Building National Capacity in the Social Sciences: Insights from the Experience in Asia

BUILDING NATIONAL CAPACITY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES:

INSIGHTS FROM THE EXPERIENCE IN ASIA

Summary and Analysis of
Questionnaire Response of
Ford, Rockefeller, A/D/C and IDRC
Former Fellows Trained in the
Social Sciences

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1 Introduction

At the end of the 1940s, virtually all professionally trained social scientists who were directing their research at the policy issues that face the developing world were men and women who had been born and brought up in industrialised countries and were products of the universities in those countries. It soon became apparent that there was a critical need for the Third World to develop its own capacity to take an empirical approach to the study of its social and economic problems.

An essential part of the effort to meet this need was an extensive program of fellowships which took Third World nationals abroad to study and to gain proficiency in the use of the tools and methods of social science inquiry. In subsequent decades, governments and lending agencies and philanthropic organizations devoted considerable human and fiscal resources to the support of Third World students working toward advanced degrees in the social sciences in the United States and other industrialized countries.

From the start it was recognized that this was not a permanent or definitive solution for the problem. A period of continued dependence on the industrialized world for such training was expected, but even the initial reliance on overseas fellowships included a recognition that no country would have an adequate supply of well-trained, problem-oriented social scientists unless it trained them itself. There was general concern that some elements of training abroad might have limited relevance to the developing world. At the same time, it was recognized that no other choice was available if a high level of competence was to be quickly achieved.

In addition, however, there was an obvious need for courses and curricula that paid particular attention to problems unique to developing countries (policy alternatives for primarily subsistence rural economies, for example). Overseas training offered too little opportunity for applied research on real problems of development and field data collection in the setting where those problems were to be found.

Costs of overseas training were also high, scarce foreign exchange was

required to meet them, and the specter of "brain drain" – a very real drain of fiscal as well as intellectual resources – was always an issue. Finally, overseas training made it very difficult to meet within a single program the requirements of advanced graduate education and the challenges of applied research on the problems of the individual's home country.

Social science theories and methodologies acquired abroad have, in fact, been used effectively to shape and carry out sound policies in most developing countries. At the same time there has been a gratifying growth in the ability of many developing countries to meet their need for local social science training capacity. This has inevitably called for rethinking the role of international donor agencies and the educational institutions of the developed countries.

The current study encompasses four of the major fellowship programs carried on since the 1950s to build the capacity of Asian countries to take a scientific approach to the study of socio-economic issues. It includes the programs of the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Agricultural Development Council (A/D/C), and International Development Research Centre (IDRC). Particular attention is given to India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, each of which has its unique university and governmental traditions and each of which has devised its own strategy of human resource development.

In brief, this study asked how well past programs have succeeded and what insight they offer for the future. It explores the place the former fellows have filled and are filling in the world of social science and governmental policy, how they evaluate their overseas experience, and what advice they can offer to donor agencies for future programming. Special emphasis is given to how the former fellows have contributed to the growth of social science training capacity in their home countries since their return and what they think is necessary to maintain and expand that capacity.

An important source of data on the effectiveness of past programs is the record of performance of those who have participated in it. This study asked former fellows to respond to a detailed questionnaire about their training and employment experience. It has been supplemented by personal interviews with their present or potential employers in the Third World. This latter group included 33 university leaders, government administrators, and executives in the private sector in India, Indonesia, Thailand and

the Philippines. Representing the "user group", these leaders were asked to appraise the value of social scientists and social science methodologies in the developing countries. More specifically, they were asked to comment on the usefulness of what social scientists trained abroad are doing in their countries and what steps are required to maintain whatever level of social science competence they believe is needed.

2 Evaluation of Overseas Training

Support to permit Third World nationals to study abroad has had a variety of goals.

Some fellowship programs have been aimed simply at increasing the number of individuals with advanced training to fill an expected demand that is not necessarily tied to any particular positions or organisations.

In contrast, many fellowship awards have been part of institution-building programs in which study grants in such fields as economics and sociology have been part of a concerted plan to produce staff for planned teaching and research positions. With limited resources, most funding organizations have tried to target their support to specific needs of national institution-building.

Most groups supporting overseas graduate fellowships have seen research as at the heart of the training process. A person who is successfully utilizing such training is capable of doing research and does it. As a well-trained social scientist, he or she builds modern research concepts into teaching and applies them in policy analysis. The research done is of sufficiently high quality that it enters into the mainstream of discussion, internationally as well as within the country. Teachers and researchers as well as policy makers are kept in touch with a wider world, affected by it but also themselves influencing it.

In countries where food supply is critical, an evaluation of recent social science training would ask how well it integrates knowledge of the agricultural production sciences. Most developing countries have set as a high priority goal the improvement of their agricultural productivity. They are also concerned about the distribution of benefits of technological advance. The complex interplay of human and technical or biological factors requires

a kind of teamwork not generally understood or recognized even a couple of decades ago. Sensitivity to the need for biological, physical and social scientists to work together is increasingly being accepted as a criterion for successful training.

In evaluating career outcomes, the individual's personal goals and achievements must also be taken into account. From his or her own perspective, how useful has overseas training proved to be and in what ways?

This study does not begin to cover more than a narrow range of these issues and questions. In evaluating effectiveness it proposes to focus on what it considers the absolutely crucial criteria for social science teaching and research and policy analysis at home.

Career progress of the fellows is an uncertain measure considering the wide range in their ages and recency of their programs and the unavailability of a suitable control group against whom to compare them.

Much reliance has been placed on the respondents' own evaluation of the quality and usefulness of their overseas training. Admittedly, their expressed levels of "satisfaction" with the fellowship experience do not tell the whole story. Similarly, their recollections as to "problems encountered" and their judgments as to program details are perhaps colored by sentiment and certainly limited by accuracy of recall. There is a consistency to these responses, however, that encourages confidence in their usefulness.

Field observations by the authors and interviews with university and governmental officials in their home countries confirm that a large share of the returned fellows are effectively using the theory and methodology of their graduate study in investigating real problems at home and that they generally accept the need to gather empirical data as a basis for conclusions. These latter requirements have been the essence of modern social science training, and the general purpose both of donor agencies and of home governments in supporting fellowship programs has been to apply them as aids to development.

3 Collecting the Data

This study drew its data from a comprehensive survey of Asian social scientists who had received fellowships for graduate study abroad. Question-

naires were mailed to nearly a thousand men and women who had been supported:

- by one of four major donor agencies,
- in the social science fields,
- in the period from 1960 to 1985,
- from 12 Asian countries.

The countries involved were Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Republic of China, Singapore, Sri Lanka and Thailand. The donor agencies were the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, A/D/C, and IDRC.

The 44-question schedule that was used asked for information and opinions on a wide range of issues related to the respondent's employment history, study program, and professional activities. It also was a source of demographic information about the respondent group.

4 Response to the Questionnaire

Questionnaires were sent to the best available address for each of the 944 former fellows.

It is understandable that donor agencies and home institutions would have lost track of some of the fellows supported by these programs over a period of three decades. One hundred five questionnaires were returned unopened, either because the person was deceased or was not known at the address given.

Of the 839 surveys that are assumed to have reached their intended destination, 435 were completed and returned. (Different totals will be shown in some of the tables that follow, where it appeared that omission of the "no response" or "not applicable" groups in calculating percentages would give a clearer and more informative picture.)

Considering the geographical dispersion of the respondents and the long period during which most had been out of touch with the fellowship donors and program, the return rate of 51.8% for a mailed questionnaire is considered acceptable and compares favorably with that for other similar studies.

The response rate varied considerably from country to country (Table 1). Three regions with a small number of former fellows (Korea, Sri Lanka, and Taiwan) responded most promptly and in highest percentages. In each of these countries virtually all of the former fellows were concentrated in a few institutions in the national capital or major university cities. The help of individuals located in these centers made it possible to hand-deliver questionnaires and have responses collected personally.

In larger countries or those with more former fellows, such as India and the Philippines and Thailand, potential respondents were more widely scattered. More reliance was necessarily placed on impersonal follow-up requests by mail, and some of the resulting response rates were lower.

Rate of response differed somewhat among funding agencies (Table 2). Since IDRC's program of fellowship awards is much more recent than the others, its mailing lists and recency of contact produced a slightly greater return. All four agencies have a policy of maintaining continued contact with their fellows, but A/D/C's is more actively pursued. As a result its mailing lists were more current and this contributed to a better return.

Although the total Asia fellowship programs of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations were larger than A/D/C's or IDRC's, they included physical and biological scientists who did not receive questionnaires. A/D/C has historically limited its funding to social scientists in Asia, so that all of its former fellows in the 12 countries received questionnaires. It is more heavily represented among respondents because it has played a more prominent role in support for social science training in Asia.

5 Age, Background, and Gender

The age distribution of respondents reflects the trend in support for overseas graduate study and also is affected by the retirement or decease of an older generation. Only 15% are under 35, 40% are between 35 and 44, 27% are between 45 and 55, and 18% are 55 or older.

It is difficult for any fellowship program to direct opportunities for graduate study to students of rural background. In the Third World, in par-

Tal	ble	1:	Rate	of	Res	ponse	bу	Country.	•

	Questionnaires	Questionnaires	Rate of
Country	delivered	returned	response
Bangladesh	81	18	22.2
India	158	69	43.6
Indonesia	103	68	66.0
Korea	22	22	100.0
Malaysia	55	23	41.8
Nepal	42	15 .	35.7
Pakistan	36	14	38.9
Philippines	147	86	58.5
Singapore	22	4	18.2
Sri Lanka	13	12	92.3
Taiwan	21	16	76.2
Thailand	139	88	63.3
TOTAL	839	435	51.8

Table 2: Rate of Response by Funding Agency.

Funding	Questionnaires	Questionnaires	Rate of
agency	delivered	returned	response
A/D/C	363	243	66.9
Ford			
Foundation	290	105	36.2
Rockefeller			
Foundation	165	71	43.0
IDRC	21	16	76.2
TOTAL	839	435	51.8

ticular, there is a geographical bias toward urban areas in primary and secondary education as well as at the university level.

The four fellowship programs described in this study have had at least modest success in breaking this barrier to support students with rural backgrounds and interests. Although 29.2% of respondents grew up in cities of 100,000 population or more, 50.1% came from rural areas or communities of less than 20,000. Education stopped in the primary school for 57% of the mothers of respondents and 28.5% of the fathers.

"Farmer" was listed as the occupation of 22.8% of the fathers and 12.2% of the mothers of respondents. "Business" was listed for 19.1% of the fathers and 8.0% of the mothers.

The fellowship programs studied have been less successful in coping with educational systems that are biased toward the male. The reasons for this bias are complex and have been widely discussed. They include a societal expectation that women will marry, have children, and be tied to a spouse and family in their career aspirations and plans. Families, school systems, and ultimately fellowship selection committees have all faced an unspoken assumption that scarce educational resources are better invested in opportunities for males than for females. Lists of candidates who are qualified by education and experience for overseas graduate study are still invariably dominated by male names.

The fellowship lists for the four programs studied reflect this problem, as do the survey returns on which this study is based. There is some evidence (Table 3) of progress in offering opportunities to women, but the gap is still wide. Nevertheless, the pool of qualified female applicants for graduate study has undoubtedly been growing and donors and funding agencies have become increasingly sensitive to the need for support for women students.

Table 3: Representation of Women in the Fellowship Group.

	Pric	or to				
	1970		197	0-85	Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	108	88.5	250	80.9	358	83.1
Female	14	11.5	59	19.1	73	16.9

6 Other Characteristics of Fellows

A majority of the respondents have completed their overseas programs since 1975. This total reflects the way that fellowship support built up slowly through the '50s and '60s. The decline in support which occurred in the '80s is not reflected because the study only includes persons whose overseas study ended by 1985. Response rate was somewhat higher for recent fellows because address lists for them are more up to date.

Master's degrees have been completed by nearly all of the fellows (99.3%), about half with financial support from an international funding agency. The growth in Third World capacity to offer work beyond the baccalaureate is evidenced by the fact that a little more than half earned their M.S. or M.A. degrees in a developing country.

Two-thirds of the fellows have completed Ph.D. degrees. A small but growing proportion (11.7% of the total holding the doctorate) received that degree from a Third World institution.

Economics has been the social science discipline receiving greatest attention in the fellowship programs being studied (see Table 4). Fifty-five percent of the fellows list an economics major (33% in agricultural economics and 22% in general economics).

Sociology was the major field for 12%, education for 7%, and business administration for 6%. Other fields represented by at least 1% of graduates included political science and public administration, rural development, anthropology, psychology, and communications.

The distribution by disciplines is significant. It represents joint decisions by home countries and donors as to which social science fields at any given time had most to offer and could benefit most from programs to strengthen staffing and research capacity.

There have been modest gains for fields other than economics in recent years; only three of the 18 persons doing graduate work in political science or public administration completed their studies prior to 1975.

Table 4: Distr						ine. s granted
		or to	_	дев: de; 70 от	gree w	ra Riented
	1	970	la	ater	•	Total
Discipline	N	%	N	%	N	%
Economics (agricul-	_			-		
tural or general)	67	55.3	167	54.4	234	54.5
Sociology (rural						
or general)	12	9.9	39	12.7	51	11.9
Education (includ-						
ing extension)	8	6.6	22	7.2	30	7.0
Business						
administration	10	8.2	16	5.2	26	6.1
Political science						
and public						
administration	3	2.5	15	4.9	18	4.2
Rural						
development	6	5.0	12	3.9	18	4.2
Anthropology	3	2.5	5	1.6	8	1.9
Psychology	0	0.0	7	2.2	7	1.6
Communications	2	1.7	3	1.0	5	1.2
Home economics	2	1.7	1	0.3	3	0.7
Other	8	6.6	20	6.5	28	6.8
TOTAL	121	10 0.0	307	100.0	428	100.0

7 Career Progress at Home

One of the most encouraging findings of this study involves the very large number of fellows who returned to work in their home countries after completing study abroad (Table 5). Ninety-eight percent of the respondents (421 persons) indicated that their first job after overseas study was in their home country. Five persons went to other Third World countries and only four took employment in an industrialized country. Furthermore, there is no evidence of a later exodus. Ninety-five percent of the respondents were still at work in the Third World at the time of this study.

Table 5: Respondents' First and Current Job Locations.

	after	position overseas udy	Current position		
	N	%	N	%	
Home country	421	96.9	402	92.4	
Other Third World country	5	1.1	11	2.5	
World country	3	1.1	11	2.0	
Developed country	4	0.9	20	4.6	
No response	5	1.1	2	0.5	
TOTAL	435	100.0	435	100.0	

While these results may underestimate the effects of the so-called "brain drain" because the accuracy of mailing lists and level of response was no doubt lower for persons working abroad, there is little reason to question the success of these fellowship programs in adding to human capital in the Third World.

8 How is Overseas Training Being Used?

The expectation that a large share of the returning fellows would build the academic strength of the social sciences in their home countries has definitely been realized. A clear majority (62.5%) returned to academic positions, for the most part at junior ranks (assistant professor, instructor, research associate). Fifty-six percent still serve in universities. Changes in employing organizations are shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Type of Organisation Employing Returned Fellows.

	On	return		
	from	OVETSCAS	As c	f 1985
	st	udy	•	
	N	%	N	%
University	272	62.5	242	55.6
Research institute	70	16.1	71	16.3
Governmental administrative or				
policy agency	60	13.8	64	14.7
Foundation	13	3.0	25	5.7
Private firm or				
self-employed	13	3.0	28	6.5
Other	2	0.5	2	0.7
No response	5	1.1	3	0.7
TOTAL	435	100.0	435	100.0

Although none of the four fellowship programs being studied carried an employment obligation, the "first job" choices of returnees were influenced by national and agency human resource goals. University employment was

the predominant "first job" choice for all of the returning fellows. This was particularly true for those from Thailand, the Philippines, Taiwan, India, Indonesia, and Bangladesh, at least 60% of whom found their first employment in the academic world.

Respondents from Pakistan were somewhat more likely to begin their careers in research institutions and those from Korea, Sri Lanka, and Nepal in governmental administrative and policy agencies.

Respondents who were funded by the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations were most likely to return to university employment (87% for the former and 86% for the latter). Corresponding percentages for A/D/C and IDRC were 57% and 50%.

Whatever their official title and employment unit, most fellows (57.9%) continue to have teaching responsibilities in their current jobs (a decline, however, from the 66.8% for whom teaching was a part of the first jobs they held on their return). Nearly 60.2% continue to have research responsibilities. The biggest single change, as might be expected, was in the percentage who held university or governmental administrative and managerial duties: 29.2% in their first jobs and 46.8% in their current jobs.

9 Professional Contributions

The career advancement and increased responsibilities of the returnees are evidenced in their answers to questions about job titles on their return and at present. The hierarchy of ranks and titles in universities permits the conclusion that the fellows are achieving the academic leadership one might have expected (see Table 7).

In each country there was a modest shift over the years from university employment to private business or self-employment. This was particularly pronounced in the Philippines, where 4.8% of the respondents initially took jobs in private business and 10.6% were in the private sector at the time of this study. Conditions of employment in the Philippines during this period, especially in government, may have contributed to this trend.

It would be hoped and expected that returned fellows would influence the methods and materials of teaching, research, and policy analysis. Answers to the survey questionnaire give impressive evidence that this has Table 7: Occupations of Fellows, on Return from Overseas and at

the Time of the Present Study.

	First e	mployment	Current employm		
	N	%	N	%	
Academic administration			-		
(presidents, rectors,					
vice chancellors, deans,					
department chairs), etc.	33	7.8	68	15.7	
Director of research or					
policy institute	27	6.4	45	10.4	
Governmental					
administrator	26	6.1	38	8.8	
Senior teaching role					
(professor, associ-					
ate professor)	58	13.7	101	23.4	
Research worker					
(institute or					
government)	57	13.4	52	12.0	
Private business	12	2.8	28	6.5	
Junior research or teaching staff					
(assistant professor,					
instructor, research					
associate)	208	49.1	97	22.5	
Other	3	0.7	3	0.7	
TOTAL	424	100	432	100	

occurred.

Even a cursory review of the titles currently held by the respondents leaves no doubt as to their critical role in socio-economic policy in their countries. It may seem superfluous to catalog these titles, but there is probably no better way to show how significant these four programs of fellowship support have been. Among the former fellows are persons who held the following positions of senior academic leadership at the time of this study:

Rector for General Administration, Hasanuddin University

President of the University of the Philippines

Vice chancellor, University of Peredeniya

Rector of the University of Lampung

Member of the board of Allahabad Agricultural Institute

Vice chancellor, University of Agricultural Sciences (India)

President of Tamil Nadu Agricultural University

Director of the Notre Dame School of Greater Manila

Vice rector of Thammasat University

President of the Leyte Institute of Technology

Director of Allahabad Agricultural Institute

Others with major university administrative assignments included:

Dean of Graduate Studies at the University of Indonesia

Dean, School of Social Work, University of the Philippines

Dean of F.E.R.I. (Indonesia)

Dean at Lambung Mankurat University (Indonesia)

Dean at Mahraja Sayajirao University (India)

Vice dean of financial affairs, Syiah Kuala University

Dean of the Korean College of Agricultural Cooperatives

Director, General Affairs Division, Mahidol University

Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kasetsart University

Associate deans of Business Administration and of Development Economics at the National Institute of Development Administration (Thailand)

Dean of the College of Management at Seoul City University

Registrar, University of Dhaka

Dean at the Universiti Pertanian Malaysia

Director, Post-Graduate Institute of Agriculture, University of Peredeniya

Dean, College of Business Administration, University of the Philippines

Vice president for planning, Central Mindanao State University

For many others, administration was combined with research leadership in such university-based posts as:

Director, Institute for Economic and Social Research, University of Indonesia

Director, Center for Policy Research, Universiti Sains Malaysia

Director of development and research, Administrative College of India

Director, Population Research Center, Hasanuddin University

Director, Sarmaul Institute, Seoul National University

Research director of the Korean Rural Economics Institute

Director, Population Studies Center, Gadsjah Mada University

Director, Research and Development Institute, Khon Kaen University

Director of research at the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development

Associate director of extension and training at Kasetsart University

Director, Library and Information Center, N.I.D.A. (Thailand)

Director, Applied Economics Research Centre, University of Karachi

Director of extension programs, University of Indonesia

Chief of research for the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics

Assistant director, Research and Development Center, Central Luzon State University

Director, Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo University

Administrative leadership in the usual kind of governmental agency was being exercised by such persons as:

Assistant minister of the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture

Chairman of the Sri Lanka Agricultural Development Authority

Chairman of the Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council

Deputy chief of Pakistan's Agricultural Prices Commission

Governor of the Ministry of Interior (Thailand)

Director general of the Malaysian Farmers' Organization Authority

Director, Indian Ministry of Health

Director, Sri Lanka Ministry of Lands and Development

Deputy director, Sri Lanka Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research

Deputy minister, Philippine Ministry of Agriculture

Director-general of international monetary affairs, Indonesian Ministry of Finance

Deputy director of rural development for Sri Lanka

Minister coordinator for Economics, Finance and Industry (Indonesia)

Chief executive officer with the Government of Malaysia

Director of cocoa marketing for Malaysia's Federal Agricultural Marketing
Authority

Deputy director of the Sri Lanka Agricultural Extension Service

Rural development officer for Thailand's Office of Accelerated Rural Development

Deputy director, Bangladesh National Institute of Local Governments

Chief economist and senior economist, Agricultural Projects Services Center (Nepal)

Chairman of Indonesia's national development planning agency

Planning officer, Philippine Bureau of Internal Revenue

Assistant director of the National Economic and Development

The vice president of the Republic of China is as former fellow, and the whole structure of agricultural administration in that government (its Council for Agricultural Planning and Development) rests heavily on persons who took part in these four fellowship programs. They include the chairman, deputy director, and deputy secretary-general of the Council and the chief of its Agricultural Trade Division. Other former fellows are the commissioner of the Taiwan Department of Agricultural and Forestry and the chief of its Farmer's Assistance Division.

Significant governmental or quasi-public duties in research and administration were being performed by the following, among others:

Deputy secretary general of Thailand's National Research Council

Director of Indonesia's Land and Development Institution

Director of the Indian Ground Water Research Institute

Director of sociology, National Institute of Rural Development (India)

Director, Philippine Council of Agricultural Research and Development

Chief of the Center for Agro-Economic Research (Indonesia)

Director of the Bureau of Economic Analysis for the Indonesian National Planning Agency

Director of the Korean Ministry of Agriculture's Training Institute for Agricultural Officials

Research director for Unibraw Research Center

Executive director of the Philippine Ecumenical Foundation for Minority Development

Executive director of the Philippine-American Educational Foundation

Director of the Netherlands Foundation

Project manger for the Philippine Rainfed Resources Development Project President of Dansalan College Foundation

Those currently working in academic institutions have been active contributors to efforts to improve course content and curriculum. Almost all continue to make contribution to their profession and scholarly field (Table 8).

A second expectation was that the returned fellows would engage in social science research and, more particularly, make use of theory and test it empirically with data collected in the field. This expectation, too, was largely met (Table 9). Nearly half (46.4%) have "often" taken part in studies involving field data collection. These include personal scholarly research as well as applied studies on behalf of government, international agencies, and the private sector.

On the administrative side, a majority of fellows (52.2%) have participated in inter-agency planning, provided special planning or administrative seminars, helped revise administrative procedures, and been advisers to government, the private sector, and international agencies.

Table 8: Teaching Contributions of Fellows Currently Employed in Universities (N=242).

		Frequency		• •			
	percentage of respondents						
	Often	Sometimes	Never	No Response			
Supervised graduate		<u>-</u>					
students	57.4	22.3	12.8	7.4			
Developed or presented							
new courses	36.4	48.8	7.0	7.9			
Designed changes in							
curriculum	34.7	49.6	8.7	7.0			
Prepared and published							
teaching materials	15.7	54.5	21.9	7.9			

As might be expected, there are a number of these activities in which earlier returnees are more deeply involved than the more recent crop.

The members of the "class of 1970 to 1975" are clearly different from their predecessors and successors. For the most part they returned to units where the pioneering work of establishing their field had been done but a shortage of trained personnel still existed. As a result the 81 in this group (18.3% of all respondents) were more likely than any comparable group to have collected research data in the field, proposed research for funding, planned workshops, for colleagues, initiated new services and programs, developed or revised institutional policies, and served as consultants to business, government, or foundations.

Those who returned before 1970 seem to have been slightly more active in publication; those since 1975 are more likely to be teaching quantitative and/or policy-related courses and to be conducting quantitative and policy-related research.

Table 9: Research Activities and Other Professional Contributions of Returned Fellows (N=435).

		Frequency o	of activit	y			
	by percentage of respondents						
	0 \$1	•		No			
Described	Often	Sometimes	Never	response			
Research activities: Participated in research							
requiring field data							
collection	46.4	38.9	6.4	8.3			
Directed research for							
government or institutions	42.8	33.3	14.5	9.4			
Submitted proposals							
for research funding	35.9	44.6	9.4	10.1			
Related professional							
contributions:							
Presented papers at							
professional meetings	28.5	52.4	10.8	8.3			
Planned workshops for							
professional colleagues	19.8	53.8	17.0	9.4			
Published articles in							
professional journals	19.8	50.1	20.2	9.9			
Published scholarly in							
professional books	15.6	46.2	26.4	11.7			
Refereed articles for							
professional journals	10.8	37.0	38.6	13.6			
Wrote notes or book							
reviews for journals	6.4	37.7	44.6	11.3			

10 Usefulness of Knowledge and Skills Acquired Overseas

Fellows were in strong agreement that the knowledge and skills acquired overseas were of considerable usefulness both in their first jobs on return and, to a lesser degree, in their current work (Table 10). Only 2.3% said that their fellowship experience was of slight or no value in preparing then for their first job on return home, and only 2.8% expressed that opinion about its usefulness for their present work.

To provide more information about the strengths and weaknesses of overseas training, the fellows were asked which of a series of tasks are currently an important responsibility for them. Those identifying each task as "important" were then asked about the contribution their graduate study had made to their ability to perform it (Table 11).

The heavy involvement of former fellows in managerial duties should come as no surprise, nor is it surprising that their graduate study contributed less to this than to other aspects of their present work. It may suggest an in-service training need, however.

11 Satisfaction With Initial Program Decisions

For a student from a Third World country the choices involved in study abroad are often bewildering and seldom easy to make. Language limitations must be taken into account, as must the student's level of preparation in mathematics and in research tools and theory.

The problem is compounded by the fact that in a fellowship program the student is not the only one whose views must be considered. His or her home institution and home government, in consultation with the donor agency, may have some preferences as to the fields they will support and the overseas universities they consider suitable. It would be surprising to find unanimous agreement, after the fact, as to how successfully the student had adapted to a strange country, a new institution, and a discipline whose vocabulary and tools and concepts may be unfamiliar.

Table 10: General Value of Fellowship Training Program in Rela-

tion	to	First	Joh	and i	Current	t Joh.
HULL	LU	E 11 B L	300	auu '	Curen	

Evaluation	F	irst nition	Current position		
	N	%	N	%	
Extremely valuable	250	57.5	241	55.4	
Valuable	105	24.4	126	29.0	
Somewhat valuable	27	6.2	36	8.3	
Slight value	8	1.8	10	2.3	
No value	2	0.5	2	0.5	
No response	43	9.9	20	4.6	
TOTAL	435	100.0	435	100.0	

Table 11: Usefulness of Fellowship Program in Preparing the Fellows for Specific Job Responsibilities.

	Number of fellows for whom this is an important job responsbility	Percentage who find their study abroad "very useful" or "use- ful" in performing it		
Teaching:				
Theory or research methods	220	95.0		
Applied social science	225	89.8		
Research:				
Doing applied research on				
local problems	307	87.0		
Doing scholarly research	180	92.8		
Providing expert advice on				
economic and social issues	217	84.8		
Managerial duties	197	49.8		

This survey gave the returned fellows an opportunity to respond generally to their initial program decisions (major field of study, choice of university, and thesis research topic in the case of those working on doctoral degrees). Eighty-six percent of those responding to the question described themselves as either "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with the choice of overseas university to attend and 94% expressed that feeling about their choice of field of overseas study. Of the 376 who responded to a question about choice of a dissertation topic, the comparable percentage was 84.9. Evaluations of specific program choices are shown in Table 12.

Table 12: Satisfaction with Initial Fellowship Program Decisions.

	Percentage of respondents describing thems								
	Number Respon- ding	Very Satis- fied	Satis- fied	Somewhat Satis- fied	Dissatis- fied	Very Dissatis- fied			
Choice of major field	429	76.0	18.6	2.8	1.9	0.7			
Choice of university	429	68.7	17.5	8.2	4.2	1.4			
Choice of dissertation topic	376	61.2	23.7	11.2	2.7	1.3			

12 Evaluation of Components of Training Program

A more important issue of satisfaction concerns the elements that made up the student's overseas training program - the courses offered, academic counseling and guidance, contacts with other students, participation in professional activities, support services for the conduct of research, and the

like. The former fellows were given a list of 12 such elements and asked to indicate how adequate the provision was for each, on a scale that extended from "very satisfactory" to "not at all satisfactory."

One rating stands out in Table 13. The returned fellows would have liked a great deal more opportunity to attend professional meetings during their period of study abroad.

The respondents did not give as high a rating for "special services provided to foreign students" as they did to other components. However, this may well have been a matter-of-fact comment that they were for the most part treated like other students, not a complaint that their needs were unmet.

The part of their program that research students found least satisfactory was help on data collection and analysis. This may reflect the special circumstances of data collection in social science. All of the research students in this study faced the choice of dealing with data collected in a strange land or collected at home without direct and frequent contact with a dissertation adviser.

Country comparisons were made for India, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand as to level of satisfaction with program components. The Indian fellows gave a slightly higher overall rating than did the rest of the group. They reported less satisfaction with their "amount of contact with fellow graduate students" and "access to research support services." This may relate to the fact that many from India completed their overseas study at an earlier point in time, when universities in the developed countries were less familiar with foreign students and less well prepared to meet their needs.

Students from Thailand reported slightly less satisfaction than the others with the guidance they received in planning their academic programs and research projects.

13 Judgment about the Selection Process

Respondents were not directly asked about the selection process by which they were chosen for fellowship awards, but the question was posed in terms of how future fellows should be selected.

Table 13: Level of Satisfaction with Specific Components of Training Program.

	Average rating for all respondents: (4.0 = very satisfactory;
Component	0.0 = not at all satisfactory)
Access to faculty for help and advice	3.25
Variety and range of courses offered	3.28
Quality of courses in major field	3.27
Medical and health care facilities	3.12
Amount of contact with fellow students	3.13
Guidance in planning academic program	3.04
Special services for foreign students	2. 72
Changes to attend professional meetings	2.64
For research students only:	
Access to research support services	3.44
Help in planning research project	3.05
Help in analysis and dissertation writing	2.95
Help in data collection	2.67

In the four fellowship programs studied, there had been considerable interaction between home institution, home country, donor agency, and the individual fellow. Both in evaluating fellows and in creating opportunities for them on their return, there is a unique contribution available from home country personnel and institutions. The donor agency, on the other hand, may have a better insight as to appropriate overseas sources of training, the strengths and weaknesses of graduate institutions and programs, and the likelihood of a particular individual completing a particular overseas program successfully. Outsiders are also sometimes – although not always – in a better position to rise above internal politics and personal considerations in making selections.

On balance, however, it would not have been surprising to see the respondents urge a much bigger role for home country institutions and personnel and a smaller role for outsiders. Instead, as Table 14 shows, there is still a great deal of sentiment for the kind of partnership that existed in the past. The expectation that more recent returnees might feel more strongly about national prerogatives is not borne out; like their older colleagues, they prefer a cooperative mode.

There is a similar unity among respondents and donor agencies as to the criteria that should be considered in making fellowship selections.

All four donor agencies have emphasized two criteria above all others: likelihood of success in graduate study, and potential for utilizing social science training at home. The attitudes of the respondents to these and other possible criteria is shown in Table 15.

The similarity of responses among the different age groups is worth noting, and suggests that despite the broad list of nationalities, disciplines, ages, and backgrounds represented among the former fellows there is considerable consensus about what a fellowship should require and represent.

14 Subjects Neglected or Over-Emphasized

About 66% of all respondents mentioned some subject area to which they would give greater attention if they were starting graduate study again. Research methods was mentioned by 29%, while 16% would develop more depth in the theory of their discipline and 15% would take more courses

Table 14: Recommended Procedures for Selecting Persons to Study Abroad Under Fellowship Programs.

Year of completion of latest degree:

	rear of completion of latest degree:								
	Prior to 1970		1970 to 1979		1980 or later				
	N	%	N	%	N	%			
Selection entirely by		-							
home country personnel	27	22.2	39	20.4	3 0	25.4			
Selection entirely by									
donor agency	21	17.2	22	11.5	25	21.2			
Selection by donor after									
local nominations and									
consultation	62	50.8	120	62.8	57	48.3			
Other or no response	12	9.8	10	5.3	6	5.1			
TOTAL	122	100.0	191	100.0	118	100.0			

Table 15: Degree of Emphasis on Various Qualification for Fellowship Support for Overseas Study (4.0 = should be given great emphasis; 0.0 = should be given little emphasis.)

	Year of completion of latest degree						
	Prior to 1970	1970 to 1979	1980 or later				
Academic merit	3.37	3.40	3.42				
Potential as a staff member	3.32	3.28	3.15				
Interest in national							
development	2.90	2.98	3.07				
Probability of being							
influential through							
position, background, etc.	1.12	1.25	1.22				

that relate directly to Third World issues.

Only 18% mentioned subject areas they feel received too much attention in their graduate study; most of them mentioned theory as an overemphasized area. A smaller number mentioned mathematics and the history of their discipline.

15 Dealing with the Dissertation

Students from the Third World who expect to do a dissertation and receive a Ph.D. degree now have a variety of alternatives.

Recognizing that the large Western research universities offer a broad range of graduate level courses and seminars, they can turn to such universities for a breadth they could not as yet expect to get at home. Some of the same considerations apply in regard to dissertation research. A large university will have, among its professors and graduate students, a breath of knowledge and experience and a variety of research support services (particularly libraries and computer access) that can enrich almost any research

project. At the same time, the student who expects to carry on a life-long career of research in his or her home country may want the dissertation to be the first step on which later work can be built.

What the fellows <u>did</u> in this regard and what they believe to be the <u>best</u> practice are offered in Table 16.

Table 16: Carrying Out Dissertation Research.

		l experience he fellows	What they consider most useful and practical		
	N	%	N	%	
Course work and research in					
home country	15	4.4	8	2.0	
Course work in					
home country,					
research abroad	6	1.8	13	3.2	
Course work abroad, research in					
home country	120	3 5.3	241	59. 2	
Course work and					
research abroad	199	58.5	145	35.6	
TOTAL	340	100.0	407	100.0	

The enthusiasm for directing dissertation research at one's own country's problems is unmistakable. Only slightly more than a third would recommend doing dissertation research at the overseas university, whereas 94.8% approve of the doctoral course work being done there.

It is obvious that these figures will change over time as the universities of Asia grow in social science breadth.

16 Support During Period of Study Abroad

The amount of encouragement and support the donor agency gave its fellows while they were studying abroad is definitely linked with the level of satisfaction they express about their program. In addition, it correlates with the success they have attained in their professional careers. Clearly, adequate assistance from the donor agency is one of the best ways to ensure that program participants will benefit from their study program.

Respondents were asked about five areas in which individuals studying abroad are most likely to experience problems: immigration, travel, academic work, family, and health. They were invited to report whether they had required help in any of these areas and if so whether the help they received from the agency funding their fellowship was adequate.

As can be seen from Table 17, funding agencies were most likely to be needed and helpful with problems of travel and immigration.

In general, all of the funding agencies were successful in providing a level of help that their fellows considered adequate. Comparisons among the four funding agencies (Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, A/D/C and IDRC) showed no important differences.

The more recent groups of fellows were more likely to report inadequate levels of help from the agencies funding their work.

These indices all show substantial satisfaction with the support given by the donor agency, but there are striking differences between earlier and later groups in each problem area. The widest variance is on academic matters.

Have donors become less sensitive to the non-monetary needs of their fellows and less willing to provide support in areas of personal problems? Probably not. For example, the generational difference appeared among fellows supported by all four funding agencies. It could not be explained by any pattern of changes in the staffing, policies, or resource allocations of these agencies, and there was surely no uniformity among them in such changes. It is possible that the earlier group of fellows benefited from the fact that their presence was a new phenomenon in the universities of Western countries. That could carry with it as many burdens as benefits, however. Probably a better hypothesis is that time has lent both nostalgia and realism to the judgments of the older group.

Table 17: Evaluation of Help Received from Funding Agency During Period of Study Abroad.

		Per	iod of cor	npletion
		of	study:	
		Prior to	1975 to	All
		1975	1985	respondents
	Number responding			_
	(excludes those reporting	(4.0	= adeque	ate help,
	no help needed)	•	= not enor	- -
Travel				<u> •</u>
arrangements	363	3.81	3.64	3.72
Immigration				
problems	317	3.69	3.58	3.63
Academic				
matters	309	3.32	2.86	3.06
Health				
problems	26 6	3.12	2.97	3.04
Family				
problems	235	2.83	2.41	2.59

It is worth noting that the problem area in which the fewest fellows needed help (family problems) was the one in which those who felt they needed help described what they got as least adequate.

17 Level of Satisfaction with Program as a Whole

Besides allowing a look at individual aspects of the overseas study experience, the questions on individual program components made it possible to correlate the fellows' judgments about adequacy of program with other variables.

Since most funding agencies supported students at the same universities and in the same general range of social science fields, it is not surprising that there was virtually no difference among them in their fellows' judgment about adequacy of their programs (see Table 18).

Table 18: Level of Satisfaction by Funding Agency.								
Level of	Ford		Rockefeller		A/D/C		IDRC	
satisfaction:	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Satisfactory to Very satisfactory	90	84.9	58	84.1	194	80.8	13	81.3
Less than satisfactory	16	15.1	11	15.9	46	19.2	3	18.7
TOTAL	106	100.0	69	100.0	240	100.0	16	100.0

The level of satisfaction that fellows expressed about their programs should have been related, and was, to their appraisal of the level of help they received from their funding agency on such matters as immigration regulations, travel plans, academic concerns, family needs, and health problems (see Table 19). Many had indicated either that they did not need this kind of assistance during their study period or that what they received was adequate. These tended to be the men and women most likely to describe their overall fellowship experience as fully satisfactory.

Table 19: Level of Satisfaction and Evaluation of Help Received

from Funding Agency.

	Level of help reported:							
	Ad	equate		Not enough				
		help	eī					
	wher	needed	help					
Index of satisfaction:	N	%	N	%				
Very satisfactory	111	34.3	11	16.2				
Satisfactory	176	54.5	24	35.3				
Less than satisfactory	36	11.2	33	48.5				
TOTAL	323	100.0	68	. 100.0				

(Individuals checking "help not needed" are excluded from this tabulation.)

It is probable, of course, that anyone encountering academic or family or health problems in a strange land will be less likely to describe the overall fellowship experience as fully satisfactory. Nevertheless, the responses suggest that by giving help on these housekeeping details at a crucial time the donor has an exceptionally good opportunity to contribute to a satisfying overseas experience

Although all of the former fellows expressed general approval of the various aspects of their programs, there were somewhat lower levels of satisfaction with certain aspects of training on the part of those who completed their studies most recently (see Table 20).

Recent graduates were slightly less approving of the variety and range of courses offered, the quality of courses in their major field, guidance in planning their academic programs, amount of contact with fellow students, and the level of special services provided for foreign students (Table 20). Those who finished after 1975 report a satisfactory experience but are more sparing than the earlier graduates in their use of superlatives to describe it.

Table 20: Level of Satisfaction by Recency of Fellowship Experience.

	Year study program completed							
	Prior	to 1975	1975	to 1985				
Index of satisfaction:	N	%	N					
Satisfactory or Very Satisfactory	175	87.1	176	77.9				
Less than								
satisfactory	26	12.9	50	22.1				
TOTAL	201	100.0	226	100.0				

There is no basis for determining how much of this "generational gap" represents a real and lasting difference. One might speculate that the earlier graduate students have had a longer perspective from which to appraise what they have learned. An equally good hypothesis is that the passage of time has made their recollections more nostalgic.

A more important finding relates to the relationship between level of satisfaction with the study program and extent of continued contact with the home institution during the period abroad (Table 21). The fellows were asked how frequently they were in touch with their home institutions as to progress on their study programs, research plans, and their future role at home.

More than a fourth had little or no continuing contact as to their academic work and research. Nearly half had no contact as to their expected future role at home. It is clear that this represented lost opportunities both for the fellow and for his or her home country. Contact with the home institution significantly correlated with the general judgment the fellows made as to the satisfactoriness of their total study program. Fellows with frequent contact were considerably more likely to describe their study experience as "satisfactory" or "very satisfactory."

Table 21: Level of Satisfaction by Extent of Continued Contact with Home Institution During Period of Study Abroad.

Index of satisfaction		Frequent contact		asional ntact	Little or no contact	
with program elements	N	%	N	%	N	%
Satisfactory or Very satisfactory	53	91.4	194	81.5	92	77.9
Less than satisfactory	5	8.6	44	18.5	26	22.1
TOTAL	58	100.0	238	100.0	118	100.0

18 Level of Preparedness for Study Abroad

In terms of mathematical skills, knowledge of statistics, research methodology, and the theory of their discipline, most fellows felt that they started their overseas study at least as well prepared as other students (Table 22). Even in mathematics, where the greatest weakness was reported, more than two-thirds said they were as well as or better prepared than their fellow students.

Perceived level of preparedness had little or no apparent relationship with level of satisfaction with the study program.

The fellows from Thailand indicated a little less confidence in their level of academic preparation than did those from the other Asian countries. Nearly 29 percent described themselves as "not adequately prepared" in one of the four academic areas listed (mathematics, statistics, research methodology and theory). The comparable percentage for all other respondents was 20 percent. Language may have been a factor, although students from other countries were English was not the language of university instruction (Indonesia, Korea, and Taiwan) were more likely to express confidence in their ability to compete on equal terms.

Table 22: Perceived Adequacy of Preparation as a Factor in Level of Satisfaction with Study Program.

Percentage describing their study program as:	Less well prepared than other students in mathematics, statistics, research methodology, or theory (N = 193)	As well as or better prepared than other students in all four areas (N = 221)
Satisfactory or Very satisfactory	151 (81.9%)	183 (82.8%)
Less than satisfactory	35 (18.1%)	38 (17.2%)
TOTAL	193 (100.0%)	221 (100.0%)

19 Changes in Level of Preparation Over Time

The responses to the questionnaire give indirect but impressive evidence that fellowship programs have been achieving their goal of strengthening undergraduate education in the developing countries. At any rate, year by year each new crop of fellows has reported increased confidence in the quality of its undergraduate preparation (Table 23).

20 Language Problems

Of the many variables examined, language problems cast the greatest shadow on the satisfactoriness of the fellows' study programs. Even in countries where English is the language of university instruction, it may be a second language for a large number of students (Table 24).

Table 23: Period of Overseas Study and Degree of Confidence in Quality of Preparation (Mathematics, Statistics, Research Methodology, and Theory).

	Year of completion of study abroad:							
Percentage of respondents describing themselves as:	Prior to 1965 (N = 46)	1965 to 1974 (N = 147)	1975 to 1979 (N = 109)	1980 to 1985 (N = 112)				
Better prepared than other students	4.3	11.6	12.8	12.5				
Equal to others	60.9	57.8	67.0	71.4				
Less well prepared than others	34 .8	30.6	20 .2	16.1				

Table 24: Kinds of Language Problems Encountered. Number and percentage of respondents for whom language skills presented "serious" to "very serious" problems % N Participating in class 18.4 discussions 72 Writing examinations within time limits 54 13.2 50 12.1 Writing assigned papers Understanding lectures 32 7.7 20 4.8 Reading assigned literature Communicating with friends and teachers 19 4.6 23.0 Any of the above 91

Reading was much less of a problem for the fellows than were participation in class discussions and the preparation of written assignments.

As might be expected, the most serious language problems were reported by fellows from regions where English had not been the medium of university instruction (Indonesia, Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand). At least 44% of the respondents from these areas reported moderate to serious problems in reading, understanding lectures, writing papers and examinations, and taking part in classroom give-and-take.

Table 25 shows how the fellows' perceptions of their study programs were colored by language problems. Those reporting least difficulty reported considerably more satisfaction from their overseas study experience.

Table 25: Language Problems and Satisfaction with Study Program.

	Overall degree of language difficulties:						
Percentage describing study program as:	No serious problems (N = 307)	Some problems (N = 84)	Serious or very serious problems (N = 23)				
Satisfactory or							
Very satisfactory	86.5%	73.8%	52.2%				
Less than satisfactory	13.4%	26.2%	47.8%				
TOTAL	307	84	23				

Unfortunately, many of the kinds of students an externally funded fellowship program has the greatest obligation to serve are particularly susceptible to language problems. In almost every country, students who grew up in rural areas or in lower income families are less likely to be fluent in English or other languages of overseas study.

Part of this problem will solve itself with the expansion of strong programs of graduate study with Asia, so that fewer students need to go abroad for advanced training. For those who do, however, appropriate language preparation is essential and must be thought of as an investment in the success of the program and the satisfaction of students and institutions.

21 Graduate Adviser and Host Department

Home country institutions and donor agencies have done an impressive job, right from the start, in placing their fellows in department that are involved in Third World problems, where they can work with advisers familiar with the subject and alongside other students from the developing world.

Of the three measures of Third World interest offered in the table that follows (Table 26), there appears to have been a steady and substantial increase in two: departmental program and experience of the adviser. The

Table 26: Involvement of Adviser and Host Department in Third World Issues.

ues.		Vambe	of p	ercente	ge of fo	ellows			
	by year of completion of latest degre								
	Pri	or to	1965 to		After				
	1	965	1	975	1	975			
	N	%_	N	<u> %</u>	<u>N</u>	%			
Host department's level of involvement in Third World issues:									
Great	6	12.0	39	25.5	67	28.9			
Limited	26	52.0	75	49.0	125	53.9			
Little or									
"no response"	18	36.0	39	25.5	40	17.2			
Adviser's Third World experience:									
In student's country	8	16.0	38	24.8	66	28.4			
In other country	18	36.0	61	39.9	112	48.3			
None or									
"no response"	24	48.0	54	35.3	54	23.3			
Third World students in host department:									
Five or more	25	50.0	93	60.8	159	68.5			
One to five	17	34.0	47	30.7	48	20.7			
None or									
"no response"	8	16.0	13	8.5	25	10.8			

totals offer some indication, however, that the growth in enrollment of students from the developing countries has not only slowed down in recent years but has perhaps also become more concentrated in fewer institutions.

22 Problems Encountered on Return

Few of the fellows (less than 10%) reported serious problems of relocation, reestablishment, or adjustment on completion of their study program. When one looks at specific areas, however, some problems take on increased significance (see Table 27).

Table 27: Employment-related Problems Encountered on Return.

	Number of percentage of respondents describing problems as:									
		ious		107 OF		No				
	pro	blem	no pi	roblem	Per	ponse				
	N	%	N	*	N	*				
Lock of equipment										
and supplies	127	29.2	274	43.0	34	7.8				
	-									
Economic rewards	113	26.0	288	66.2	34	7.8				
		_		_						
Heavy professional										
responsibilities	25	19.5	312	71.7	38	8.7				
,	•		•••		•••					
Transport for job-										
related travel	83	19.1	216	72.6	36	8.3				
Lettered CLEAST		10.1	410	12.0	30					
Limited institutional										
interest in research	68	15.6	329	75.6	38	8.7				
mician in tasanch	-	10.0	329	(9.0	36	•.7				
Heavy teaching load	65	14.9	312	71.7	5.0	13.3				
neary recently load	95	14.5	317	(1.1		10.0				
Employment policies										
of institution	62	14.3	340	78.2	33	7.6				
or institution	93	14.3	340	70.3	33	7.0				
Difficulty in finding										
-	23	5.3	375	86.2	37	8.5				
appropriate job	23	5.3	3/6	86.2	37	8.5				
Social status of										
professional work	16	3.7	389	89.4	30	6.9				
brotessioner work	10	3.1	301	OF.4	30	U.				
Acceptance by										
co-workers	16	3.7	391	89.9	28	6.4				
- CO- MOLESIS		3.1	301			0.4				

If the respondents experienced little difficulty finding jobs at home, they nevertheless had other serious employment problems. Specifically, 26% expressed unhappiness with the economic rewards for their professional work. The answers to other questions make it clear that this did not mean that they were either underemployed or unappreciated.

Fewer than eight percent reported any serious difficulty adjusting to family obligations, the tempo of life, cultural norms or the political situation at home when they returned from studying abroad. Even fewer had serious difficulty finding appropriate jobs and gaining acceptance of their co-workers.

Much more difficulty centered around getting the resources they felt they needed to maintain their professional competence and to perform their duties successfully at their home institutions.

Although personal and family-related problems were encountered by a small share of respondents, they do not bulk large when the program as a whole is evaluated. Since the respondents are men and women who had adjusted successfully to the tempo, life style, cultural norms, and other elements of the foreign country in which they studied, it was no surprise to learn how little difficulty they had in coping with similar personal adjustments on their return (Table 28).

It was in the area of professional development that the most dissatisfaction and concern were expressed. Of half a dozen potential problem areas, all but one (local opportunities to publish research) were considered serious by significant numbers of respondents (Table 29).

Opportunities to attend professional meetings abroad, to get additional training, to finance research activities and to purchase books and journals were the areas most often cited as presenting serious problems. To a slightly lesser degree they reported difficulty arranging to attend in-country professional meetings.

Besides responding to individual items, the fellows were asked to summarize their experience in getting relocated and re-established. "Taking everything into account," 11% of those responding to the question said they encountered "major difficulties," 41.5% minor difficulties, and 47.7% "few or no difficulties."

There were surprisingly few differences between the more recent and the

Table 28: Personal and Family-related Problems Encountered on Return Home.

	Number and percentage describing proble									
	Serious		Minor or no problem			No Response				
	N	%	N	%	N	%				
Financial "settling-in"	76	17.5	328	75.4	31	7.1				
Logistical arrangements	68	15.6	339	77.9	28	6.4				
Adjustment to political situation	32	7.4	369	84.8	34	7.8				
Adjustment to family obligations	26	6.0	375	86.2	34	7.8				
Adjustment to tempo and style of life	24	5.5	379	87.1	32	7.4				
Readjustment to cultural norms	13	3.0	389	89.4	33	7.6				

Table 29: Problems of Professional Development Encountered on Return Home.

	Number and percentage of respondents describing problems as:								
			Miı	or or		No			
	Ser	ious	no p	roblem	re	sponse			
	N	%	N	%	N	%			
Opportunities to attend professional									
meetings abroad	246	56.6	157	36.1	32	7.4			
Opportunities for further training	180	41.4	221	50.8	34	7.8			
Funds for research	180	41.4	218	50.1	37	8.5			
Availability of books and journals	169	38.9	237	54.5	29	6.7			
Opportunities to attend in-country									
professional meetings	154	35.4	249	57.2	32	7.4			

earlier fellows in terms of major difficulties encountered on return (Table 30). A larger share of earlier returnees reported few or no difficulties.

Table 30: Problems Encountered by Earlier and More Recent Fellows on Return from Study Abroad.

	Year of completion of study abroad:							
	Pr	ior to 975	1975 to 1985					
	N	%	N	%				
Major difficulties	18	9.7	24	11.5				
Only minor difficulties	64	34.4	99	47.6				
Few or no difficulties	104	55.9	85	41.1				
TOTAL	186	100.0	208	100.0				

Respondents were asked to compare the problems they themselves encountered on their return with those which young people in a similar situation today would face (Table 31). The most striking difference is a perception by the respondents that today's returnees face a more difficult employment situation than they did. Finding an appropriate job was nowhere near the problem for them that they believe it would be for young social scientists returning today from study abroad. The need for qualified staff continues to exist, but thanks to the kind of training programs in which they participated and the building of local training capacity it no longer has the urgency it once did.

Lack of equipment and supplies, inadequate research funding, heavy work loads, and few opportunities for professional travel abroad appear to be continuing problems. There is a perception of greater opportunities for additional training, but this is still an area of deficiency.

Table 31: Perceived Changes in Problems Facing the Returning Fellow.

	Percentage of respondents listing problem area as one of the three most difficult:						
	For t	hemselves	For today's Returnees				
	N	%	N	%			
Opportunities for							
professional travel abroad	249	57.2	121	27.8			
rieset epided	447	01.4	141	41.0			
Opportunities for							
additional training	180	41.4	83	19.1			
Funds for research	178	41.0	160	36.8			
O 111 A							
Opportunities to attend in-country							
professional meetings	167	38.5	42	9.7			
•							
Equipment and supplies	141	32.3	116	26.7			
Level of economic rewards	112	25.8	225	51.7			
Support for							
job-related travel	85	19.5	35	8.0			
Barrer work to a							
Heavy work loads	75	17.2	88	20.2			
Local outlets for							
research publication	67	15.3	23	5.3			
Finding an							
appropriate job	26	5.9	139	32.0			
Cooled status of							
Social status of professional work	18	4.1	33	7.6			
L	10	2.1	JJ	1.0			
Acceptance by colleagues							
and superiors	16	<u>3.7</u>	24	5.5			

23 Networking

One of the essentials if social scientists in smaller countries or isolated settings are to maintain professional capacity is contact with a broader peer group. Nearly all of the respondents report occasional or frequent contact with faculty members in their field in other countries (both Third World and industrialized) (Table 32).

Table 32: External Professional Contacts.									
Frequency of	P	quent	0	uional		ret ot sponse	т	Total	
contact with:	N	4uen. %	N	%	N	**************************************	N	%	
Faculty members at	<u> </u>						 -		
other universities						•			
in home country	195	44.8	184	42.3	56	12.9	435	100.0	
Other faculty									
members in Asia	40	9.2	244	56.1	151	34.7	435	100.0	
Professors at									
university of									
overseas study	66	15.2	265	60.9	104	24.0	435	100.0	
Other overseas									
faculty members	31	7.1	258	59.3	146	33.6	435	100.0	
Governmental									
personnel in									
country or region	209	48.0	165	37.9	61	14.0	435	100.0	
Professional in									
int'l agencies	76	17.5	260	59.8	99	22.8	435	100.0	

Membership in scientific and professional societies is one device commonly used to help widely scattered professionals keep up with developments in their field. It is not easily available to men and women in the Third World, because memberships and subscription rates are based on income levels beyond what they customarily get. In addition, in any country where foreign exchange is a problem membership in international scholarly bodies is one of the first casualties. In spite of that, nearly two-thirds

(64.8%) of the returned scholars still belong to such organizations.

Personal acquaintanceships dating from the period of overseas study (Table 33) do not necessarily contribute directly to the student's continued maintenance of professional capacity. They may, however, offer a modest protection against insularity or provincialism. At least two-thirds of the fellows in this study continue to have periodic contact with staff of the agency that funded their work or with fellow students, local families, and other friends they met in the community where they studied.

Table 33: Maintenance of Personal Contacts Made During Period of Study Abroad.

					Ñe	rer or		
Proquency of	Frequent		Occasional		No Response		Total	
contact with:	N	~ %	N	%	N	%	N_	%
Friends and families						_		
in the community	60	13.8	207	47.6	168	38.6	435	100.0
Staff of funding								
agency	38	8.7	255	58.6	142	32.6	435	100.0
Fellow students at								
university of								
overseas study	34	7.8	250	57.5	151	34.7	435	100.0

24 Help in Maintaining and Expanding Professional Competence

A thread that runs consistently through almost all responses is the concern of returned fellows for ways to maintain and expand their professional competence. The earlier fellows, in particular, often returned to situations in which they had few colleagues of similar background and interest, not much access to recent professional publications, and limited opportunities to travel and meet with social scientists elsewhere. They report that their needs were recognised in a variety of ways, and that they received help from various sources in keeping abreast of their field during the critical first four or five years after their return (Table 34).

Table 34: Sources of Help in Maintaining Professional Competence in the Years Immediately after the Fellow's Return.

		·	Help	receiv	red fi	om:		
					Ot	her		
	He	lp needed			lo	cal	Ext	ernal
	but not obtained		Employer		source		agency	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N N	%
Funding to begin								
research program	53	16.4	185	56.7	19	5.9	68	20.0
Opportunities to organise workshops								
or seminars	62	20.5	165	54.5	13	4.3	63	20.7
Opportunities to attend professional								
meetings	98	27.4	151	42.2	8	2.2	101	28.2
Opportunities to consult in pro-								
fessional field	83	30 .5	113	41.5	22	8.1	54	19.9
Information on developments in								
professional field	95	32.1	84	28.3	11	3.7	106	35.9

(Note: In this table, non-respondents to each question are excluded from totals and percentage calculations.)

The major source of help was their own employing agency or institution. This was especially true in the areas of getting started in research, attending in-country conferences, and organizing workshops and seminars. International organizations, including the agencies that funded their study abroad, have played a fairly active role in helping them attend professional conferences and get information on new developments in their disciplines.

It should be noted that the sizable number of persons listed in the column "help desired but not obtained" tells only part of the story. These were the men and women who reported that they needed help in this area and obtained none. This does not mean that the others, who listed sources from whom they received help, were saying that their needs were fully or even adequately met. Answers to other questions make it clear that there is a substantial need, even today, for better ways to help returned fellows maintain and build their professional competence.

In terms of the advice this study might give to international donor agencies, the question of unmet needs might be approached in another way. Table 35 offers a listing of unmet needs and categorises them into those which the returned fellows believe do and do not offer a challenge for donor agency assistance.

For example, the careful reader will note that salary levels are not satisfactory for many of the fellows but that they do not see this as a problem amenable to outside help.

25 Looking to the Future

In the past forty years a number of donor agencies have worked with the countries of Asia to strengthen indigenous ability to apply social science skills to problems of development. Heavy reliance has been placed on fellowships for overseas training. Hundreds of young people have gone abroad to study and to obtain social science research experience.

This effort has been remarkably successful. Contrary to some widely expressed fears, a large share of those who studied abroad have returned to their home countries to live and work.

There is also strong evidence that they have found their overseas experience relevant and useful. On their return, many have given policy advice

Table 35: Need for Help of External Donors in Meeting Critical Professional Needs.

Factors in professional development	Percentage of respondents who describe the factor as important	Of those terming it "important", percentage dissatisfied with provision for it at home institution	Index of unmet need	Percentage of all respondents who see a role for outside agencies in meeting this need
	(A)	(B)	(AxB/100)	
Research funding	70.3	75.7	53.22	34.6
Professional				
meetings abroad	59.5	64.5	38.38	33.0
Books and journals	72.8	77.1	56.13	25.2
Post-doctoral training	48.5	58.8	28.52	23.1
Other kinds of training	48.3	57.4	27.72	16.5
Visiting professors	36.6	42.3	15.48	15.6

Table 35. Continued.

Table 35. Continued.							
_	Important factor	Inadequately provided	Index of unmet need	Role for outside agencies			
Professional							
meetings in							
home country	48.5	54. 5	26.43	12.6			
Equipment							
and supplies	36.2	46.2	16.72	8.0			
Access to							
computers	49.2	54.7	26.91	7.8			
Institutional							
support for							
research	60.0	65.7	39.42	5.9			
Local							
opportunities							
to publish	38.0	39.0	14.82	3.4			
Salary							
levels	63.4	68.6	43.49	1 .8			
Social status	•						
of profession	30.9	36.8	11.37	0.2			
Work loads	40.5	46.7	18.91	0.0			

to leaders in government and in the private sector and have themselves been involved in implementing development policy. Many have also had an impact on academic institutions and curricula in their home countries and have helped to build the capacity to offer high level university instruction in the social science fields.

This rapid development of indigenous capacity is in many ways remarkable. Although Asian universities have had a long and distinguished tradition, almost none had offered instruction in or made use of contemporary social science based on theory that is to be tested empirically with data collected in the field.

Today every Asian country has one or more universities with social science departments that meet these requirements. Traditional universities have built this capacity, and there are also impressive programs at many younger institutions: the Indian institutes of management, the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, and the new agriculturally-based universities in Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Pakistan and Thailand, to name only a few.

Clearly the primary goals of overseas fellowship programs in the social sciences have been met. Are there still appropriate and necessary tasks that call for external assistance of the kind that support this earlier effort?

The overwhelming evidence is that there are.

Institutions and programs have been built. Keeping them alive and thriving is a responsibility of home governments and universities. Yet there are several essentials which will for a long time by beyond the power of many governments to provide.

The recommendations that follow are based only in part on the responses of former fellows to the survey reported in this document. In part, they rest on interviews with university and government officials in Asia who have employed or could employ persons with social science competence. They also draw upon the authors' experience and observations in a number of Asian countries.

1. Funding for social science research is simply not available in adequate amounts in the developing countries.

The results of social science research are used. Facts and figures, if they are available, have an impact on policy. One need only look at the project review or project identification reports of World Bank teams or international agencies to see how critically dependent they are on data locally gathered to illuminate the socio-economic problems of a nation or region.

But this is exactly the kind of work that often gets low priority when a nation allots its own scarce resources among development needs. Substantial outside funding is needed if Asia's social scientists are to maintain and sharpen their research skills and train a generation of successors.

The problem is not that social science research is perceived as without value. Interviews with governmental policy leaders in Asia indicate a genuine appreciation of hard facts when economic and social programs are being developed and carried out. There is also an awareness that careful social scientists can escape at least part of the unreliability of policy-related data that have been filtered through a screen of ideological or partisan political commitment.

Yet 60% of the former fellows responding to this survey said that the attitude of their employing agency toward research is critically important to their success, and 65% of that group said that inadequate institutional appreciation of the value of research is a serious problem for them.

It is hard to reconcile these two sets of responses, but one difficulty may be that project-funding is an unsatisfactory way to support social science research in a resource-poor developing country. It is hard to imagine the kind of social science research project that would be funded by hard-headed policy leaders at the cost of a smaller budget for highway construction, the education of teachers, or even the breeding of high-yielding cereals or tubers. Yet the success of any of these "practical" endeavors is likely to rest on the kind of insights a healthy social science community can produce. Meanwhile, proposals to provide funding for social science research are inevitably thrown into an unequal competition, at some level, with everything else the developing country needs.

This suggests that there would be a special value, at this critical time, for outside agencies to provide "program" grants to support the research of well established Third World social scientists or social science research organizations.

Such grants should be allotted in a way that makes them available to men and women who have demonstrated research competence in their own doctoral programs and subsequent work and who are themselves teaching undergraduates and directing doctoral research. Grants should not be tied to specific research project proposals, but to an evaluation of the individual's (or institution's) performance and promise.

The payoff is immediate and obvious. As the most promising social scientists in their countries, the persons supported would be as well placed as anyone, in the country or outside it, to judge the kind of research that is feasible and needed. Their own skills would be maintained and sharpened. They would be helping to prepare a successor generation.

There is a wave of dissatisfaction among the social scientists in this study as to how well these goals are being achieved under present arrangements.

2. Competent social scientists in the developing countries of Asia fear that they are getting out of touch with their professional colleagues elsewhere and with advances in their professional fields.

For a person whose academic and research experience are confined to institutions on the U.S. or European model, it may be hard to appreciate the conditions in which the men and women who responded to this survey carry out their work.

Some are in countries where only one or two educational institutions are engaged in scholarly work in the social sciences.

At best, there will be only a handful of persons with whom, day by day, they can exchange ideas in their professional field.

They may face the challenge of publishing in a language and for an audience confined to only one or two countries. Alternatively, they may feel forced to try to write for (and therefore choose research topics adapted to) the scholarly journals of the industrialized countries. The dilemma is often one of being irrelevant at home but desperately trying to remain active in a mainstream that is thousands of miles away, or remaining active on home-country projects that make no contribution to and lack the benefit of scrutiny by a world circle of scholars.

The problem is not insoluble. By choosing to return to employment in their home countries the majority of the fellows have made their interest clear. They are wisely choosing to contribute social science skills to national and regional problems, where the need is as great as is their comparative advantage. A modest investment in linking them more closely to world currents in their discipline would not affect this choice. What it would do is remove a serious source of frustration for them, enrich the quality of their work, and at the same time give scholars in other countries, including the

developing world, the benefit of their contributions.

This is surely what the former fellows are saying when they emphasize their need for better access to professional books and journals, travel to international professional meetings, post-doctoral fellowships, and other training opportunities.

3. One solution that suggests itself for the needs described above is creation of a small number of named professorships in social science fields at selected Asian universities.

It is too easy to view the respondents to this survey, and others like them, as "students" or "fellows" rather than as mature and competent scholars. In their own institutions many of them hold and deserve the kind of respect that would be represented by a "chair" in a Western university. In fact, since so many are physically remote from any large group of likeminded colleagues, they probably are forced to exercise more individual responsibility for very broad teaching and research programs than almost any Western social scientist does.

This argues for a problem of multi-year grants (five years minimum) that will give the grantees freedom to make their own judgments as to what activities will be most productive for them and for their institutions.

From the data in Table 34 it is clear that some would wish to spend time at some other university for post-doctoral study. Some are certainly qualified to serve as visiting professors collaborating in research and teaching. Some would use funds in support of research, for equipment or supplies or travel or books and journals. Most would apparently use some funding to attend international professional meetings.

The point is that these are decisions which the kind of persons likely to be selected for "named professorship" support are best qualified to make for themselves, without item-by-item competitions and reviews. Details of selection could be worked out, but eligibility should be restricted to persons active in research and in the training of future social science practitioners and research workers.

4. On a highly targeted basis there is a continued place for a program of conventional fellowships to take outstanding undergraduates abroad for graduate study. These would need to be funded by donor or technical assistance agencies, since it is likely that they will increasingly be viewed as a luxury by Third World countries burdened with debts and with limited

foreign exchange.

Throughout much of Asia, the basic capacity to offer post-baccalaureate study now exists and is being used. A number of countries clearly would be able to offer doctoral programs and prepare their own young people to serve as professorial staff in their own teaching and research institutions. Yet limited support for fellowships abroad is justified on several grounds.

In every country, the forces of insularity and provincialism need to be recognised and combated. A continuing intake of persons who have studied outside a country is a necessary source of new ideas and contact.

Similarly, it is in the interest of the United States, Canada, and other developed countries to have the stimulation of foreign students in their university graduate degree programs.

In many countries, a special program of fellowships for women would be highly justified. As women increasingly gain access to secondary and university education, their availability as candidates for post-graduate study increases. If it is desirable for a nation to have more women it its teaching and research institutions, they need to be offered the overseas educational opportunities that previous generations of men have had.

Finally, fellowships may be needed to diversify the economic and social composition of the group of young people who study outside the country. It would be unfortunate if overseas study opportunities were limited to the wealthy and well-born or to those who agree to accept ideology with education. The Third World countries, coping with generally limited financial resources and even more limited access to foreign exchange, will continue to need outside help if they are to meet these pressing needs.

The overwhelming impression from this study is that the fellowship programs under consideration were a wise and far-sighted investment. They have borne out the highest expectations on which they were based. At the same time, they point to an unfinished agenda which could be equally rewarding in its outcome.