The Population Investigation Committee (P.I.C.) is probably unique amongst research organisations in Britain for the close collaboration it has maintained with the central authorities. Established in 1935, it was soon called upon to discuss with the General Register Office how the scope of birth statistics might be extended to improve the analysis of trends in fertility; and when the Royal Commission on Population was set up in 1944, six members of the P.I.C. were asked to serve on it or on its technical committees. The P.I.C. is probably unique also for the willingness it has always shown to collaborate with other organisations in research. Indeed, two of the most ambitious programmes with which its name is associated — longitudinal studies of a sample of the population over a period of fifteen years or so — have been conducted on this basis. In this connection it is important to note that although the P.I.C. has made contributions to the techniques of formal demographic analysis,¹ it has regularly thought of its work as having wider implications, both with respect to the development of empirically sound population policy on the one hand, and in relation to the establishment of valid psychological and sociological generalisations about demographic aspects of society, on the other. It is, of course, with this last side of its work that this Venster is mainly concerned.

In 1932 the Scottish Council for Research in Education gave a group intelligence test to all Scottish children, born in 1921 and attending school on 1st June, 1932. The aim, now seen to be 'rather naive',² was to obtain information about the distribution of intelligence and the incidence of mental defect in the population. Thirteen years later the P.I.C. thought that advantage might be taken of the existence of the results of this survey to repeat the experiment for a different purpose. The Royal Commission on Population was still sitting, and one of the issues which it was discussing was the probable effect on the nation's intelligence of the relationship between intelligence test scores and differential family size. In a lecture to the Eugenics Society in 1946, for example, the Professor of Education at the University of Edinburgh said that it was his general conviction that 'there is a negative correlation between the 'intelligence' of a child of about 11 years, and the size of the family of which he or she is a member, and I am fairly sure that the correlation co-efficient is approximately -0.25. Of its cause I am much less certain, but I think it is largely due to the later marriages of intelligent people, their restraint in producing fewer children,

¹ For details see the pamphlet. Population Investigation Committee: a Record of Research and Publications p. 13.
and the inheritance of their intelligence by their offspring'.\(^3\) Calculations, based on his own and other people's work, gave 'values for the decline in intelligence ranging from slightly below 2 points to well over 3 points per generation'.\(^4\) Nevertheless, it was important not to rely on calculations alone. 'Actual measurement of two successive generations is desirable, indeed essential'; and he urged all those in a position to promote and carry out such research, to do so.\(^5\)

The experiment was, in a sense, already under way; for the lecturer himself had previously brought to the attention of the Scottish Council for Research in Education a proposal from the P.I.C. that the intelligence of 11-year old children in Scotland should be tested for comparison with the 1932 data. Eventually the original form of the 1932 group intelligence test and its preliminary practice sheet were given to all Scottish schoolchildren, born in 1936 and attending school on 4th June, 1947. The results, inspite of confirming the negative association between intelligence and family size, (\(r = 0.28\)), showed that the intelligence of Scottish schoolchildren, far from declining at a rate of from 2 to 3 points per generation, had increased by 2.284 points on a test with a maximum of 76 points, or about 2 points of I.Q. over a period of fifteen years.\(^7\) Clearly, calculations based on differential fertility and the negative correlation co-efficients alone were likely to be misleading, and Thomson now admitted that 'the proof that large families tend to be less intelligent does not in itself indicate whether they are large because they are unintelligent, or unintelligent because they are large'.\(^8\)\(^9\)

Since 1947 interest has moved away from this issue and present day demographic surveys 'focus on other differentials than intelligence — on social class, income, religion and education, to mention those most commonly studied'.\(^9\) Nevertheless, the scores obtained from testing Scottish schoolchildren, born in 1936, continue to be of value, because on this occasion the data was accompanied by sociological information, collected at the same time and supplemented by other data obtained since then from the schools, from Youth Employment offices, and from the pupils themselves.\(^10\) In general, it may be said that the measured intelligence of schoolchildren is important in determining their performance at school but only in a very broad sense. As large a proportion as 38% of a random sample of these Scottish schoolchildren, with I.Q.'s of 136 and over did not complete 5 years at school.\(^11\) Other variables such as the size of the family from which the

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\(^4\) Ibid p. 11.

\(^5\) Ibid p. 15.


\(^7\) Ibid Table X, p. 85.

\(^8\) Ibid Preface, p. viii.


\(^11\) Ibid Table XXVI, p. 49.
children come, the relative size of the home in which they live, whether it is located in an urban or a rural area, and the occupations of their fathers, affect their chances of making a success of their school careers. Moreover, following the Terman studies of American gifted children, teachers were asked to score their pupils in terms of the extent to which they demonstrated self-confidence, perseverance, stability of moods, conscientiousness, originality, and desire to excell. Whether a pupil stayed the course was then seen to depend largely on perseverence, conscientiousness and the desire to do well. 'Without these qualities a pupil is not likely to have much success in a five-year course'. To be sure, teachers' ratings were influenced in some degree by their pupils' I.Q. 'From a study of individual cases, however, the personality ratings are frequently found to be most illuminating, independently of I.Q., as an indication of future progress'. By 1955 all the children had left school and some information was available on the kinds of occupations they had entered or the type of higher education they were pursuing. As might be expected, the higher the I.Q. and the longer the period at school, the higher the social status of the postschool career, but the relationship held once again in only a very broad sense. Some children with I.Q.'s of below 116 were at University or Teacher Training Colleges; some with I.Q.'s of above 135 were employed as clerks in offices, or assistants in shops. If it has done nothing else the follow-up study of Scottish schoolchildren has shown that there is still considerable waste of talent in British society. Although the general body of the population may in many respects be said to be 'adequately' catered for by the educational system, a large minority has abilities and capacities which are not used effectively. Another follow-up report, covering the 'children' up to the age of 25 is now being written. It will be interesting to see how far the gap between the majority of the subjects, following the 'normal' course of development in Scotland, and the exceptions to the norm has widened over the intervening years.

While this work was being undertaken the P.I.C. was pursuing another line of enquiry, originally with the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, and subsequently with the University of London Institute of Child Health and with the Society of Medical Officers of Health. In its original form this enquiry was designed to investigate the availability of the maternity service to different social classes and different parts of the country in 1946, and to consider the use made of these services, their effectiveness, and the needs which existed for them and for a possible extension for them at that time. For this purpose all women in Great Britain who had a child during the week 3—9 March, 1946 were interviewed at a date eight weeks after the birth of their babies. This provided a universe of 13,687 mothers successfully interviewed, and a sample of the children born to them has since been followed consistently in a programme of interviewing, medical examinations and other testing at fairly frequent intervals. This research which has broadened out in many ways, has been designed

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12 Ibid p. 77.
13 Ibid Table XL1, pp. 99 and 102.
15 P.I.C. A Record of Research, op. cit. p. 10.
inter alia to fill in some gaps in our knowledge not adequately catered for by the Scottish surveys. For example, comparing the children’s performance in intelligence tests at 8 with their performance at 11, one of the noticeable features is the extent to which parental interest in the education of their children, the size of the family, the conditions of the house in which it lives, and the type of school attended by the children, all affect independently the test results. Indeed, these influences 'tend to be cumulative over time so far as the manual workers' children are concerned. Had I.Q. tests at 8 years of age been used as the basis of selection for secondary education — and assuming the same chances as those of the upper middle class groups in each I.Q. band — the numbers of children of the lower manual groups allocated to a grammar type of education would have been increased by about 85 per cent'.16 Clearly, the overwhelming significance of social factors and of social stratification in particular, observed in the 1940's by the emphasis on intelligence alone, has been amply demonstrated by the P.I.C.’s research.

By March, 1961 the children in this second longitudinal study were 15, and during the course of the preceding twelve months the P.I.C. collected a great deal of information about the health of the children and their parents, about their progress at school, about their mothers’ opinions of their future employment and prospects of further education, and about maladjustment and delinquency on their part. On this last item the P.I.C. obtained the collaboration of the Home Office, which set out to collect the statistics of all those people, born during 3—9 March 1946, who had for any reason appeared before the Courts. This data will make it possible for the P.I.C. to compare the children in its longitudinal survey with the general population in terms of such offences as result in being summoned to appear before the magistrates. A further study, of apprenticeship and the further education of the survey children after 15, has also been begun. No published results are as yet available, but during the course of this year and the next it is expected that fresh volumes and papers will extend our knowledge of this later period of the life of the children, for comparison with the data published on their first five years.17

Three other studies conducted by the P.I.C. should also be of interest to the sociologist concerned with demographic issues, especially in their relation to social stratification. These cover marriage and divorce in Britain from 1858 to 1957, the British peerage from 1330 to 1934, and marriage, fertility and birth-control at the present time. The first of these studies has been designed to consist of two different types of enquiry: an analysis of the official records of marriage and divorce, and an intensive examination of newspapers, periodicals, etc. to determine the conventions of courtship and marriage and how they have been modified in the different social classes over the past century. In the 'provisional findings' which have so far been published the P.I.C. has drawn the conclusion, familiar to sociologists but resisted by commentators on social morals, that 'the increase in divorce petitions implies no more than an increasing desire and ability on the part of estranged couples to seek a complete legal termination to marriage, in-

16 D. V. Glass, op. cit. p. 23.
stead of separating on a partial or informal basis or 'keeping up appearances' in an uneasy matrimonial truce. It is impossible in the present state of knowledge to invest the increase with a greater significance than this. The study of conventions, indeed, shows that divorce law reform follows slowly in the wake of changing social custom and opinion; and these are said to be related to 'the decline in the authority of the various religious denominations in matters of matrimonial ethics', to the decline of landed property before the growing importance of capital as a source of wealth, and to the increase in opportunities for employment on the part of women outside the home.

By contrast to the study of divorce which, on the whole, has been content to follow statistically familiar lines, (except insofar as access to the original divorce petition files has provided detailed analysis of divorce by social class) the P.I.C.'s study of the British peerage is likely to prove unique, demographically speaking, because it set out deliberately to collect and analyse the statistics of a relatively small but socially homogeneous section of the population about which data is available over seven hundred years. For the period up to the seventeenth century, to be sure, it is likely that not all the births to ducal families were recorded, but certainly from about 1680 to the present day the data is as complete as any demographer could wish. So far, unfortunately, only a brief account of fertility and mortality has been published, making it difficult to assess the extent to which the final report will be useful to the sociologist. Nevertheless, if only for the length of the historical period covered by this research, it should provide information on the upper class of British society which will be invaluable to the study of social stratification. In particular, it will trace the effect on fertility of class endogamy and exogamy.

Finally, in 1959 the P.I.C. launched its Marriage Survey which is designed to study contemporary courtship conventions, marriage timing, fertility aspirations and family-planning. The population studied for the whole survey consists of single, married, widowed and divorced men and women between the ages of 15 and 60. Young unmarried persons were included because it is intended to compare past with present courtship behaviour, and current as well as past attitudes to marriage timing. Persons over 60 were excluded 'because it seemed desirable to restrict the survey to a limited number of generations and marriage cohorts, and thus avoid most of the technical problems created by differential survival which bedevil all studies of life histories given by elderly people'. Within this population the 'ever-married' persons were interviewed on their attitude towards, and use of, birth-control. They were all interviewed by persons of their own sex, sometimes in the presence of other members of their families, and only 13 persons, out of a total of 2,350 refused to give their opinions, and 20 would not say

whether they had ever used birth-control. Almost to the surprise of the P.I.C. British people proved to be no more reluctant to talk about these issues than people in the U.S.A.

The results confirm what other studies abroad have already found. Fewer men than women have never used birth-control. People married since 1939 are less likely never to have used it than people married before. There are social class and religious differences. In the last case, asking respondents about the importance of religion in their lives, was employed to distinguish between the 'devout', the 'moderate' and the 'indifferent' religious believer. Irrespective of the fact that more Roman Catholics were non-users than Protestants, within each religious group the 'devout' were more likely to be non-users than either of the other two categories. These general distinctions, moreover, have been shown to be significant in distinguishing between the different techniques of birth-control employed.

Altogether, then, the P.I.C. has a number of studies, only partially completed, which will provide the kind of demographic and demographically relevant data which the sociologist often finds lacking when trying to analyse the social structure, and there is other work which individual members of the P.I.C. have undertaken which also extends our knowledge along similar lines. In terms of sheer coverage, both of topics and of the size of the populations investigated, no other research organisation in Britain has such a continuous record of valuable work, and it is to be hoped that just as in 1940 Professor D. V. Glass pulled together into a single volume all the work alone under the auspices of the P.I.C. in population policies, so in the near future a definitive volume on marriage, divorce, fertility and mortality will be composed, based on the many reports, scattered through volumes of Population Studies and other journals.

ADDENDUM

Since the above note was written a copy of the paper by Professor D. V. Glass, 'Fertility and Birth Control in Developed Societies, and Some Questions of Policy for Less Developed Societies' (reprinted from the Malayan Economic Review Vol. 8 No. 1, April 1963) has been received. This reports on some further work by the P.I.C. on the use of birth control by women.

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23 Ibid Table 11 p. 154.
24 Ibid Table 15 p. 156.
25 Ibid Table 16 p. 157.
27 See, for example, P.I.C. A Record of Research op. cit. Appendix II for a list of publications, 1945—49.
in this instance those who have been regularly interviewed since 1946 (see the text for reference 14 above). Professor Glass concludes that women are reticent about the use of birth-control 'if it was their husbands who had used condoms or shealts', (p. 38) and this accounts, in part, for the consistently lower proportion of women than men who say that they have never used birth-control.

J. A. B.

BESPREKINGSARTIKELEN

STRIJDKRACHTEN EN POLITIEK

door J. A. A. VAN DOORN


De ontwikkeling der internationale verhoudingen in de laatste twee decennia heeft ons allen een soort 'atomisch trauma' bezorgd. Wij zijn nauwelijks bij machte meer over oorlog in andere termen te denken dan in die van een atoomoorlog, zomin als over strijdkrachten anders dan als atoomstrijdkrachten. De afschuwelijke dreiging van een wereldomspannende strijd met kernwapens is voor ons voorstellingsvermogen zo buitenproportioneel, dat wij het gezicht hebben verloren op wat zich inmiddels aan werkelijke militaire strijd en werkelijke militaire machtsuitoefening in de wereld aftekent. Zo is het verrassend te constateren, dat er sedert 1945 nauwelijks een jaar is geweest, dat niet ergens ter wereld — en meestal op meerdere plaatsen — militaire conflicten aan de gang waren, maar dat slechts in één geval (Korea) en dan nog maar tot op zekere hoogte sprake was van het conventionele beeld van een conflict tussen staten, dus tussen zelfstandige politieke eenheden. Alle andere strijd betrof ongelijkwaardige partners, meestal revolutionaire bewegingen tegen al dan niet vreemde regeringen en hun apparaat.

Een rechtstreeks gevolg hiervan is de dominantie van een anderssoortige strijdwijze, typisch voor de revolutionaire oorlog, te weten de guerrilla. Alle moderne bewapening ten spijt hebben de strijdkrachten van tai van landen in de afgelopen tijd primair moeten steunen op het vermogen tot het uitvechten van een het militair moreel aantastende 'kleine oorlog', te voet gevoerd in ontogankelijke streken en in even ontogankelijke inheemse stadswijken.

Deze guerrilla is bovendien niet slechts een strijdwijze van militair-taktische