the Ministry of Finance is especially interesting and could make this investment very meaningful over the long run. The influential members of the Executive Board have in the past been associated with the Ministry of Finance and the present Minister (sic), T.K. Whitaker, is in daily touch with Geary on virtually every question he faces. It would probably be too much to say that Whitaker “runs” the Institute, but such an assessment would not be too far from the truth. Under the circumstances at present this appears to be a good thing because it guarantees that the work of the Institute will be closely focused on policy questions of interest to the government and may have a significant impact on the future development of the Irish economy. More difficult to assess is the question of what this relationship does to the independence of the Institute as a center of free scholarly research.¹¹

Departmental discussion of social research within the context of some sort of social development programme that would be linked to the ongoing programmes for economic expansion had begun in 1964. An ERI paper by a visiting scholar from outside economics, P.R. Kaim-Caudle, was the main stimulus for a Department of the Taoiseach document entitled “Some Notes on Department of Social Welfare”. This also made reference to a variety of other manifestations of ‘the growing interest in social, as opposed to economic, research’ and concluded that ‘as the Minister for Social Welfare may have to contend with the results of much of this sociological study work, there may be a case for giving him the responsibility for [social research]’. Apparently in response to this, Lemass indicated that he wanted the idea of a programme for social development -

covering social welfare, housing and other social amenities but not education – discussed informally.

This initiative became entangled with another by Finance suggesting an interdepartmental committee to consider how Social Welfare might be improved as Second Programme for Economic Expansion targets were met. Lemass, when he learned of the Finance proposal, fell in with its envisaged production of ‘an internal confidential study focused on rational evolution of policy rather than a published programme’. Unwilling to proceed were the “social” departments. Local Government wanted its services (principally housing) left out of any review while Social Welfare insisted on proceeding departmentally rather than inter-departmentally with ferocious obduracy. The programme idea was dead before the end of the year bearing out the SRC representatives’ view in the previous one that ‘a number of them [Secretaries of ‘specifically non-economic departments’] would be likely to be highly suspicious of a preponderantly economists’ approach to their problems’.¹²

The social programme concept was nonetheless revived by Finance in the different form of McCarthy’s ‘programme of studies and inquiries’ when the Friis report was published. As the formalities required to turn ERI into the ESRI were completed in October 1966, McCarthy succeeded Geary as Director and the government was required to fulfil its undertaking to provide the institute with funding once Ford Foundation aid had ceased. However, McCarthy directed the ESRI for barely a year before returning to his native Cork to become President of UCC. The link between the Directorship of the CSO and that of the ESRI was broken by the appointment of Michael Fogarty, an academic with an Irish family background but an English (specifically Oxford) educational formation, to succeed him. Also lost was the catalyst role in preparing a social development programme it had been hoped McCarthy would play while ESRI Director. As a Finance minute put it in August 1967, ‘pressure of other duties has prevented [McCarthy] doing much in this area and, while he is still hopeful, I think that we will have to go it alone’.¹³

The transformation of ERI into ESRI had raised the issue of what the HSC’s relationship to the new institute should be. Friis had been positive in his assessment of the job HSC

had done and had wanted to see its structure preserved within the new institute. 'To develop programmes for particular areas of research', his report suggested that 'the Council [of the restructured institute] might set up committees with experts in the particular field', supplying the example that 'the existing Human Sciences Committee of the Irish National Productivity Committee might be re-organized so as function as the committee on labour market research and human relations in industry' (Friis 1965: 24). After the government's decision in October 1965 to accept the recommendations made by Friis a meeting between HSC and ERI took place in January 1966 which concluded that 'the position might be left flexible for about a year and then examined again'. In October 1966 approval for a government grant-in-aid to ESRI was accompanied by the expression of Finance's view that a formal approach to HSC to discuss the relationship between the two bodies was desirable but no move appears to have been made during McCarthy's brief period as ESRI Director.¹⁴

Fogarty's academic career included a long stint as Professor of Industrial Relations at University College Cardiff but his expertise in this field found its main Irish outlet in conducting inquiries set up by the Department of Labour whose subject matter included major industrial disputes affecting electricity supply and banking. He appears to have had virtually no contact with HSC during his period as ESRI Director. In February 1970 he put forward the idea of joint sponsorship by INPC and ESRI of a study of pay claim formulation but in two internal memoranda he wrote shortly afterwards, reflecting on the ESRI's first decade and seeking to stimulate discussion of its next five years, the issues of overlap and liaison with other organisations involved in research are discussed without any mention being made of either INPC or its HSC.¹⁵

In 1969 the chronic conflicts within INPC alluded to in Chapter 4 were analysed in a comprehensive review of the organisation by Svein Dalen and Tony Hubert of the European Association of National Productivity Centres. They concluded that 'there is little, if any, valid future for the Irish National Productivity Committee as it now stands'. The worthwhile applied social science work of HSC they wished to see continued by a new Irish Productivity Centre (IPC). The transfer to some other organisation of the

advisory service, on the other hand, they regarded as an essential break with the past. However IPC took shape rather differently. The name change took place but the proposed transfer of the advisory service did not. ICTU and FUE assumed control of IPC in 1972 with all the other constituents bodies either withdrawing or being shown the door (Murray 2005b: 77-79).

While praising the work HSC had got through while INPC was in a state of civil war, Dalen and Hubert had commented that 'the direction of the research policy process' was 'somewhat peculiar'. Research policy should, they considered, be defined and implemented by 'the top-most body of the [productivity centre]: the dog must wag the tail, and not vice-versa'. In October 1972 IPC's Director sent a memorandum on research expenditure to its Chairman. This argued that IPC needed to invest in research to attain its objectives and that, insofar as it studied human problems at work, HSC research was in line with IPC research needs. But HSC had also sought to 'to develop a body of knowledge in the behavioural sciences on the Irish situation' and 'to develop a social science research capability in Ireland'. IPC could not assume responsibility for funding projects serving these ends in the future. Clarification of objectives and roles was now called for - 'there is no possibility that the [IPC] Council would continue to [sic] practice (if not the policy) of the [INPC] Committee of Management to transfer an annual sum to HSC and forget it'.²

In July 1973 four HSC representatives attended the IPC Council meeting. Here discussion was initiated by the Director who presented a view of research as a support to the IPC field services working to enhance the productivity and profitability of the enterprise as well as to improve its labour-management relations. In this context 'the emphasis would be on application of knowledge to practical situations rather than on the generation of new knowledge'. Responding, Charles McCarthy argued for a mix of the 'once off' projects that HSC has supported for nearly a decade with the evolution of a more strategic approach. The other HSC representatives emphasised either the importance of HSC for the development of a pool of skilled researchers or unique

features of the Irish environment that justified ongoing IPC involvement in knowledge-generating research.¹⁶

Attempts to develop the more strategic approach that might secure HSC's survival within IPC focused on a turn towards action research and on a revived ergonomics involvement. The idea of developing an emphasis on action research - 'projects in which the researcher would analyse specific situations, suggest solutions to problems identified and monitor the attempt to implement solutions' - had emerged out of discussion between McCarthy and Hans Van Beinum, who had headed the Tavistock Institute team that carried out the Dublin busmen study in the mid-1960s and was now a university professor in Rotterdam. However, this proposal was perceived as a threat, and successfully lobbied against, by another division within IPC. After EPA's demise, HSC ergonomics activity had fallen away for a number of years but had been revived with the funding of a research fellowship in Trinity's engineering school in 1970. A proposal for the setting up of a permanent HSC-supported ergonomics unit was subsequently developed. In the July 1973 discussion McCarthy had pointed to this as the potential starting point of a 'strategic approach' convergence between HSC activities and IPC concerns. This hope was dashed after 'both FUE and ICTU had been lukewarm in their reaction to the proposed Unit because it seemed "research" rather than "plant" oriented'.¹⁷

In relation to its project funding, HSC had set up a Future Work Sub-Committee to identify 'priority themes' in November 1972. Here two focal points emerged - unemployment and married women workers. At HSC's meeting in May 1973 'the proposal for a project in the Unemployment Area was discussed and even though the area of the project was socio-psychological, it was felt by some members of the Committee that it might duplicate work being done by the E.S.R.I. and in any event the area was not an appropriate one for the Human Sciences Committee'.¹⁸ Support was given to further exploration of the married women workers area by UCD's Eunice McCarthy up to 1976.

By this time HSC was being starved to death financially while inconclusive meetings on its role within IPC continued to be held. At the IPC Council meeting in November 1975 it was pointed out that the amount available to HSC was diminishing as a percentage of the

Centre's grant-in-aid and that no money was available for new projects. The Chairman's response was that 'it was unlikely that more money could be made available under present conditions.'¹⁹ In 1976 IPC's annual report acquired a new format and shrank to half its previous length. Within these shrunken confines no announcement marked the ending of twenty years involvement in human sciences research activity when it came. In 1979 the heading 'Human Sciences Committee research project grants' simply disappeared from IPC's accounts.

Conclusion

Writing in 2002, Goldthorpe suggested that, while a distinction between 'the sociology of the research centres' and the 'sociology of the university departments' had relevance in many states, it applied with particular force in the case of the Republic of Ireland (Goldthorpe, O'Dowd and O'Connor 2002). A subsequent overview of Irish social science research policy and practice echoed this view (Jackson 2004). The division became deeply embedded between the early 1980s and the mid-1990s when no significant source of public funding for social science research other than the grant-in-aid to the ESRI existed. Within this wider context the demise of the HSC is of some significance as it removed the earliest and longest sustained source of government support for university-based social science research.

The origins of the Irish divide between the two sociologies can be traced back to the mid-1960s. Then Friis argued that while a dedicated research institute with a policy focus was essential, social research within the universities also needed support. He noted that university research was restricted by the combination of heavy teaching loads with 'very limited funds' and pointed out that 'most other countries have a publicly sponsored science foundation or council to which researchers from various disciplines can apply for research funds, and part of the problem of financing university research is thereby solved'. He concluded by hoping that this problem would be 'studied in the context of the Irish science and technology survey' (Friis 1965: 29-31). But, while critically noting that Friis 'gave little space to observations on the need for more basic research in the fundamental social sciences', the Lynch team took the government decision to approve the Friis report's organisational recommendations as a *fait accompli* and did not

specifically advance proposals to give additional structural support to social science research (Department of Industry and Commerce 1966: 141-143). In January 1966 an OECD meeting of Ministers of Science was devoted to the social sciences. OECD was keen to see social science research councils established in member countries but, shaped by M.D. McCarthy who was at one with Friis on the desirability of prioritising policy-oriented research in Ireland, the speech delivered to the meeting by the Irish minister kicked for touch on this point.²⁰ Three decades would pass before this ball was be retrieved and thrown back into the field of play (Jackson 2004).

NOTES

¹ DIC MIS/1/5 National Joint Committee on the Human Sciences and Their Application to Industry Meetings to 31-12-1961, Minutes of Committee Meeting No. 2, 16/1/1959

¹ NAI DIC R303/7/84 Productivity Project for Shannon Development Area

² NAI DT S 16622 B/62 and S 16622 C/63 Shannon Free Airport Development Co.: legislation; housing at Shannon: NAI DETE 2000/12/713 Interdepartmental Committee on Housing at Shannon Request from Div. A for obs. Financing of Shannon Free Airport Development Company Ltd.

³ NAI ICTU Box 356 File Research Department Human Sciences Committee - Minutes: Minutes of Meetings No. 23, 11/1/1963 to No. 27, 24/10/1963

⁴ NAI ICTU Box 218 3509 INPC Human Sciences Committee (From December 1963 to December 1974) "Report on Work of Committee" presented to annual meeting, 18/12/1967

⁵ NAI DFA 324/339 Ford and Rockefeller Foundations: NAI DT S 16,645 A Ford and Rockefeller Foundation Aid to Ireland NAI DT S 16,705 A Centre for Economic and Social Research in Ireland: Establishment

⁶ FFA Reel No. 620 Grant No. PA 60-285 Section 4 memo S. Gordon To J. McDaniel 18/12/1959: Reel No. 620 Grant No. PA 60-285 Section 4 corres. J. Vaizey, Oxford to S. Gordon, Ford Foundation 1/11/1959; J. Pognan, OSTP to S. Stone, Ford Foundation 3/2/1960

⁷ Ibid. J. Vaizey to S. Stone and S. Stone to J. Vaizey, various dates 1960-61; NAI DF 2001/3/775 Proposed Pilot Study of Future Educational Needs with Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Assistance copy M. Cullen, Ford Foundation to R.C. Geary, Director, ERI 13/6/1962

⁸ NAI DT S 16,705 A Centre for Economic and Social Research in Ireland: Establishment: N. O'Nuallain, Taoiseach to T.K. Whitaker, Finance 5/5/1961; T.K. Whitaker, Finance to N. O'Nuallain, Taoiseach 8/5/1961: copy of speech is in file

⁹ ESRI Box 1 History of ERI/ESRI File Institute of Public Administration 59 Lansdowne Road Dublin 4 Social Research Council

¹⁰ NAI ICTU Box 356 File Research Department Human Sciences Committee - Minutes: Minutes of Meeting 30/3/1965

¹¹ NAI DT 97/6/209 Programme for Social Development: J. Lynch, Minister for Finance to S. Lemass, Taoiseach 26/5/1965; FFA Reel No. 620 Grant No. PA 60-285 Section 4 memo M. Cullen to Records 11/6/1962

¹² NAI DT S17,678/95 Programme for Social Development

¹³ NAI DF Finance 2001/3/1468 Third Programme for Economic Expansion: Social Development Aspects: Memo C.H. Murray to M. Breathnach 25/8/1967

¹⁴ See NAI ICTU Box 356 File Research Department Human Sciences Committee – Minutes of relevant meetings

¹⁵ NAI ICTU Box 218 3509 I.N.P.C. Human Sciences Committee From December 1963 to December 1974: M. Fogarty, ESRI to D. Walsh, INPC 20/2/1970; ESRI Box 1 History of ERI/ESRI "ESRI 1960-1970" pp. 28-29; "ESRI And The Next Five Years" p. 17

² NAI ICTU Box 216 file 3506 INPC November 1971 to June 1973: Memo from Director, IPC to Chairman, IPC "The IPC and its expenditures on research" 16/10/1972;

¹⁶ NAI ICTU Box 217 3506 Irish Productivity Centre From July 1974 to June 1976 Irish Productivity Centre Council Meeting No. 13 13/7/1973

¹⁷ NAI ICTU Box 216 3506 INPC November 1971 to June 1973: on action research see P. Clancy, Promotions Division, IPC to R. Roberts, ICTU 17/7/1972; on the ergonomics unit see IPC Council Meeting Minutes 26/2/1974

¹⁸ NAI ICTU Box 218 3509 I.N.P.C. Human Sciences Committee From December 1963 to December 1974: Minutes of Meeting No. 77, 31/5/1973

¹⁹ NAI ICTU Box 217 Minutes of IPC Council Meeting No. 33 4/11/1975: NAI ICTU Box 218 3509 IPC Human Science Committee (From February 1975)

²⁰ NAI DF 2001/3/952 Programme for Social Development, Statement by the Minister for Education at the OECD Ministerial Meeting on Science – Paris, 13 January, 1966