

# **DEMOGRAPHIC DESTINIES**

## **Interviews with Presidents of the Population Association of America**

### **Interview with Sidney Goldstein PAA President in 1975-76**



This series of interviews with Past PAA Presidents was initiated by Anders Lunde  
(PAA Historian, 1973 to 1982)

And continued by Jean van der Tak (PAA Historian, 1982 to 1994)

And then by John R. Weeks (PAA Historian, 1994 to present)

With the collaboration of the following members of the PAA History Committee:  
David Heer (2004 to 2007), Paul Demeny (2004 to 2012), Dennis Hodgson (2004 to  
present), Deborah McFarlane (2004 to 2018), Karen Hardee (2010 to present), Emily  
Merchant (2016 to present), and Win Brown (2018 to present)

## SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN

PAA President in 1975-76 (No. 39). Interview with Jean van der Tak at the Population Studies and Training Center, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, December 14, 1989.

**CAREER HIGHLIGHTS:** Sidney Goldstein was born in 1927 and grew up in New London, Connecticut. He attended the University of Connecticut, where he obtained his B.A. in 1949 and M.A. in 1951, both in sociology. He received his Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Pennsylvania in June 1953 at the same time that Alice Goldstein received her B.A. (from Connecticut College) and they were married. He was an instructor in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania from 1953 to 1955. Since 1955 he has been at Brown University, where he has been, variously, Professor of Sociology (since 1960), Chair of the Department of Sociology (1963-70), George Hazard Crooker University Professor (since 1977), and Director (1966-89) of the Population Studies and Training Center, which he founded. He has been demographic adviser to or a fellow at many institutions, including Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, the Council of Jewish Federations, Australian National University, the East-West Population Institute, the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Far East, the IUSSP, U.S. Bureau of the Census, the National Center for Health Statistics, the National Research Council, the Smithsonian, and the Rand Corporation.

Sidney Goldstein is famous in the field of demography for his research and publications on internal migration and urbanization in Rhode Island, the U.S., and internationally, particularly in Thailand, Southeast Asia, and China. He has also published extensively on the American Jewish population. He is author or coauthor (increasingly with Alice Goldstein) of close to 40 books or monographs and some 170 journal articles. He is also particularly well known in the demographic world for his teaching and what has been called his "pastoral care" of his students throughout their careers (John and Pat Caldwell, Limiting Population Growth and the Ford Foundation Contribution, 1986, p. 124). [Dr. Goldstein retired from teaching in 1993, and died in Rhode Island in 2019.]

**VDT:** Dr. Goldstein returned just three days ago from China and at the end of next week he is beginning a sabbatical leave. So I thank you very much, Sid, for making time for this interview during this particularly busy week. Today is also an exam day and he must check periodically on his students. How many people are writing the exam?

**GOLDSTEIN:** This is a graduate exam in population techniques; only nine students, our entering group in demography.

**VDT:** Later I will also be interviewing Alice Goldstein, because she has shared much of Dr. Goldstein's career and has her own career in demography too. That makes them a rare, distinguished couple in U.S. demography. How and when did you first become interested in demography, Sid?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Actually, it was as an undergraduate at the University of Connecticut. I went there intending initially to major in foreign languages. I spent a considerable time studying French and German and then taking social science courses, both out of interest and distribution requirements. I found sociology interesting, but was turned off a little by the general courses that dealt more with theoretical issues, had a lot of jargon in them. When I came across the course in population and enrolled in it, it attracted me very much, both because of its more empirical character and because it seemed to confront more directly many of the concerns of society. In fact, I was enticed so much that I decided to major in sociology rather than foreign languages.

**VDT:** The population course led you into sociology?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right, because that's where population was housed. This was fairly late in my undergraduate program of studies. I realized I couldn't do much with it as an undergraduate but I was determined already to go on to graduate school.

**VDT:** Who taught that first course?

**GOLDSTEIN:** The course was not taught by a demographer but by a sociologist named Otto Dahke. But it was taught well and, as I said, the subject attracted me greatly. Just about that time, Bob Burnright had come to the University of Connecticut to do work in rural sociology and be responsible for future teaching in population. He had come from the University of Pennsylvania, where he had studied under Dorothy Thomas. This was a particularly welcome development for me because it meant I could think of going on in graduate studies, working with someone who was well qualified in the field of demography. Since I had had only one undergraduate course in population, I decided at that point to stay on at the University of Connecticut for my master's degree, working with Bob Burnright.

**VDT:** Was that particularly in migration already, or just general demography?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I guess you could say I caught Burnright's interest in migration, because when it came to writing a master's thesis I was encouraged to write it in the field of migration. This was in the early 1950s, a time when the first sets of special tabulations on migration from the 1940 census became available. That was the first census that had the question on "Where were you living five years ago?" Those data sets were being made available particularly, if I remember correctly, as the result of some work that Don Bogue had done to arrange for special tabulations for a number of socioeconomic regions. And Bob, in his role as a member of rural sociology, had taken on responsibility for working on the New England region. He made available to me the material on Maine. He himself was working on Connecticut; other New England institutions were working on the other states. I wrote my master's thesis on internal migration in Maine, a detailed analysis of interregional movement. It was always a joke as to whether there were more people or cows in Maine.

**VDT:** There can't be many people who migrate within Maine; it could well be more cows. That 1940 census was famous, and it was always felt that it wasn't exploited as much as it should have been, because of the war.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. And this was unique in that it was the first time the census had really asked a direct question on migration, so it was an opportunity to explore how useful that kind of question was as well as to get insights into migration patterns.

**VDT:** Was that thesis published--an article or something?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No. I wrote it as a kind of useful exercise. At that time, I didn't have time to exploit it further because I was too busy preparing for getting into graduate school for Ph.D. work. Bob steered me in the direction of Pennsylvania. He was a wonderful teacher and a very close friend. His death, a little over a year ago, was a great loss. I applied to Penn along with some other schools, but my heart was set on Pennsylvania, because I'd heard so much about his work with Dorothy Thomas and also knowing Penn's concentration on the field of migration.

I applied for a Harrison fellowship at Pennsylvania. One of the requirements for that was that one passed the language requirements before one enrolled at the university. As I recall, the motive was to make sure the individual was free to concentrate on your major field of study and not diverted into meeting the language requirement. So it meant on very short notice that I had to take time off to refresh myself in foreign languages. It was a real stroke of luck that having studied French and German the first few years at Connecticut, I didn't have to start from scratch. But it did mean taking time out and that's one reason I didn't do much more with getting publications out of my thesis. Fortunately, I did pass those foreign language exams. I received the Harrison fellowship and was able to go to Penn in 1951.

**VDT:** And you went through your Ph.D. program in just two years. You got the degree in 1953.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Was it that soon?

**VDT:** Yes. And Charlie Westoff and Richard Easterlin got Ph.D.s at Penn the same year.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. I still have movies of that commencement, in which the three of us are marching together down the line.

**VDT:** You marched together a long way in the same field.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I always thought that was symbolic. I've often thought back to that commencement, the three of us being together. And a number of years later, the three of us were presidents of PAA almost consecutively [Westoff, 1974-75; Goldstein, 1976-77; Easterlin, 1978].

**VDT:** Only Evelyn Kitagawa came in between [1977].

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. You did your homework.

**VDT:** Well, I have interviewed everybody but Evelyn in this distinguished sample of [living] PAA presidents.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Charlie was first; I followed Charlie; and then Dick followed Evelyn.

**VDT:** That was really interesting.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think it's strong testimony to the quality of the program at Penn.

**VDT:** Tell me a bit about it. I've heard a lot about Dorothy Thomas in particular. Did you work directly with her, or who was your professor-mentor?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I worked most closely with Dorothy. Pennsylvania was a wonderful experience again. I don't know "who" was looking after me, but I was very fortunate in arriving at Penn just as they had received a grant from the Ford Foundation under a program which--again by coincidence--was initiated by Barney [Bernard] Berelson when he was at the Ford Foundation, not in his role as a population expert but rather as a social science expert. He had developed the idea that what was needed in graduate training was more interdisciplinary interaction. So grants were given to Pennsylvania, Michigan, and a third institution, which slips my mind for the moment, to encourage graduate programs to develop interdisciplinary training.

**VDT:** Not necessarily in population?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, it had nothing to do with population--in the behavioral sciences. At Penn, it involved sociology, in which demography was housed, and anthropology, economics, and history were also brought in.

Penn, as its effort in using the Ford grant, had developed an interdisciplinary seminar, which brought faculty members together from these different fields. And the idea was also to select graduate students from these different fields and have them concentrate a good part of their studies in this seminar, which was called the Interdisciplinary Seminar on Technological Change and Social Adjustment. When I arrived, I was invited to be one of the sociologists that participated in that seminar. What it meant was that one forewent a number of the traditional courses in one's field. One still took a limited number of them, such as sociological methods and theory.

**VDT:** Did everybody participate--people like Easterlin, who was actually in economics?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Neither Westoff nor Easterlin was involved in this. Easterlin was in economics and worked most closely with Simon Kuznets and some with Dorothy Thomas. Westoff went the traditional route in sociology, because he had arrived there earlier than I had.

**VDT:** Did you sit around daily?

**GOLDSTEIN:** The students and faculty met regularly as a weekly seminar, but we interacted more often in planning the study and analysis and by sharing the same facility. The unique thing about the seminar was that it was organized very heavily around research projects, which was something new in graduate training, at least at Pennsylvania. And they had selected Norristown, Pennsylvania, which was a relatively small community outside Philadelphia, as the study community. All students and faculty in the seminar were supposed to develop their research projects based on Norristown, some of them being historical, some sociological, anthropological--demographic in my case. Then in the seminar we not only dealt with the more theoretical and methodological issues, but each of the disciplines had the opportunity to present their own ideas, initially their research designs, and as the data came in, discussing the actual results and trying to look at them from the perspectives of the different disciplines. So in that way, I learned not only demography but also how an economist or an historian would look at my set of data. It was a fantastic experience.

**VDT:** And it became your dissertation.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Not only the dissertation, but it influenced my whole outlook on demography and social sciences up until this day.

**VDT:** In what way?

**GOLDSTEIN:** In the sense that I came to appreciate the need for a multidisciplinary approach to understanding demographic problems and that it was quite artificial to even house demography in a single disciplinary department, such as sociology or economics, and to restrict oneself to approaching the field from the perspectives of just that single discipline. And I think this evidenced in the fact that so many population programs at American universities now, while they may be housed for degree purposes in departments, are housed for research purposes in centers that involve a full range of social sciences and even experts outside of social science departments, in public health, medicine.

**VDT:** Has that been a conscious effort of yours in the center here at Brown, to draw in people from different disciplines?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, and I think the cause of it goes back to this experience I had as part of the Norristown study.

**VDT:** Is that approach still carried on at Penn? Of course, I've interviewed Sam Preston.

**GOLDSTEIN:** These are people who were not trained at Penn and come from a different professional origin. The Norristown seminar unfortunately came to an end. The reason was, as is all too often the case, that the initial funding given by Ford ran out and the university was not able to support it itself. It was an expensive endeavor in that it involved a number of high-powered faculty members in a single seminar.

As you noted, I was able to complete my degree at Penn in just two years, and the speed with which I was able to do it I attribute in part to the success of the seminar, because I was able to benefit so much from the close work with a number of faculty. Dorothy Thomas was one; Tony Wallace, a distinguished anthropologist, was another; and Tom Cochran, a very distinguished historian. I benefited very much from them and from others through contacts, even though they weren't directly involved in this seminar. Simon Kuznets was a close friend of Dorothy's. He was not working on the Norristown project but Dorothy was working closely with him on other migration projects. So I benefited indirectly from that kind of interaction too. Dorothy was always very generous in giving not only time to students but also sharing all her professional friends with students. There was very little status distinction.

**VDT:** I've heard often of the famous coffee klatches.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. Students were very often attending klatches and spending evenings, weekends, at her home, discussing research and meeting with friends. The line between classroom time and all the informal mechanisms for learning were very blurred in Dorothy's agenda. That was one of the great things about her.

**VDT:** She certainly made an impact on you. You dedicated your 1976 PAA presidential address to her ["Facets of Redistribution: Research Challenges and Opportunities," published in Demography, November 1976].

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. One of my great regrets was that at that point she was already too ill to attend the Montreal meeting. She died the next year.

**VDT:** Was your Norristown Ph.D. dissertation topic migration?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, but migration with an historical tilt. The sort of common theme that ran through the Norristown seminar was the kind of changes that a community and its population underwent in response to the industrialization that was occurring during the first half of the 20th century, and that was part of my dissertation. What I did--it was both methodological and substantive--was to go back, using city directories, to retrace the movement of population into and out of Norristown over that period of time.

**VDT:** You traced where people of Norristown went and found them in the directories of other cities?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Picked samples from city directories, starting in 1910 and all the way through 1950, and then literally followed these people backward and forward through the directories. And if they disappeared going either way, tried to ascertain through linkages with other record systems, such as death or birth or school records, why it was they had disappeared. Through this record linkage, one could re-create the demographic experiences, particularly the mobility experience, of this population, both when they came into and when they left the community, what years, and also what mobility went on while they were within the community.

What that led to was the recognition--and this was the unique contribution of my thesis--that a high percentage of the people who moved into the community in any one period of time constituted a higher percentage of those individuals who moved out of the community at a later point in time, and that a core group remained in the community over prolonged periods. So we jokingly referred--I forget now if I used the terms in my thesis or not--to "homads" and "nomads."

**VDT:** That's marvelous!

**GOLDSTEIN:** Maybe it was Tom Cochran who suggested those terms initially. What it was pointing to was the recognition that there was a highly stable segment of the population, the homads, and a highly mobile segment, the nomads, or what later more technically I came to refer to as "repeat migrants." This was a somewhat unique contribution in the sense that the census, to the extent it's based on a question on a single point in time, is not able to re-create the migration history. We do a slightly better job now by linking place-of-birth data with the five-year question and so on, but for the most part we don't get a complete migration history. But by being able to trace these people over this longer period of time, we were able to get a much better insight into the dynamics of the migration process.

**VDT:** Has a multidisciplinary project of the Norristown sort been used elsewhere?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, the program funded by Ford took a slightly different form and, in fact, has been longer-lasting at Michigan. I think I'm correct in saying that Michigan used its Ford resources to establish the Detroit Area Study.

**VDT:** That's a famous project; I didn't realize it came from the same source.

**GOLDSTEIN:** You can see some similarities. It's unfortunate that the University of Pennsylvania didn't continue it the same way as Michigan.

**VDT:** That was an apprenticeship, hands-on, way of learning your discipline. What about your other colleagues at Penn at the time? It sounds like you were a little removed from the other people in demography.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right, to some extent it did have that kind of isolating effect. I was not as much involved in the department of sociology, where population was concentrated, and more of my learning of population was by working in Norristown and with Dorothy Thomas. But I certainly had close relations with Ed Hutchinson--the other Penn faculty member in population--and other people at Penn. Everett and Anne Lee were there, as was Ann Miller, working closely with Dorothy on the large census analysis of migration. So there were many opportunities to learn outside of the immediate classroom.

**VDT:** And you stayed on for two years teaching there.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I stayed on for two reasons. One was a strong desire to write up the results of the Norristown experience. So I not only published my dissertation, which came out as Patterns of Mobility, 1910-1950 [University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958], but I was also responsible for editing a volume called The Norristown Study: An Experiment in Interdisciplinary Research Training [1961]. Part of my responsibilities during the two years I spent at Penn after my degree was pulling together the materials for that particular volume, which consisted of contributions by a number of students who had been a part of the seminar, most of whom based their dissertations on the Norristown data. At the same time, I was teaching in the department of sociology, and in those years teaching was a heavy load.

**VDT:** How many hours?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Full-time teachers, instructors at least, at that time taught six courses, each consisting of two hours per week, so that's 12 hours.

**VDT:** Phew!

**GOLDSTEIN:** Fortunately, I didn't teach the full six, since part of my time was devoted to the Norristown study. But I keep reminding our young people today that they have it comparatively easy!

**VDT:** Indeed. And you were married then, you and Alice.

**GOLDSTEIN:** By 1953, yes, we were already married and our first child was born in January 1955, our daughter Beth, who is now an assistant professor herself. She's at the University of Kentucky.

**VDT:** My mother graduated from the University of Kentucky.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I guess she's an example of how our own professional careers, mine and Alice's, very much influenced the interests of at least two of our three children.

**VDT:** Is she in sociology?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No. She did her undergraduate work in anthropology at Yale and then became what Yale refers to as a "bachelor in China." She was stationed in Hong Kong because that was just before the United States renewed diplomatic relations with China. She spent three years teaching at the Chinese University in Hong Kong and in the process learned Chinese--Guangdonese, actually. Then she did her graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin, where she combined her interest in anthropology with interests in education and Southeast Asia and wrote her dissertation on the integration of the Hmong refugees into the Madison community, particularly into the school system of Madison.

**VDT:** Interesting! Well, I'll learn more about these brilliant children. It's obviously a very influential family.

**GOLDSTEIN:** One thing leads to another.

**VDT:** Through Bob Burnright and Dorothy Thomas to you, on to your wife, your children.

**GOLDSTEIN:** During the time I was teaching at Penn, there was a thorough reevaluation of many of



the programs at Penn. One of the great concerns was that some of the departments had become quite incestuous, in that a high proportion of their faculty were made up of their own alumni. That was certainly true of sociology at Pennsylvania at that time. I had already made up my mind that after some reasonable number of years I should look elsewhere. And Dorothy, knowing of my interests, called my attention to the opportunity that had opened at Brown. It was early 1955 when she received a letter from the chair of the department announcing a vacancy in this new program that was being developed in population studies, within their department of sociology.

**VDT:** Which had been founded by Vincent Whitney in 1949.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, sociology has a strange history at Brown. It began early in the 20th century and was revived in the early 1950s, after Vince came to Brown. I applied for the position. Fortunately, I had good recommendations from people at Penn and from Henry Shryock, who had liked my dissertation.

**VDT:** Henry had been on your dissertation committee? He was at the Census Bureau then.

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, Dorothy had sent him a copy of my dissertation.

**VDT:** I saw him yesterday. He was so interested to know I was coming up here today.

**GOLDSTEIN:** He's a very old friend. One of the first talks I gave after getting my Ph.D. was in Washington at the invitation of Henry. It was before the Washington branch of the American Statistical Association, reporting on the methodology in my Ph.D. research. Another early talk--which again illustrates how Dorothy was very supportive--while I was still a graduate student, was a presentation at the PAA meetings, which in those days were largely at Princeton. I think that was 1952.

**VDT:** 1952 was in Princeton; that was almost the last Princeton meeting.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, but up until that time I think the practice was to alternate Princeton with another city. Then they started drifting away and didn't get back there till 1955. I guess they haven't been back there since.

**VDT:** No. They outgrew it. 1952 was your first paper at PAA? ["Problems in the Migration History and Social Demography of a Moderate-Size City"]

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. Obviously, as a graduate student that was both a thrilling and a terrifying experience, because in those years the whole PAA membership literally met in one room; there were no multiple sessions. So I knew I had the most distinguished American demographers in the audience. I still remember, and I've always been very grateful to Ron Freedman, who was the discussant of my paper, that he didn't tear it apart, because that would have been devastating for a graduate student. So that was a wonderful opportunity and one of my first professional contacts with PAA, in the sense of actual interaction, aside from being on the membership rolls.

**VDT:** So then you went to Brown, where Kurt Mayer was chair of the department?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Kurt was acting chair when I was interviewed for the position. Vince Whitney was the actual chair, but he was on leave when I was interviewed. Brown, as I said, has a somewhat strange

history as far as sociology goes. It had one of the early departments in the country. Lester Ward, one of the founding fathers in American sociology, came to Brown in the early 1900s. And the first two presidents of the American Sociological Association were here at Brown--Lester Ward and Dealey. And the first meetings of the American Sociological Association were held here in Providence. So there's a long history of sociology at Brown.

But in the 1930s, there was something of a catastrophe. Dealey, who was a follower of the French sociologist, Auguste Comte, believed that sociology was the queen of the sciences and he argued that because that was the case, the sociology department should have a kind of review function of decisions being made at the university.

**VDT:** In any field?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right--at least in the social sciences. That recommendation didn't go over big with the university and one result was that sociology as a separate program was done away with and although individual sociologists remained on the faculty, they came to be housed in other departments.

Then after World War II, in the late 1940s, the decision was made to reactivate sociology. And at that time the decision was evidently also made that they would concentrate it heavily on population studies. It's not clear exactly why. One explanation is that population studies, being much more empirical, would be less likely to come up with the kind of suggestions Dealey made back in the 1930s. The other, which is probably closer to the truth, is that after looking at the programs of other universities with which Brown saw itself competing, they realized that population was one area that wasn't covered very thoroughly and that this was a field in which Brown could therefore make an important contribution. There weren't programs at Yale or Harvard, for example, or Dartmouth--the other Ivy Leagues in the New England area.

So that was when Vince Whitney was brought here. He came in 1949, as I remember, as a young assistant professor, but with the responsibility for developing the new department of sociology with this focus on population and urban studies. Then in the next few years, he brought in several people--Kurt Mayer, Leo Schnore, and one or two sociologists. In 1955 a new position was created; that was the one I was recruited for. There were the four of us [in population] in the late 1950s.

We brought in our first graduate students; there were a few already when I arrived. The first Ph.D. was awarded in 1958, to a Japanese student, Shigemi Kono, who has had a very distinguished career. He's now director of the Population Institute [Institute of Population Problems] at the Ministry of Health in Tokyo. Two years ago Brown brought him back to campus and gave him its Distinguished Graduate Alumni Award. It was the same year in which our program awarded its 100th Ph.D. with specialization in demography. Between 1958 and 1987, we actually awarded 100 Ph.D.s.

**VDT:** And the focus was mainly migration? You were brought in because you were a migration, urbanization person? Was that one reason you got the job?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Actually, I know some of the other candidates--they'll remain nameless--with whom I was competing and they were not migration experts, so I don't think that was an actual requirement of the job, although it was an area, direction, in which they were interested. Whitney obviously was interested in that. Leo Schnore also, at least in the urban side of the coin, not so much in migration itself.

**VDT:** Your first studies with Kurt Mayer were Rhode Island?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. When I arrived there was some interest in doing a series of studies on Rhode Island, partly as a kind of service to the larger community.

**VDT:** Did you get funding as a result of its being that service?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, the state had been undergoing some serious economic problems. There had been quite dramatic changes with the decline in the textile industry and its movement to the South. So there was considerable interest in how these impacted on the population. A development planning office had been set up in the state and they asked the university to undertake some of these studies. Kurt and I worked together for several years doing a series of studies on migration.

**VDT:** May I ask about Kurt Mayer. He is one of only three people I may not get to interview. Is he still alive?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Oh, yes. I've maintained close ties with Kurt because we developed a very close friendship while we were together here at Brown. I succeeded him as chairman of the department. But before that we had collaborated on a number of these studies, including one that was somewhat outside the area of demography, on small business [The First Two Years: Problems of Small Business Growth and Survival, 1961]. Even there, however, we applied a number of demographic concepts and tried to show the linkages between small business development and population redistribution. Kurt left Brown, I think the year would be 1963 or 64 [1966]. Before that, as you know, he served as secretary-treasurer of PAA.

**VDT:** He did--from 1959 to 1962. And he should be interviewed for this series, but I didn't quite know how to get to him in Switzerland. I have to admit that Nathan Keyfitz was in Jakarta and self-recorded an interview from a questionnaire I sent him. Perhaps I could do the same with him.

**GOLDSTEIN:** The PAA meetings were held in Providence in 1959, weren't they?

**VDT:** Yes, you're right.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think part of the reason for that was Kurt's strong involvement, also Vince Whitney's, in PAA.

**VDT:** Did he go back to Switzerland when he left Brown?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes. He was a native of Switzerland and in that period in the 1960s he was offered an endowed chair at Berne University. Unfortunately, he held the position only a short number of years. In a nutshell what happened was a very considerable student unrest at the university, partly as a byproduct of the unrest on American campuses.

**VDT:** It happened in Switzerland too?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. And it was concentrated in sociology. And Kurt, having come just a few years before from the United States, students were disrupting his classes, making it very difficult for him to teach. He tried, one year later, to pick up and it didn't work; there was the same unrest. So as a result of that he took early retirement.

**VDT:** I never heard of anyone being hounded out. I know the department of demography at Berkeley had a lot of problems in that period, but . . . Isn't that sad!

**GOLDSTEIN:** He left Berne and went to Ascona, Switzerland, where his family had a home and he's

lived there ever since. He's built himself a lovely home on a lake. He's not withdrawn completely from the field of population. He doesn't teach, but he has done research and writing from time to time at a leisurely pace. I've visited him there a couple of times and we look forward to seeing him again next spring when we spend time at the Rockefeller study center in Bellagio, Italy. It's not too far from where he lives.

**VDT:** Well, you'll tell him about this interview and that he should have been interviewed and that I'll somehow get hold of him for that someday.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I'm sure if you send him a number of questions.

**VDT:** I'd like to do that if you'll give me his address. In the early 1960s, you took a year [1961-62] in Denmark, as a Fulbright scholar.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, that was my first sabbatical at Brown and first time overseas. It was a very exciting experience, coming to Brown and being involved in the development of the program. The first six years went by very rapidly; they were very satisfying years. As I said, our first Ph.D. came in 1958 and the momentum picked up.

**VDT:** Did most students go into migration?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No. People have this illusion that at Brown everyone does their work on migration. A large number do, but a number of our graduate students work on fertility and mortality and all the traditional areas of population. Ed Stockwell, for example, who reworked that Shryock and Siegel textbook, Methods and Materials of Demography.

**VDT:** What do you mean "reworked" it?

**GOLDSTEIN:** He converted the two volumes into one. He did that while he was at the Bureau of the Census. He wrote his dissertation on infant mortality in Rhode Island. That's an example of someone outside the field of migration, and there have been many such individuals among the 100 Ph.D.s and those who terminated at the M.A.

During that period I worked with Kurt on the Rhode Island migration studies. But I'd always had this frustration, growing out of my Ph.D. dissertation, that in order to further explore this whole question of repeat migration, there was no good set of statistics available on the American scene. As I told you, to do it in Norristown, I had to re-create these life histories from city directories and that was a long, laborious process. So I was always on the lookout for a data set with which I could test some of the ideas I had developed, based on the Norristown research, to ascertain whether in fact this pattern I had found in Norristown--a very high percentage of the out-migrants being former in-migrants--held in other places. And probably again stimulated by contacts with Dorothy, who had worked for a number of years on Swedish material, I was aware of the fact that the Scandinavian countries had population registers. So, as I approached the time for my first sabbatical, I decided I would like to take advantage of some of those rich materials to explore these ideas that had been lingering for several years. So I went to Denmark for my first sabbatical, supported by a combination of a Fulbright award, a Guggenheim fellowship, and a Social Science Research Council fellowship. Putting the three together, I was able to manage a year of support away from Brown.

**VDT:** And you had the article on that in the American Statistical Association journal in 1964 ["The Extent of Repeated Migration: An Analysis Based on the Danish Population Register," Journal of the

American Statistical Association, December 1964].

**GOLDSTEIN:** I was affiliated in Copenhagen with the Danish National Institute of Social Research, which was very supportive of my research. I didn't do any teaching. I did give a number of seminars at the Institute and a number of lectures at various institutes around Europe. That's one of the requirements of the Fulbright, but something I very much wanted to do in any case.

**VDT:** Where did you go, for instance--INED?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Sweden, where Hyrenius was teaching at Goteborg; I went to Stockholm where the Myrdals were. The Myrdals were old friends of Dorothy Thomas. I'd gotten to know them in Philadelphia before, so I was renewing that friendship. I went to INED; Sauvy had invited me there. I went to Kiel University, where Hilde Wander was professor, working on migration.

**VDT:** I noticed that you became an IUSSP member about this time, perhaps even before [1960], and obviously you were making early foreign contacts.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes. One other place I went was the London School of Economics, where David Glass and John Hajnal were working. All these contacts and my work in Denmark enhanced my international interests and that's reflected in part in becoming a member of IUSSP.

**VDT:** Did you set up the Population Studies and Training Center, which was established in 1966, a few years after you came back from Denmark?

**GOLDSTEIN:** The answer to that is yes and no. The population program was actually initiated by Vince Whitney, back in the early 1950s, and also by Kurt Mayer; they played very important roles in developing the program. What happened in 1965 was that by that time a number of faculty at Brown were interested in population, both in sociology and in a growing number of departments outside of sociology. And having by that time become chair of the joint sociology and anthropology department, I was much more into administration. In my role as chair of the department, I was more or less also responsible for the population program, because that was such an important component of sociology at Brown. Recognizing that there were these interests outside of sociology, I decided the time had come to establish some more formal organization; we already had informal ties with people outside the department interested in population. So we did get permission from the university to establish the Population Studies and Training Center. This was, in fact, one of the first centers established at Brown. Since then, a large number of other centers have been created.

**VDT:** In what, for instance?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Environmental studies is one; another is the program in World Hunger.

**VDT:** Did you consciously emulate one of the already existing population centers--Chicago, Michigan? Well, Michigan had only just started [1962].

**GOLDSTEIN:** No. Each place, I think, is unique and we let ours evolve based on the interests at Brown and the nature of our training program and the research interests of the faculty.

**VDT:** What is unique about Brown?

**GOLDSTEIN:** For one thing, I think, it's the nature of the university itself. It's a relatively small university, to judge by the number of students. There are only about 6,000 students; that includes both undergraduates and graduate students.

**VDT:** No wonder it's so exclusive! You have 11,000 applicants for freshman year.

**GOLDSTEIN:** The undergraduate body runs about 4,500 to 5,000 and the graduate students run somewhere around 1,200 to 1,500. It varies from year to year.

It's been a very intentional decision on the part of the Corporation, which is the name we give to our Board of Trustees, to keep Brown small in order to maintain the character of the university and the quality of the program. Brown does not try to cover the waterfront in terms of all fields or all topics, but rather tries to develop excellence in limited areas. It wasn't until they felt that population had achieved a level of excellence that let it stand on its own two feet that they agreed to incorporate other fields of interest into sociology, such as comparative development. That didn't happen until sometime in the 1960s, so it took almost a decade before we felt we were ready for that.

Given the character of the university, there's very close interaction among faculty in different departments. There's also been close interaction between the faculty and the administration, particularly in earlier years when there was less bureaucracy. Now, given government requirements and all the paperwork in research grants and affirmative action, there's much more bureaucracy. But, even today, it's very simple for me to go directly to the provost or even the president of the university with some problem I want to discuss. And they've been very supportive of the program in population. They see it as one of the jewels in Brown's crown. They're quite determined to maintain it as a strong program. Even in the years when we've had difficulty because of cutbacks in government funding, they've managed to come up with the funds to carry the program through the critical period.

**VDT:** The Center?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right--until we could pick up again on the outside funding.

**VDT:** You had some Ford money and then you got NIH money.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right.

**VDT:** And then you established the Population Research Lab, in 1966, and that was concentrated on Rhode Island.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, we've always felt that Rhode Island was a somewhat unique location. It's unique in the sense that it's the smallest state in area in the union. It has a population just under one million persons, but it's a very heterogeneous population because of the nature of the state's economy. It's had a series of immigrant groups, starting with the Irish and then the French Canadians, followed by the Italians and East Europeans and, more recently, a number of Asian groups. So it's very heterogeneous. As a result of that, we feel it lends itself well to demographic research, because one can do quite a bit of comparative analysis among these various ethnic groups and different migration cohorts who settled in the state in different periods.

**VDT:** The surveys that led to the book you did with Al Speare and Bill Frey in 1975, Residential Mobility, Migration, and Metropolitan Change, when you had three samples interviewed in 1967, 68, 69--you followed them annually until 1971--were they unique?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I would say they were somewhat unique. We referred to them as a population laboratory because what we did was pick a statewide sample of the population in the initial year of the survey and then, in the succeeding rounds of the survey, as far as possible the same individuals were reinterviewed. So it was a longitudinal survey and in that way we were able to measure change over time. At the same time, the survey design was structured in such a way that the representativeness of the sample could be maintained by replacing cases that were lost between the time of the previous survey and the most current survey. In this way, we were getting cross-sectional and longitudinal data at the same time.

It was kind of an omnibus survey--again, I can clearly trace some of the origins to the sort of philosophy of the Norristown experience--in that we had a number of faculty involved, a number of perspectives, not only demography but health and ecological concerns and some historical and economic concerns. And it was used for both research and training purposes. We tried to involve graduate students as much as possible and some undergraduates. A fairly substantial number of Ph.D. dissertations were written based on the data collected in those surveys.

**VDT:** Did it carry on past 1971?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Not the full-scale survey, because there comes a point when you lose so much of the original sample that it doesn't make sense to keep the same structure. We've had new surveys, such as the one done by Basil Zimmer, and from time to time, even up to the present, we go back as best we can to the individuals in that original survey. We've sent interviewers scooting across the country to find respondents in the original survey who have left the state since then. There's a possibility of using that sample even for studying problems of the aged, for example. That possibility is being considered at the present time, because we've had fantastic luck in locating the original sample, or at least accounting for it, if they've died, and then locating those who have moved away and reinterviewing them, either by mail or by sending interviewers around.

**VDT:** And in 1968-69, you turned your attention to something I would think quite different--Thailand. What brought that on? Who approached whom? You were Population Council-sponsored there.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Up to that point, as you can see from my CV, I concentrated heavily on the U.S. and to some extent on Denmark, with a strong interest in migration. But already early in the 1960s, I had been approached by Dudley Kirk and Frank Notestein about an LDC overseas assignment. Vince Whitney, in the meantime, had served on the Population Council when he was on leave from Brown, so there was that channel of communication too. The Population Council was engaged by that time in developing a number of training and research programs in developing countries and concentrating heavily on Asia. So they had asked me on several occasions if I'd be interested in going overseas.

In the interval, given my growing international interests, starting in Denmark, I realized that the main focus of demographic concern overseas was going to be developing countries. So I was very enticed by the possibility of going overseas. I didn't go as early as I had been invited to go, because there was some concern on the part of Alice and myself about taking very young children to places like India.

**VDT:** Let me tell you that we lived in Thailand from 1958 to 1960--we beat you--with a small child. My husband was with ECAFE [Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East], as it was called then.

**GOLDSTEIN:** You were braver than I was. So we put it off, but I was determined to go overseas. I had taken some overseas trips in the interval. In 1967 I went to Australia for an IUSSP meeting and

for some UN activities in which I had become engaged by that time. This involved working on problems of urbanization, particularly problems of clarifying the definitions of urban-rural populations.

But finally in 1968, my second sabbatical at Brown, we decided to take the plunge and I accepted the invitation of the Council to become the adviser at the newly developing program of population studies at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok.

**VDT:** You have said in your works on migration in Thailand that Thailand was unusual among less developed countries because it had focused on migration. Which came first--their interest in migration or did they approach you because of your migration interest or what?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Migration itself was not a major variable in why I was invited to go to Thailand. They had already been doing some work in that area and, of course, that made it more attractive to me. But it was mainly just a coincidence. The Council needed an adviser at that time, that was my sabbatical year, and we were eager by that point to work in a developing country. It made it easier for me in the sense that there had already been some interest in migration in Thailand. So when I was involved in this work as adviser--and, again, you can see the influence of the Norristown experience--one of the first things my predecessor, Dov Friedlander, and I decided to do at the program at Chulalongkorn was to develop a research project which would serve both as a training mechanism for the students . . .

**VDT:** The Longitudinal Study of Social, Economic, and Demographic Change in Thailand?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. And also serve as a way of gaining data that could be used by the Institute of Population Studies to provide insights to government policymakers on matters related both to fertility and migration.

**VDT:** Did you think it must be deliberately related to policy?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes. I felt strongly that in a country like Thailand there should be strong linkages between training and research on the one hand and between those two activities and policymaking on the other. I'm firmly convinced that one of the reasons that Thailand has been so successful in its efforts to control fertility is that there has been this close cooperation between research scholars and government policymakers. A number of committees, in fact, in Thailand are composed of both researchers and policymakers.

**VDT:** You mean back and forth, researchers at the universities like Chulalongkorn? Like Visid Prachuabmoh?

**GOLDSTEIN:** He's a beautiful example. He was director of the Institute, but was also active on a number of government committees. He even was elected a member of the Thai parliament. And growing out of all this, Thailand was one of the first, perhaps even the first, country that had a provision about population control in its constitution.

**VDT:** I thought Yugoslavia was the first; I know China has one.

**GOLDSTEIN:** That's why I said it may have been among the first.

**VDT:** Do you think you had a hand in encouraging that?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Only indirectly. There were other advisers to the Institute. One who preceded me



was Dov Friedlander from Israel, and Ralph Thomlinson and then John Knodel succeeded me. So I certainly can't take sole credit for everything. There were also other Population Council representatives in Thailand in other important roles, at the Ministry of Health, and Jim Fawcett played a very important role as the main representative of the Population Council and coordinator of all the other activities. Allan Rosenfield, now Dean of Public Health at Columbia, was very active in Thailand. So there were a number of very good people. We worked closely together and--I'm immodest--I think we had a good influence on the development of training and research in demography in Thailand and on government policy.

**VDT:** I always like to say that the Thais, never having been colonized, have no chips on their shoulders about "farangs"--foreigners. Perhaps there could be an openness in the relationships which was almost not possible in other developing countries.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Amos Hawley, as you may know, was instrumental in getting the Population Council to come into Thailand and in developing the training program at Chulalongkorn University. I consulted quite a bit with him before I made the decision to go to Thailand.

**VDT:** The Potharam study--his time in Thailand [1964-65] came before yours.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. He brought Jim Fawcett to Thailand to work on the Potharam study.

**VDT:** You were in Thailand just that one year. How often have you been back? The longitudinal survey went into the field in 1969 and 70. You had left by that time?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, I was there for the first round of the longitudinal study and spent quite a bit of time in the field, in fact, on the study. That was the rural phase of it.

**VDT:** The 1,500 rural households were interviewed in 1969?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. The urban phase was a year later; by that time I had left Thailand. But I have remained involved in research in Thailand up to the present time and returned there a number of times after 1969. There was a period when I was going back at least once or twice a year. I've lost track of how many times I've been to Thailand. Now a disproportionate amount of my research efforts are devoted to China.

**VDT:** Did you ever learn Thai?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Broken Thai. Thai is a very difficult language.

**VDT:** It is, indeed--tones; too many tones.

**GOLDSTEIN:** My wife Alice became quite fluent and my daughter became very fluent in Thai.

**VDT:** She was probably there at a susceptible age. My oldest son's first language was Thai. At age three, he couldn't speak anything but Thai.

**GOLDSTEIN:** At the Institute they pretty much insist on speaking English with foreigners, so visiting scholars don't get much practice. The same thing happened in Denmark. They use English quite extensively in these institutes.

**VDT:** Are you the only U.S. demographer or sociologist who has studied internal migration in the Third World? That's still fairly rare. I'm going to get on to how rare migration research is in demography generally, though less so now. Most Americans who have worked with less developed countries have been focused on fertility.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Certainly I do a disproportionate amount of my work on migration. I certainly can't claim that I'm the only one. There have been a number of other studies; even Amos Hawley has worked on migration.

**VDT:** He was there only the one year. His interest in the Third World was fairly brief; he said so in his interview.

**GOLDSTEIN:** But there have been a number of people since then; some are students of our own program.

**VDT:** There are still Thai and other Third World students at Brown--now, there are Chinese. Through the years, you've had about what--half and half, U.S./Third World?

**GOLDSTEIN:** It varies from year to year. At the present time in the demography program, it's closer to 60 percent overseas and 40 percent American.

**VDT:** Third World people still need you for training in demography?

**GOLDSTEIN:** The ideal situation, of course, is that you train enough of them so that they can go home and establish their own programs and there's less need to come to the U.S. for degree work. I think that's been one of the satisfying experiences about Thailand. They have been turning out a considerable number of master's degree people on their own. Actually, one can now get the Ph.D. in demography in Thailand itself.

**VDT:** Have they had people complete it?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I can't honestly answer that question. The program is at an institution called NIDA, National Institute of Development Administration, and most of the people who get trained there are government people who do it on a part-time basis, so it's been a much slower process. I'm not aware of anyone who has yet received the Ph.D.

**VDT:** That institute is staffed by some of your graduates?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, the first director of the institute was a Ph.D. of ours, Suchart Prasithrathsin. The interesting thing is that at the moment the directors of the three major demography training programs in Bangkok are Brown alumni. Suchart is at NIDA. The director of the program at Chulalongkorn is Bhassorn Limanonda. And the director of the program at Mahidol University is Aphichat Chamrathirong. They're all Brown Ph.D.s. There are other Brown Ph.D.s, some on the staff of these institutions, some in government service, and some in other institutions. There may be around ten, but I wouldn't vouchsafe for the exactness of that figure.

**VDT:** Brown has such a reputation for its strong tie with Thailand, as Michigan does with Taiwan. In your 1976 presidential address ["Facets of Redistribution: Research Challenges and Opportunities"],

which was a summary of your many interests and one of the few migration addresses among those given by PAA presidents, you quoted Dudley Kirk, who said in his 1960 presidential address ["Some Reflections on American Demography in the Nineteen Sixties," Population Studies, October 1960] that internal migration had been the "stepchild" of demography. Speaking in 1976, you said that although attention had been focused on fertility in the last decades, migration might well become the most important branch of demography in the last quarter of the century, because of the tremendous pressure building up in LDCs with rapid urbanization. Of course, in the U.S. there was what looked like a rural renaissance in the 1980s, which changed in the 1990s. Has migration indeed gained in importance in demographic research and teaching?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I certainly think there's been much more recognition of the importance of problems related to migration and urbanization. It hasn't displaced fertility as the major area of concern. But judging by number of publications, we've made great progress.

## **BREAK**

**VDT:** We're back again after lunch and after I've interviewed Alice. We were talking about migration. In the U.S., has there been enough interest shown in internal migration? My impression is that the migration turnaround of the 1970s aroused great interest, the fact that rural areas were growing faster than metropolitan areas for probably the first time in U.S. history, but it turned around again in the 1980s, so interest has been lost in internal migration.

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, I don't think that's the case. If anything, there's probably more interest. I think I was right when I predicted that as fertility largely came under control, migration would take on more importance. It means that, particularly with respect to local areas, much more of the growth--whether a place will grow or decline--is influenced by migration. Given the up and down swings in the economy, localities can be affected at a relatively fast pace.

Take the kind of situation in Texas--oil boom and rapid movement, more recently decline, and now it seems to be rebounding--all this is mirrored very much in the amount of movement in and out of these places. That in turn has tremendous impact on housing markets, the whole local economy. So it becomes a kind of chain reaction. And as you just mentioned, first the movement out from the cities to the suburbs and nonmetropolitan areas and even from the suburbs to nonmetropolitan areas, and now some evidence that that's turned around again. All these dynamics of change are very much associated with the migration process.

My own recent interest, of course, has focused much more heavily on the developing world and particularly on the interrelations between migration and rapid rates of urban growth in developing countries. The problems associated with rapid urban growth and rising levels of urbanization have moved very much up in the priorities of policymakers and those concerned with the welfare of populations. A number of countries have introduced programs that directly or indirectly are designed to control the pace of urban growth, which means that they're really trying to control the pace of population movement from rural to urban places. These take many forms, from outright control to encouraging people to go elsewhere by developing satellite cities, growth centers, and small towns. This is actually what I'm working on in China.

Another major area is the whole question of the relation between migration and fertility. As countries try to control their fertility, they realize that as people move from rural to urban areas, they may affect the fertility of cities if they bring with them the high fertility that characterizes the population in rural areas. On the other hand, if when people move they reduce their fertility, this may be one more factor that contributes to overall fertility decline in the country, especially if a high percentage of the population is urbanizing. Right now in China, with the one-child-per-family policy,

there's great concern about whether individuals who are what they refer to as the "floating population," or what I call "temporary migrants"--that is, persons who are moving around the country--are using migration to escape the controls of the system, by living in places where they aren't officially registered and, while there, having more children than the government policy allows.

Still another major problem, which again I can trace back directly to my work in Norristown, is the whole question of what we refer to as "circular mobility." In a number of developing countries, there's strong evidence of a fairly substantial movement back and forth between rural and urban places. This is a form of internal migration--I actually alluded to it in my presidential address--that has not been adequately covered in our statistics or even in our migration theory. Yet, the more research that I and others have done on this topic, we find that numerically in many places--right now in China, again--this kind of movement probably exceeds the more standard forms of mobility that show up in response to standard migration questions in the census and surveys. But these people are very different in terms of their characteristics. They're very different in terms of the kind of impact they have on both their origins and destinations, because they're in both these locations only on a part-time basis, because they are making frequent moves back and forth. It has both positive and negative aspects. It may not place as much strain on the facilities of the cities. On the other hand, it may be very disruptive of family life if they leave spouses and children behind. But it can also have a positive impact on rural development if, while working in the city, they send substantial remittances or bring money back with them that is then used in the development process. So, again growing out of that interest that first arose in Norristown as a result of my identification of the extensive repeat migration, reinforced later by the work I did in Denmark, a good part of my work now in developing countries is on this process of circulation.

**VDT:** Let's skip on to China. Alice said you first went in 1979. You first went alone?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right, 1979 was my first trip to China. That trip arose as a result of my service as chair of the IUSSP Committee on Urbanization. We were doing a series of comparative studies of a number of developed and developing countries, both capitalist and socialist countries, and we wanted very much to include China in the comparison. That was before the United States had re-established diplomatic relations with China, so I'd had great trouble establishing contact with any scholars in China. I did so finally, but I couldn't elicit any cooperation from them, probably for political reasons. The period in which I was trying to establish contacts was the tail end of the Cultural Revolution, so things were very unstable in China.

But no sooner had diplomatic relations been re-established between the U.S. and China than I began getting very favorable reactions in reply to my earlier inquiries, saying they wanted to cooperate. They knew from my letters that I had been working in Southeast Asia, so they asked me to come to visit China the next time I was in Asia. And I, of course, grabbed the opportunity. I think--I can't claim this absolutely but I'm told, by the Chinese--that I was either the first or among the very first American demographers to have come in on an official visit and actually dealt professionally with Chinese demographers. Others had been there before, but they came more as tourists. In fact, a group from the PAA that I helped arrange during my presidency went there, but they went as tourists, not as professionals.

So I went in the fall of 1979. It was mainly to meet with small groups of sociologists and so-called demographers--so-called, because these were persons not trained as demographers, but assigned to help develop the field; they really hadn't re-established themselves yet. They were mainly interested in what had been going on in the outside world during the whole time that China was so isolated.

We hit it off quite well, and before I left China, they invited me to come back for a more leisurely visit to give lectures on urbanization and migration in Southeast Asia. They were interested in learning what was happening in the profession with respect to methodological concerns, as well as

in substantive areas and policy issues.

So in 1981 I obtained a fellowship from the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China, the CSC-PRC, sponsored by our National Research Council, and Alice and I went back for a month of lectures under the local sponsorship of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. That was very educational for me and, I hope, helpful to the Chinese. We traveled across a good bit of China giving lectures in various centers, academies of social science and universities. I gave them a choice of six topics and they selected the ones that they thought would be of most interest to them.

The interesting thing was that I was mainly interested in questions of urbanization and migration in China. They indicated to me that they didn't have any problems in those areas because they had everything under control through their registration system, which requires that people get official permission to move and settle in particular locations. They said, "We're controlling our urban growth; we're controlling our migration; there's no problem in these areas in China." As I traveled around China, I noticed that there was considerable mobility of people that wasn't covered by the system. I incorporated these observations into my lectures and by the time I finished the lecture series, the sponsors said to me, "Maybe you saw things that we didn't realize ourselves. Why don't you come back to China and do some research on this topic?"

So I went back to the CSC-PRC with a research proposal, in conjunction with my next sabbatical, which was coming up in 1982-83. I received a grant to go back to China for three months to do research. I almost lost the opportunity because the award came just after the scandal in China in which Stephen Mosher, the Stanford anthropologist, got himself into trouble with China and, as a result, China decided they wouldn't allow any more social science researchers in the next year. But after quite a bit of negotiation, they agreed that I could come. And Alice and I spent three months in China in early 1983.

**VDT:** Was that perhaps because you were going to look at migration and not the sensitive topic of fertility--and abortion?

**GOLDSTEIN:** That may have been relevant, but it was also the nature of the research I was doing. It wasn't at that point going to involve doing sample surveys of any kind, but rather interviewing government officials and community leaders, contacts of that kind. So, 1983-83 was a very busy, interesting, successful sabbatical year. We started it at the East-West Center and from there traveled through parts of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, focusing particularly on the volume, nature, and impact of circular migration. In all the countries, we collected information both in the cities and in the rural places of origin.

**VDT:** Just by talking to officials?

**GOLDSTEIN:** This was not by doing field surveys, but by talking to statisticians, policymakers, community leaders, and making observations.

**VDT:** You are well known for that kind of material that you use, which is not what some demographers would consider hard, solid data. What do you think about that?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, again, that grows out of my Norristown experience. While I have the highest regard for hard data, I feel they need to be supplemented by qualitative material in order to gain insight into what the data mean. I have my personal biases and one is that too heavy reliance on just quantitative statistics is dangerous. Again, you can see Dorothy Thomas's influence operating here. Although Dorothy was known by many as a staunch empiricist, the fact is that she relied not just on

quantitative statistics but on a vast array of qualitative work, both in the early work she did on children and in the extensive work she did on Japanese-Americans who were displaced during the war. Her books on the Salvage and the Spoilage [Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement: The Spoilage, 1946, and The Salvage, 1952] and a third volume that was put together on cast histories bring together, I think, in a very effective way both quantitative and qualitative data. So I was very much influenced by that.

**VDT:** Do you think demography in particular has gotten away from that kind of study?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think we've gotten away from it too much. And for that reason, I'm very pleased that Jack Caldwell, among others, has been trying to restore the balance. I'm very sympathetic to what he has been doing by stressing the qualitative aspect of demographic research.

**VDT:** His village observation?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. That's exactly what we were doing when we were traveling in Southeast Asia, and we repeated the process in China. In three months, we traveled somewhere between 12 and 15,000 miles around China; we were never in one location more than two weeks and usually less than that. Most of the time was spent interviewing local officials and residents in cities, towns, and villages. It was a wonderful experience.

**VDT:** You had it all set up in advance? It would have to be.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, we arranged it before we went with the Chinese sponsor, which was the Chinese Academy of Social Science. They knew what we wanted to do; they had approved our research proposal. And they arranged for the itinerary, which involved making a grand circle of China, starting in Guangzhou, which was formerly Canton, and going through southwest China to Chengdu in Sichuan and working our way through the northwest all the way up to Lanzhou, Gansu province, and then over to Shanghai and up to Beijing, and many, many places in between.

At every major city we went to, we tried as much as possible to get out into the countryside as well, to small towns and villages. So we were doing rural-urban site visits, with the opportunity to study situations both at migration destination and at origin and in the process get a feel for China itself, the kind of demographic problems it's facing, and how in particular migration fits into the picture and how it was being influenced.

And this was important. This was just the period when China had begun to introduce the economic reforms, basically what is referred to as the household responsibility system, which meant moving away from the commune system to a contract system, where individual households were allowed to produce as much as they could, meet their obligations to the government, and sell the rest on the market. This marked the beginning of the vast changes in rural areas, which eventually spilled over into urban areas. One of the impacts it has is that it freed up literally millions of rural Chinese laborers, because the system became much more effective, eliminating the inefficiencies of the earlier decades, when people were paid automatically on the basis of work points. Many people in the process became surplus labor, had nothing to do in agriculture, and were turning to either rural industry or opportunities that they saw in the towns and cities. Yet they couldn't move to the city officially because the migration control system was still operating.

So, in order to take advantage of urban opportunities, they had to move as temporary migrants. This meant they could stay in cities as long as they didn't become a burden on the urban structure. That basically meant if they were able to feed and house and work for themselves. So they were channeled in certain directions. For example, many went into domestic work, because there they were

fed and housed by their host families, as well as earning their living.

**VDT:** Alice said that you, as a result of your work, probably inspired more migration questions in the upcoming survey. Is there a survey of 1989, or was it the census that was going to be in 1989?

**GOLDSTEIN:** That was an interesting by-product. For reasons that I mentioned earlier, the Chinese claimed they knew everything they needed to know about migration. So during my lecture visit--I think it was 1981--I had contacts with the State Statistical Bureau. They were planning their 1982 census, and I was horrified to hear that they weren't including any question on migration. I urged them to do so but, again, they told me it wasn't necessary; they knew everything they needed to know from the registration.

Then as a result of this field research in 1983 and in subsequent years as well, the Chinese said, "You really have convinced us we have a problem and what we want you to do now is to come back and teach us how to do research on migration." They also began to realize they needed data. So what that 1983 research eventually led to was a national survey--it's called a national survey but it actually took place in 16 of the 29 Chinese provinces--in which they tried to collect basic migration data. The whole focus of the survey was on migration.

The survey was conducted in 1986, but the preparation took several years. It was, as I recall, 1984 that we went back and held the first workshop for them, under UN sponsorship, taught them how to do migration research, how to construct questionnaires, to sample, and tabulate data from the sampled populations. Then for a year, they did pretests and learned how to conduct the survey. And a year later, I went back and we had another workshop, along with Walter Mertens, who's now at Harvard, and we reviewed the results of that experience. That must have been early 1986. And during 1986, they actually initiated this national survey. And the trip I just took to China [December 1989] was for a conference at which the results of that research were reported. The whole conference was devoted to migration and urbanization. A good proportion of the papers drew their material from the results of the survey. So that was a very satisfying experience.

What happened in addition was that in 1987, when the State Statistical Bureau undertook the equivalent of a mid-decade census in China--it wasn't a full census; it was a sample survey--they too incorporated questions on migration.

**VDT:** That was separate from the migration survey?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, this was the official government equivalent of--a sort of grand Current Population Survey. They had questions on migration. Those data have been published. And on the basis of those results, they've decided now to include questions in the 1990 census. Just a moment ago, I took from my desk and put up there the draft questionnaire for the 1990 census. It now includes questions on migration.

**VDT:** Thanks to you!

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, I won't take all the credit, but I won't deny that I had an influence.

**VDT:** Much more beyond questions of just lifetime migration and where were you living five years ago?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, census questions have to be restricted in number, so they're of that kind, and those are the kind of questions the UN recommends too. They go beyond it by asking for reasons for migration.

But in the 1986 migration survey, we had very detailed information on all kinds of mobility, sort of life histories of migration, so it's a very comprehensive set of data that will allow us to get at the traditional kinds of movement as well as temporary migration and commuting. And as I just reported at the conference in Beijing, I think the survey provides a solid model that a number of other developing countries could benefit from using.

**VDT:** It's the first time it's been used, this particular kind of survey that the Chinese had in 1986?

**GOLDSTEIN:** There have been forms of it. We haven't yet talked about my consultation work with ESCAP [Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific], the United Nations agency in Bangkok that covers Asia and the Pacific. I was involved in helping them develop a series of instruments for doing migration surveys in developing countries. All of this illustrates why I think it's true that as we approach the end of the 20th century the interest in migration has risen considerably, probably more in developing countries than even in the United States. In this ESCAP series there are about ten short monographs with questionnaires, tabulations, sampling designs, and so on for use in developing countries. And several countries have already carried out surveys based on those recommendations.

**VDT:** Did that work also grow out of your IUSSP work in the early 1970s?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, one thing led into the other--a kind of chain reaction, and some of it goes on.

**VDT:** Your work in China has not been interrupted since Tiananmen Square? That didn't seem to cause any delay?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Interestingly, I can't really say that it's interfered in any serious way with our research. Some of our survey material, such as a large migration survey in Hubei province, was collected before that and obviously wasn't affected by the June [1989] events. But one of the surveys we're doing, which is in cooperation with the Chinese Population Information Research Center, was planned before June and I thought would certainly come to a halt, and yet they went ahead and carried it out in July and August as if nothing had happened in between. In fact, just a week before I left for China, in late November, the staff member of that center, who's just come back to Brown to finish his Ph.D., brought all the data with him, so we're now in the process of getting the analysis under way.

There are one or two other projects we're involved in and those have also gone ahead right on schedule. In October, we had a three-person delegation here from Beijing College of Economics for cooperation in analyzing registration statistics and survey data on the floating population in Beijing. And I was very encouraged when I attended the Beijing conference last week that there was a turnout--I would estimate roughly 50 people--from various universities, research centers, throughout China. They were very enthusiastic about the research.

It doesn't mean there aren't problems. I think social science is facing a very dangerous period in China. There is a possibility the government may put some of the blame for the events of last summer on social scientists. Social science, particularly sociology, didn't fare very well in China for about three decades after 1949, so it's shaky in terms of its history. I'm hoping that the kind of research we and our Chinese colleagues and others in China are doing will demonstrate to the government that this is necessary, valuable information that can be used for very positive purposes in terms of raising the quality of life and that they will separate these activities from any of the political matters. That's a big order; maybe I'm unrealistic.



**VDT:** Well, it's encouraging so far. You said, though, that you believe most Chinese students now in the U.S. are unlikely to return.

**GOLDSTEIN:** At least in the immediate future. Judging by people I've talked to at other universities and by our own experience here, most have at least temporarily decided not to return.

**VDT:** How many do you have now in the program at Brown?

**GOLDSTEIN:** We have seven graduate students and one post-doctoral. And even those one or two who have completed since June have not returned and don't plan to return in the foreseeable future.

**VDT:** And you said it's such a waste to their country.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, I can understand their reluctance to return. At the same time, I'm frustrated, and the people in China at the universities and institutions to which they are supposed to return are frustrated, because there's so much research to be done in China and they were counting on these individuals for this. Also, a considerable amount of effort and money was invested in training them with the specific goal of their going back to use their talents.

As an aside, I think it's also fair to say that if there's any hope for China moving toward a "more democratic" arrangement, then it has to depend very heavily on individuals who have received advanced training to provide some of the leadership and if all those who are sympathetic to these kinds of changes stay out of the country, it's probably going to be that much more difficult to bring about the kinds of changes which they want to see happen in the country.

**VDT:** Let's now jump into your Jewish population research and publications. How do you get everything done, because you always have many irons in the fire?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I often ask myself that too. I guess I learned early in my career to organize myself fairly effectively. It doesn't mean I don't operate under pressure a number of times, but I feel I've managed to have a reasonably good balance between professional activities and my personal life and my family commitments.

**VDT:** Where do you put your Jewish publications--halfway between your professional and your personal commitments?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I made a decision fairly early on--I guess it was somewhat different from some of my other classmates in graduate school, and again I often wonder, although I can't blame her for this, whether I didn't model it to some extent on Dorothy Thomas. I made the decision that, even though I'm interested particularly in migration and urbanization, I wasn't going to confine myself strictly to those particular topics or to any one population group. If you look at my vitae, as you noted, I started working on U.S. populations, to some extent concentrating on Rhode Island, then moved to Denmark, then to developing countries with a focus first on Thailand and then on China. I've written on fertility; I've written on illegitimacy . . .

**VDT:** I hadn't seen that particular topic.

**GOLDSTEIN:** It wasn't called illegitimacy but premarital conceptions, using Danish data ["Premarital Pregnancies in Denmark, 1950-1965," in Contributed Papers, Sydney Conference, August 21-25, 1967, IUSSP, 1967]. I did the study with Kurt Mayer on small business.

I think maybe again it grows somewhat out of my Norristown experience, where I was exposed at the training stage not only to different disciplines but also to a number of different research topics and learned about them in considerable detail, both with respect to methodology and theoretical and policy issues.

I am personally a committed Jew, and as a result of that I've been interested in what has come to be known as Jewish demography. Within the Jewish population there has been some concern about whether the demographic processes are operating in a negative way, because Jewish fertility has been quite low and intermarriage has been rising, and because of the obviously catastrophic impact of the Holocaust on population size in a number of countries. Migration has always been an important feature of Jewish life from the very beginning of biblical times, with the stories of Abraham and the Exodus from Egypt and refugee populations shifting from one country to another--my own wife Alice is a refugee. So whenever I work on demographic topics, in my mind at least I always have the question: How does this relate to the religious group of which I am a member?

The fact that the U.S. census does not include a question on religion means that in order for any religious group to know anything about itself demographically speaking it has to collect its own data or rely on insights gained from other surveys. Different groups do it in different ways. The Catholic group relies largely on their parish records. The Jewish group doesn't maintain that kind of record. Synagogue membership is not universal, so you can't rely on those kinds of lists. So increasingly since, say, the 1950s, Jewish communities have done their own surveys to try to identify Jewish populations, to understand their demographic behavior and how that impinges on Jewish identity, intermarriage, and a whole host of factors that have implications for survival as a religious group.

When they started working in those kinds of areas, they obviously looked for people who had a little expertise. Right here in Rhode Island, for example, in the early 1960s, the Jewish community wanted to do a survey of the Jewish population and they enlisted my assistance. That in a sense marked the beginning of my active involvement in Jewish population studies, and that has continued ever since. If anything, it's become much more intense.

I did the 1963 Rhode Island survey. Calvin Goldscheider worked with me on it, for his dissertation. We coauthored a book for Prentice-Hall in their ethnic series [Jewish-Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community, 1968]. Following that, I became involved in other community surveys, because they saw the Providence one as a kind of model they should follow. I did another survey in Springfield [A Population Survey of the Greater Springfield Jewish Community, 1968]. We used the data from those surveys as a basis for our regular research and published in professional journals. I should mention that in 1987 we did a second survey in Rhode Island, so now we have two surveys to measure change over roughly a quarter century; the second survey encompassed the whole state [The Jewish Community of Rhode Island: A Social and Demographic Survey, with Calvin Goldscheider, 1987].

Gradually I became involved in national groups, because the same kinds of questions that arose on the local scene were being raised nationally as to what is happening to the Jewish population. I have come to be referred to as the "Dean" of Jewish demography in the U.S.

**VDT:** Obviously--you have to be. You and Calvin.

**GOLDSTEIN:** So now I serve as chair of the National Technical Advisory Committee of the Council of Jewish Federations, which is the nationwide organization of all local Jewish community federations. We're right now undertaking a national survey of the Jewish population. We're doing screening fieldwork as a basis for selecting our sample. The actual survey will go into the field roughly at the time of the U.S. census in 1990, so that we'll have the census with which to compare the results from the survey of the Jewish population.

**VDT:** What will the sample size be?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, it's a complicated sample design. We're planning a national sample of about 2,500 households. But, in addition, there will be samples in some of the major metropolitan areas that contain large Jewish populations, like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, and some in a few smaller communities. Those will be cosponsored by the local organizations.

And the last step, just to bring this to a close, there is a movement initiated by the population program of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem to encourage a number of countries to undertake similar surveys around the world. So I am serving as codirector of the international committee that is trying to launch that endeavor.

**VDT:** That is another example of your tremendously far-reaching influence. That's great!

**GOLDSTEIN:** Just one general observation. Some people ask, "Don't you regret not having stuck with a sort of narrow focus on migration?" I've just found it's been terribly exciting to move from one area to another, because it's especially challenging to see whether the methods and ideas that have been developed in one area have relevance for another area. And in a sense, I'm working in two extremes at the same time. The Jewish population is very much concerned with the possibility of decline and with survival. And China, with over a billion people, is so much concerned with its size and rapid growth and trying to bring that growth under control. I jokingly tell my friends sometimes that the easy solution would be for some Chinese to become Jews and that may solve both situations! [Laughter]

**VDT:** That in a sense answers one of my next questions, which is, What accomplishments in your career have given you the most satisfaction? That's one very good answer.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think that you can see as we talked that I really have enjoyed my work throughout.

**VDT:** Obviously.

**GOLDSTEIN:** It's satisfying to see that one's research has some value for the places which one is studying. But my work, as you know, encompasses not only research, but training as well. And one of the most rewarding activities I've engaged in has been training and getting the satisfaction of seeing that training being put to good use by the students who take up posts both here in the United States and in their home countries, and then either seeing or getting letters from their employers or from other people telling about the good job they're doing and contributions they're making.

**VDT:** In this "pastoral care"--another direct legacy from Dorothy Thomas--how do you keep up with your students? You write back and forth, you visit them when you're there, and you mentioned at lunch some efforts to bring some back for refresher courses?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I rely very heavily on all these mechanisms. I've developed very close relations with a large percentage of the students who have passed through our program. A large number of them correspond very frequently with me. Certainly a week doesn't go by that I don't receive some letters from former students; sometimes almost every day.

**VDT:** Do you have regular reunions of some kind?

**GOLDSTEIN:** We've had one back here at Brown and we do have annual reunions at PAA. But so many of the students are scattered around the world that it's difficult to bring them all together at one

time. Someone said jokingly, "Sailors are supposed to have a girl in every port; Sid Goldstein has a student in every port." It's not quite true, but it's true that as I travel around the world in connection with my other work, it's quite rare that I don't meet one or more of my former students.

**VDT:** You say now there are about 60 percent of students from less developed countries to 40 percent U.S. in the program. What's the ratio among the hundred Ph.D.s you have had up to about a year ago?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I would say roughly a half were from outside the United States.

**VDT:** I usually ask people about some of their leading students. Do you dare to list some off the top of your head?

**GOLDSTEIN:** That's very difficult to do, because each makes his or her own kind of contribution. It's very difficult to put them on a scale. A few examples, but by no means an exhaustive list or even all the top ones. Ron Lesthaeghe is certainly one of our top graduates. He received his master's degree here, was called back to Belgium to go in the army, so he completed his Ph.D. while in Belgium. I mentioned earlier Dr. Kono in Japan. Apichat Chamrathirong in Thailand has an international reputation, as do a number of others in Thailand. And in the U.S., we have alumni at the UN, at the Bureau of the Census, the National Center for Health Statistics, obviously a number of universities and research centers. I'll not dare to identify individuals among them.

**VDT:** Rand.

**GOLDSTEIN:** At Rand Corporation, or even in the business world. You look and you'll see a Brown alumnus.

**VDT:** That's great. On influences, well, the leading influences on your career have come out as you've talked along. Dorothy Thomas's name has come up time and again, and the Norristown study. Would you rate her as the leading influence on your career--Dorothy Thomas? Any others?

**GOLDSTEIN:** As I said, it really started with Bob Burnright, who was himself influenced by Dorothy Thomas. Bob was originally my teacher, but eventually he came here to Brown as a faculty member so we had the opportunity later on to work as colleagues. He didn't compile a very long publications list, so from that point of view his contribution maybe was more limited, but like Dorothy, he was a great person as a teacher and a man with ideas. I learned very much from working with him, both as a student and as a colleague.

I mentioned also in connection with the Norristown seminar not only Dorothy but also Tom Cochran, who as a historian had great impact in making me recognize the importance of seeing things in historical perspective, which has had great use in my work in Thailand and China and on the Jewish population. And here at Brown, I've been fortunate in having good colleagues with whom I've enjoyed working and from whom I learned much.

**VDT:** And Alice?--her historical perspective?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, working with her--she combines in one person the historical and the demographic perspective.

**VDT:** And she said she felt she had made you a little more interested in women, as she herself became interested in women's issues that might not have captured your interest as soon.

**GOLDSTEIN:** That's very true. Just working with her and seeing her develop as a demographer has made me very aware of the whole women's issues question. I've marveled at how she has managed to combine her various roles as a wife, mother, and professional in very successful fashion and made major adjustments in becoming a professional.

Obviously, I was very pleased when she decided not only to go back to graduate school but to go back and to mine her earlier international training in history in terms of historical demography. I've been even more pleased that we work so well together. As you know from both our vitae, there's been an increasing number of publications that we have coauthored. And I guess it's fair to say that almost--I won't even say almost--every publication that I have prepared and I think it's true that those she authored independently has benefited from some input from the other one of us, so that we make a very good team. It's been nice that we've been able to work together not just here at the university. By having these common interests, when we go on sabbaticals we're still working on the same projects. So it's been an ideal arrangement. I recommend this highly.

**VDT:** Great! What do you see as leading issues in demography over the years you've been involved? Now, obviously migration has loomed very large. Have you really not been too concerned about international migration?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I have been, in the sense that in my work on the U.S. obviously international migration is a major consideration and particularly so in the Jewish population. So much of the historical growth of the Jewish population of the U.S. is due to international movement, so that has entered into my research in that way.

However, in the countries in which I've worked on abroad, particularly Thailand and China, there's very little movement into those countries, at least in the period in which I've been working. There was earlier movement of Chinese and some Indians into Thailand, but for the most part international migration was controlled in the periods on which my own research focused. And in China, while there was heavier outmigration in earlier decades and there may be some renewal of that now, for the most part it doesn't enter into the research problems on which I now focus.

**VDT:** What is your feeling about the slowdown in the decline of the world population growth rate? In your 1976 PAA presidential address [delivered April 30, 1976], you pointed out that world population had passed the 4 billion mark since the previous year's PAA meeting. Incidentally, it was I who drew attention to that. The Population Reference Bureau was putting out its 1976 World Population Data Sheet and I was out jogging one morning and it suddenly occurred to me that we were going to pass the 4 billion mark. So I went to Paul Myers, who was doing the calculations for our data sheet that year, and said, "Figure out when." He came up with Sunday, March 28th, 1976. We put out a press release and it hit the whole world. Of course, later the UN decided that it had happened in 1975.

But, okay, we'd passed it, and you said in another 13 years, it would probably pass 5 billion--well, you did say within another 13 years. That would have been 1989, but, of course, the UN has estimated that it happened last year, 1988. And as you know, the UN has revised their projections upward. Does that discourage you? Or do you not worry about the world population growth rate?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, obviously, it's very worrying. It's not something on which I directly focus my own research, but both as a demographer and as a human being, I'm concerned with what implications that has for the quality of life. I'm very much involved here at Brown, for example, in our hunger program, which is one of the other center activities. A good part of my input to that particular program is from a demographic perspective, what the implications of growing populations are for hunger and poverty, especially now in Africa. And I think the research I'm doing on migration and urbanization relates very closely to, or is at least a by-product of, the rate of growth of the world as a whole and

particularly the 90 percent of that growth which is in developing countries. China with its billion people has already added about 100 million people since the 1982 census. So even though it's controlling its fertility much better than it did formerly, it's still making a considerable contribution to world population growth. So, while this may not come across as being at the center of my concern, it's certainly enters very much into the picture through the pressures this growth creates for movement from rural to urban places and for rapid urban growth.

**VDT:** What about the future for U.S. demographers? Do you feel there's still a place for basic research in academia and ties with the Third World, as you have had, or are the jobs now mainly for applied demographers?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Judging by where we place our graduates, certainly there's a growing demand for applied demographers. More, at least over the more recent period, have been going into government activities and national agencies and some even into the business world. And I suspect the demand will grow, probably more in the business world than in government, particularly if government cuts back in funding. But I don't think that this in any way means that the need for demographers in universities is going to decline. We still have the pressing need for basic research, and I think the best place for basic research is in a university setting.

And obviously there's the need for training future demographers, not only for work in universities but for all these applied activities. My own philosophy has always been that the best training--even in applied demography--is in a solid demography training program, that if one receives a good solid core training then one can go out and do virtually anything. That's been one of the satisfactions I've had, seeing some of our graduates shift from the work in the university to work in the Census Bureau, and sometimes even from there or something like the Census Bureau to private industry. And the fact that they can be successful in all these attests to the quality of their basic training and the flexibility it allows in careers. If they get the solid training, then they can apply it in different ways, whether it's in basic methods, theory, or applied work.

I hold the same philosophy, and we've followed it here at Brown, that we shouldn't train people to work in a particular area of the world. Even though we have had students from China and Thailand in disproportionate numbers over the years, we don't really train them specifically to work in China or Thailand or train American students for particular areas. They can write their dissertations on particular areas, and usually do, but we feel they should get a solid basic training, so that if for five years they're working in Africa and the next five years in the U.S., they are more or less equally qualified to work in both areas. I think that's where the university has the role to play.

**VDT:** That's a great answer. Now a little on PAA. You remember that you gave your first paper at a PAA meeting at Princeton in 1952. That was on "Patterns of Internal Migration." You were speaking to the bigshots and you were a bit intimidated. Was that also your first meeting? 1951 was at Chapel Hill, did you go to that one?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No. I started attending meetings back in 1950, at Princeton. That was while I was still working on my master's degree at Connecticut.

**VDT:** And your memories of the first meetings? You said everyone met in one room, and Alice in particular stressed the give-and-take that was possible; many people have talked about that.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Particularly as a graduate student, it was a thrill. And I still, as a result, make an effort even today at PAA meetings to introduce graduate students to the leaders of the field. But in those days it was much easier; we were all together.

**VDT:** You make that effort still? You're not intimidated by the large numbers?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No. I think it's exciting for graduate students to see and meet in the flesh the people whose works they've been reading and using.

**VDT:** And they need someone to introduce them. When I interviewed Ron Lee, he said, "At the last meeting I happened to go in the elevator which a guy who had on his tag 'Henry Shryock.'" And I said, "I hope you introduced yourself." No way. Ron Lee was too shy to introduce himself to Henry Shryock! It needs someone to make the introduction, I guess.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I guess most people feel reluctant to just walk up and say, "Hi, I'm so-and-so." Particularly if there's a big status gap between them.

**VDT:** There's not that much there.

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, in that case there wasn't, certainly, but in the case of graduate students . . .

**VDT:** But you made an effort to do that?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Again, I credit Dorothy Thomas with that, because, as I said, I had wonderful opportunities at Pennsylvania. There were a number of top people not only of the U.S. but Gunnar Myrdal and others who came from overseas and were her guests and she always made a point of giving students a chance to know and spend time with them. I've learned much and gotten much satisfaction out of that and as much as possible would like to give those same opportunities to my own students.

**VDT:** You must have been PAA president for a year and a half. Your year was 1975-76 and it switched to the calendar year with Evelyn Kitagawa, who followed you in 1977.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I don't know if it's true but someone has told me that I may have been the longest-serving PAA president, at least in recent decades. Some early presidents served a couple of terms?

**VDT:** Yes. Lowell Reed served during the war, 1942 to 1945, and Henry Pratt Fairchild, the very first, was 1931 to 1935. But you served longest in the modern era?

**GOLDSTEIN:** In the modern era. When they made that transition from beginning the term at the annual meeting, Charlie Westoff [president 1974-75] and I decided the most reasonable way to handle it was to split it up, but I got a little more of it than he did. I took over in September 1975 and went to December 31, 1976.

**VDT:** That also was the time when the responsibility for the meeting program was switched from the first vice-president to the president; they usually have to start on it the year before. So Evelyn Kitagawa was supposed to do it for 1977, but she had done it as first vice-president two years earlier, so she had Ren Farley do it in her year.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I had also already arranged the program when I was first vice-president. That was for the New York meeting in 1974. Then I was president in 1976 and at that point the responsibility had switched to the president. So I appointed Charlie Nam to organize the program, because otherwise I would have been doing it two years apart.

**VDT:** Just as Evelyn had Ren Farley do it for her. Why did you choose Charlie Nam? Nice guy, very efficient, but why did you choose him?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, ruling out all those who had been vice-president, there was a limited pool and among those I thought his interests reflected mine more closely than other people's. Also, I'd had contacts with him before, so it was a matter of having an appointee with whom I felt comfortable working. We had not coauthored anything, but we had come to know each other over the years.

**VDT:** What do you remember about particular issues about that time, say, from the New York meeting when you were responsible for the program to your presidential meeting in Montreal? The Women's Caucus, for instance, was an issue at that time.

**GOLDSTEIN:** The women's caucus was being developed through that whole period of time. Eventually--in fact during my term as president--it sort of culminated in the sense that there had been the Committee on Discrimination, which was directed heavily at professional women's issues. They had completed several surveys to find out whether women and others were being discriminated against; the evidence was there in the report. Then when I became president, one of the new committees I established was the Committee on Participation. The idea behind it was to build on the information collected by the Committee on Discrimination and find ways to enhance the participation of PAA members, both women and minority group members, in the activities of the Association. Jose Hernandez headed that.

**VDT:** I should tell you I interviewed Mary Grace Kovar a couple of weeks ago. She was secretary-treasurer [1975-78] during your time.

**GOLDSTEIN:** A great secretary-treasurer.

**VDT:** And she says that about you--a great president. One incident she particularly remembered happened the year before, in 1975, at the meeting in Seattle. She arrived late and although she had a reservation, there was no room immediately available for her. And you spoke up immediately and said, "This lady is to be secretary-treasurer of this organization next year, so please find her a room." Which they promptly did. She went up to you and said, well, of course she was extremely grateful; she wouldn't have dared pull rank. And you said, "Of course not; that's why I did it." She cited that as an example of your people-thoughtfulness, for which you're so well known.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, during that whole period there were a number of incidents where not so much women but minority group members were denied registration at hotels and so on.

**VDT:** Even so late as the 1970s?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Certainly in the 1970s, yes.

**VDT:** I've heard stories of that happening at Atlantic City in 1942 and Chapel Hill in 1951, but . . .

**GOLDSTEIN:** I was glancing through PAA Affairs in the 1970s to remind myself of things that went on and there's one mention in there where registration was denied . . .

**VDT:** Goodness, in one of the places where we met, in the early 1970s?



**GOLDSTEIN:** So that's why at some point, I don't remember the exact year, we adopted that resolution that we would not hold the meetings in any place that discriminated in any way on the basis of sex, race, or religion.

**VDT:** What do you remember about Montreal, your year? We've talked somewhat about your address.

**GOLDSTEIN:** The Montreal meetings, obviously, were very satisfying for me, both in the fact that I was serving as president and giving the presidential address, being able in that way to highlight the importance of migration in the field since I did feel it was still being treated somewhat as a stepchild. The chance to present it and argue for its importance was particularly welcome and I was very satisfied by the favorable reception to the presidential address--the fact that it's been cited so much since that time. Obviously, the ceremony in which the alumni stood up . . .

**VDT:** The Brown alumni, of course! I had forgotten that.

**GOLDSTEIN:** That was a particularly satisfying experience too. I guess that was in a way unique, I don't recall another such occasion.

**VDT:** What did they do? I was there, but refresh my memory.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Peter Morrison came to the podium--it was a complete surprise; I hadn't the vaguest indication that this was going to happen--he came to the podium and presented me with a Steuben piece from all Brown alumni in honor of my being president.

**VDT:** Oh, right. Peter Morrison was my author right about then; we were working on his Population Bulletin, "Rural Renaissance in America" [October 1976].

**GOLDSTEIN:** And then he asked everybody in the audience who had been trained by me to stand up and it looked like half the audience stood up.

**VDT:** Absolutely!

**GOLDSTEIN:** So that was satisfying. I was pleased by the meetings, because even though Charlie Nam was the program director, we had worked out . . . One of the goals of my presidency was to try to open up the meetings. I had done this survey after I finished my term as first vice-president of the membership's attitudes toward meetings.

**VDT:** I never knew about that one.

**GOLDSTEIN:** It was reported in PAA Affairs; one whole issue is devoted to just that survey. That was probably in 1975 ["Survey on Annual Meeting," PAA Affairs, Spring 1975]. There's also, by the way, a report of my presidency in PAA Affairs. I just found it yesterday. I think I'm the only one that's done it. It's required by the constitution.

**VDT:** And no one else has done it? What issue is that?

**GOLDSTEIN:** That would have been after 1976 ["Report of President Sidney Goldstein," PAA Affairs, Spring 1977]. It's about my whole term as president, three and a half columns, so maybe we

don't have to give all the details here. One of the things we did at the Montreal meeting was to try to open up the sessions. That was the time, for example, we introduced the luncheon roundtable discussions and we had poster sessions for the first time. Poster sessions didn't last.

**VDT:** They came back again.

**GOLDSTEIN:** But the roundtables really caught on. That was also the time we introduced the idea of publishing the abstracts beforehand.

**VDT:** That little booklet, you didn't have that before?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No. We also had a new type of discussion panel, instead of just papers. All of this was intended to broaden the participation in the meetings. In the same way, back in the 1974 meetings which I organized in New York--1974 was World Population Year--I think for the first time, we gave a strong international focus to the contents and I had Paul Demeny take charge of that. We actually received a grant to bring people from overseas to participate in the meetings and there was an impressive number of people invited from overseas, including some very distinguished ones. Tinbergen, a Nobel Prize winner, was one. There was Lopez from Latin America, Ado from Africa--there were about ten people, I think, whom we funded to bring to the meetings.

Another innovation during my presidency was a new committee for liaison with other professional organizations [Committee on Relationships with Other Organizations]. Again, I felt that the PAA was too provincial. Parker Mauldin headed that. That committee set up a whole set of guidelines for relating PAA to other professional organizations. It was understood in the beginning that it would go out of business once the guidelines were adopted, as they were. The other major new opening was that I created--and this was even before I went to China--I created a Committee on China Study and Exchange.

**VDT:** You started that! I tried to get Susan Greenhalgh [current chair] to write a piece in PAA Affairs about what's going on with that committee now.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yuan Tien at Ohio State headed the committee initially. One of the first things he did was to arrange to have copies of Demography sent to China. That was a big breakthrough. He also organized a tour to China. It ended up being just a tour and not a full set of professional contacts; the Chinese weren't ready for that yet.

**VDT:** What happened to that committee? I understand it sort of faded away.

**GOLDSTEIN:** It faded away for a while and then it was reactivated, as you know.

**VDT:** I didn't realize you were responsible for so many innovations. Some have faded away, such as the president's report of what he did during his term.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I don't know if they did or not; I haven't checked.

**VDT:** No, never have.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Either that, or people just ignore it. I guess I was more conscious of it because I was the first president under the new constitution [July 1974] and I assumed it would set a kind of model, so I took it seriously. I don't know if it was even done by Evelyn.

**VDT:** No, it wasn't.

**GOLDSTEIN:** But I started out by saying, "The new Constitution of the PAA requires the outgoing President to report to the membership on the activities of the Association [during the preceding year]."

**VDT:** What do you think of PAA now? You say the meetings have grown very large, but you still make an effort to get around and meet everybody. You attend them all--when you're in the country.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Whenever I'm in the country.

**VDT:** Do you still enjoy them?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I enjoy them, but I guess I would be dishonest if I didn't say that I don't enjoy them as much as I used to, because they're so large and, obviously, as I age, I know fewer and fewer of the people there. And it's sad, of course, to come and find that some of the oldtimers are no longer around. But professionally I think the meetings are as stimulating as ever. It's frustrating now because there are just so many sessions going on concurrently. But on the other hand, that's testimony to the way in which the profession has grown, so we have to look at it positively and not just in terms of frustration.

**VDT:** And last year [1989 meeting in Baltimore] there were so many--there have been many workshop spinoffs--but particularly the Chinese were very much in evidence. Did you have a lot to do with that?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Not that much. I think Susan Greenhalgh through her committee arranged that. I was involved tangentially with a few people. I was particularly pleased with that, both in terms of my work in China and, as I said, I thought the PAA was somewhat provincial and made a concerted effort to internationalize it more back in 1974. I think that's caught on--obviously in people's interests and work--and I think we should do more of that kind of thing.

**VDT:** Do you think perhaps we're still a bit too provincial within the discipline? There are only about 2,600 or 2,700 members [2,679, end 1989; 2,752, end 1990]. It's fluctuated there since the mid-1970s, which is small by comparison with most professional organizations.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, during my various responsibilities in PAA from vice-president to president-elect and president, one movement was this greater international focus. The other one--again reflecting my Norristown influence and I tried this in 1974 and also in cooperation with Charlie Nam in 1976--was to get more involvement of people working on population from various disciplinary perspectives. If you look at the programs, you'll see there were sessions in terms of psychology, geography, anthropology, and so on. I thought of "provincial" as being isolated in that sense too, to the extent that so much of population is concentrated in sociology. There are many people working out there who were not members of PAA at the time and I thought we ought to try to get them into the mainstream.

**VDT:** You did that consciously for the New York meeting?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right, so that we could benefit by their participation and also they would benefit by more contact with mainstream demographers. It doesn't always succeed; it depends on continuing reinforcement and encouragement. One leading scholar comes to mind who, I remember, was invited to participate in the 1974 meeting, had a very positive reaction to it, and that experience led him to

more involvement in population research in later years.

**VDT:** This opening up--that has or has not carried on in PAA meeting programs? The geographers are there now.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think it's had an impact. I think there's room for more concerted effort in that direction, because I still have the feeling there are many people out there who are working on demographic problems who are not PAA members. It's in the interest of the profession and the discipline to get them into PAA, get them exposed to other demographers, get more interaction going.

During my term there were the usual concerns about funding, because government funding was tightening up. Up to that time we had a number of surplus years, but it was expensive to fund Demography and Population Index. It wasn't that funds were short immediately, but the prospect of their becoming short was beginning to get serious, especially the possibilities of outside funding for PAA.

**VDT:** You know that right now PAA is having to switch from the American Statistical Association.

**GOLDSTEIN:** That was another thing we did during Charlie Westoff's and my terms. We took a very hard look at the whole business office relation, and that's when we made the firm decision to continue with the ASA. So I was pleased to note that that's lasted a good 13 years; it seemed to work. But now I gather they're going to have to review the situation.

**VDT:** Not just review; ASA has asked them to leave. Barbara Bailar has said that they can't carry it on.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I see. Well, we had a very thorough review at that time. Jim Brackett [secretary-treasurer 1971-75] initiated it, and the end result was a strong recommendation to stick with ASA. Another innovation during my term was the initiation of the Irene Taeuber Award [for Excellence in Demographic Research].

And even though it had started earlier--it was one of those activities that had faded out--Charlie and I reactivated the Committee on Population Statistics, COPS, which has come to play a very crucial role, I think, in the profession. I appointed Jeanne Ridley as chair--actually, Charlie officially appointed her, but it was in anticipation of my taking over as president. That became a very active committee and has been so ever since then. It's very much helped to enhance the quality of demographic statistics. Some of its responsibilities have since been taken over by other groups, such as the Political Action Committee, but COPS at that time was also our liaison to Congress and they testified before congressional committees. That marked the beginning of that kind of interaction with Congress with respect to the census.

During my term we also joined the Committee on Government Statistics, COGS, which was a joint committee with a number of professional organizations, such as the American Statistical Association, American Sociological Association, and several others, to represent the professional groups in relations with government agencies responsible for statistics, particularly to try to keep politics out of statistics. Con Taeuber was our representative on that. This was not the Federal Statistics Users' Conference. This was more a pressure group. Beyond the activities of COPS and COGS, the PAA's interests in government statistics were also furthered by the arrangement developed [in the late 1960s] for PAA appointments to the Technical Advisory Committee of the Bureau of the Census.

So it was a really active period. I saw my presidency as a transition period in which major new changes were introduced in response, shall we say, to the sense that the profession had come of age

and there was a need for us to get much more involved both internationally and nationally outside of annual meetings and publication. We came to recognize that there were many things going on outside which related to the work we were doing and to which, therefore, we needed to relate.

**VDT:** I think you've left a wonderful legacy. That's a wonderful place to end. There are many demands on your time. You think you've managed to get through all the notes you've made there on your presidency?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I hope so. I looked through some PAA Affairs just to remind myself. It's amazing what one forgets.

**VDT:** But you've had so many other things to keep in your mind. You must have enjoyed your career, and it's far from over.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, I don't know how close it is to the end. People keep asking me when I'm going to retire and . . .

**VDT:** They keep asking you to do more things.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right. I really haven't made up my mind yet and I enjoy it. So as long as I keep enjoying it and feel I can continue making contributions, I'll continue in one way or another.

#### **THE FOLLOWING IS AN INTERVIEW WITH SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN'S WIFE, ALICE GOLDSTEIN**

Interview with Jean van der Tak at the Population Studies Center, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, December 14, 1989.

Alice Goldstein has not been a president or secretary-treasurer of PAA, the general criterion for inclusion in this series of interviews. But she was included with her husband because she too has had a distinguished career in demography, both independently and together with Sidney Goldstein.



**CAREER HIGHLIGHTS:** Alice Goldstein was born in Germany and came to the U.S. as a child. She received the B.A. in history from Connecticut College in 1953 and the M.A. in history from Brown University in 1979. She and Sidney Goldstein were married in 1953. She was a research assistant with the Norristown Historical and Social Survey at the University of Pennsylvania in 1953-55 and has been on the staff of the Population Studies and Training Center of Brown University since 1966, where she is currently (since 1984) Senior Researcher. She has published extensively on the historical demography of Jewish populations and is also coauthor with Sidney Goldstein of numerous publications on migration and urbanization in Southeast Asia, particularly China.

**VDT:** Alice Goldstein has shared in Sidney's career from the beginning and increasingly so in recent years, which makes them one of the most distinguished and rare couples with a joint career in U.S. demography. Also, Alice presumably has been a member of PAA and attended annual meetings almost as long as Sid. You are listed at least in the PAA member directory of 1962.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, I've been a member for a long time.

**VDT:** So I know she has some special insights that will be valuable to add to this series of PAA oral history interviews.

[From biographical introduction]: Where were you born?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I was born in Germany.

**VDT:** I didn't know that!

**GOLDSTEIN:** I came to the States 50 years ago, in 1939. My parents and I were on the last regularly scheduled American ship to leave Germany before the war. I'm an only child and it was just the three of us who came together at that time. We arrived in late August and the war started in September. I just went to New York a few weeks ago to celebrate my anniversary by visiting the Statue of Liberty.

**VDT:** Where were you born in Germany?

**GOLDSTEIN:** In a very tiny village in the southwestern corner of Germany in the state of Baden, not far from the city of Freiburg.

**VDT:** Where did you and Sid meet?

**GOLDSTEIN:** We grew up in New London; our families knew each other. I went to school with his brother, who is exactly my age. So we've known each other for a long time.

**VDT:** You were married in June 1953, just after you got your B.A. and he got his Ph.D. He said it was a triple-header.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Indeed, it was; it was one weekend after the other.

**VDT:** Alice received her M.A. in history from Brown in 1979, and we're going to talk later about that long gap. She has been on the official staff of the Population Studies and Training Center at least from the early 1970s.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Actually, it was probably earlier than that. It depends on what kind of payroll criteria you use. I think I became a regular member on the payroll in the early 1970s. But I was on what's called "miscellaneous payroll," which was kind of ad hoc, freelance work, from about 1966.

**VDT:** She's now Senior Researcher at the Population Center. She has appeared as coauthor with Sidney Goldstein on many monographs and articles on Thailand, Southeast Asia, and China since the early 1970s and increasingly, I note, you appear as senior author.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Right.

**VDT:** She was sole author of at least one article I happened to see, on mortality among the Rhode Island Jewish population ["Patterns of Mortality and Causes of Death Among Rhode Island Jews, 1979-1981, Social Biology, Spring-Summer 1986].

**GOLDSTEIN:** There is also a monograph that I authored solely, on historical demography

[Determinants of Change and Response Among Catholics and Jews in a Nineteenth Century German Village, 1984].

**VDT:** Could you tell the story of how you were drawn into working with Sid in demography?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Sid was finishing his Ph.D. research when we first started seeing each other with some regularity. His research was actually in historical demography. He was tracing names in city directories . . .

**VDT:** He's explained that--the Norristown study.

**GOLDSTEIN:** As a historian, I was fascinated by this work and helped him do some of the tracing during vacation periods and whenever he came home to visit. He was in Philadelphia at the time; I was in Connecticut College [New London, Conn.]. So I started actually on his Ph.D., doing some of the research on a very peripheral basis, but because it was historical it fit very well with my own interests.

Then I decided to take a course in demography, because by that time--this was my last year in college--we'd become engaged and I wanted at least to be able to talk to him intelligently about what he was doing. So I took a course in demography at Connecticut College, just to fill in some of my own gaps and get me familiar with the jargon, the whole thought of the field.

Then I joined the center in Philadelphia as a research assistant after we were married and worked on the Norristown study for two years--in the days before computers. And did a lot of the statistical work, which involved hand-cranked calculators and lots of hand-adding and adding again and checking again. So I got in on the real nitty-gritty, sort of ground-floor work of demography very early on.

And, of course, the whole period in Philadelphia I had Dorothy Thomas as a model and she was just a marvelous model for anyone--someone who was really committed both to her profession and to her students.

**VDT:** That's right. I hadn't got on with Sid to your part in the "pastoral care." Sid hadn't realized that the Caldwells in their book on the Ford Foundation contribution to population [John and Pat Caldwell, Limiting Population Growth and the Ford Foundation Contribution, 1986] speak of the reputation Brown developed for its teaching and "pastoral care" of students [p. 124]. I love that.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I hadn't heard that!

**VDT:** The Brown, and particularly the Goldstein, approach to students.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, I think it's really a legacy of Dorothy Thomas, because she certainly embodied that. She was marvelous to Sid and to me and for all of the students that I saw her working with. So that really set the tone for how I saw my role, at least in the Norristown study and in the department here later.

**VDT:** What was your role?

**GOLDSTEIN:** What is it now, you mean?

**VDT:** Well, how did it develop?

**GOLDSTEIN:** We've always had students at home a few times during the year, because we like to give them a chance to do some informal socializing, not just in class, and I think it adds a nice dimension. I always enjoyed it when I was going to college.

**VDT:** Did you have that at Connecticut College?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, it's a small school and small classes, so we had very close relations with our faculty. I liked that and I encouraged that when Sid began teaching. I wasn't on the faculty, but at least I was peripheral and I was able to help encourage that. So we've always had students at the house, Thanksgiving, at the end of semester, beginning of semester, summers. That's really how it began, because I wasn't here on location to interact with students until the early 1970s when I began working here on a regular basis. Since then, of course, I've worked closely with students.

**VDT:** Let's back up. How did you get into--you were raising your children; you consciously took time out . . .

**GOLDSTEIN:** Took time off. Until our youngest one was in kindergarten, I didn't work outside at all. Occasionally, I edited papers. I did some of the graphics--for example, some of the early work that Sid was doing here at Brown on the Rhode Island population in particular, where there was a good deal of map work to be done--I did all that.

**VDT:** You are typical of demographic wives. I've heard a lot about those who were at Princeton; that seemed to have been their role, before the computer, to do the graphics. Daphne Notestein did a lot in the early Princeton studies.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I have a sort of semi-art background also. I've always been interested in art and I did quite a bit of work in college. So that's helpful in doing paste layouts and graphic work and so on.

**VDT:** Charlie Westoff, who got his Ph.D. from Pennsylvania in the same year as Sid, his first wife was an artist and did work on some of the Princeton studies.

**GOLDSTEIN:** It must be some kind of propinquity.

**VDT:** It could well be. But you were also editing and providing other assistance as your children were growing up?

**GOLDSTEIN:** The editing is something that can easily be done evenings. It doesn't require a lot of equipment; it's something you can do sitting, holding a baby.

**VDT:** Did you edit in part because you were interested and Sid came to you or--well, Deborah Freedman said there was never enough money; Ron never asked for enough money for his projects and she was the unpaid research assistant. Was that the case?

**GOLDSTEIN:** It was probably a combination of the two. It helped to stretch the research funds, surely. It was more important to put the research funds into the logistic support, the typists, because one thing I refused to do right from the beginning was type. I said, "Whatever I am, I'm not a typist," and I've never typed Sid's papers. The other problem with editing is that it takes someone who is familiar with the field to edit well and it's important for someone to have a good sense of the language, and I think I combine those two. So it was quite natural for me to edit his papers.



**VDT:** Even though your original native language was not English?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think especially because. Because if you learn it as a second language, you become much more conscious of the structure of the language.

**VDT:** I guess that's true. I have a Dutch husband, as you can surmise, and he's a very good editor, in English, on World Bank research papers.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think that's right, because I think you're really much more conscious of language then. And I like writing and I've always written reasonably well and I like to be able to do editing; it's a nice challenge.

**VDT:** You were with Sid in Denmark, the first year abroad [1961-62]. Have you always accompanied Sid on overseas appointments and travels?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No. All the long-term ones, surely--all the sabbaticals.

**VDT:** So that means Thailand [1968-69], East-West Center . . .

**GOLDSTEIN:** That's right. Australia, New Zealand, Southeast Asia . . .

**VDT:** New Zealand? I knew about Australia; where did New Zealand come in?

**GOLDSTEIN:** A month before Australia, the same sabbatical [1976-77]; it was the other peripatetic one. I've gone with Sid a lot of the times when it's been basically a research-oriented trip, where there was a specific role for me to play in terms of research. But not so much if he went as a consultant for a week or two of if he went simply to attend a conference, because I've never enjoyed just going for the sake of going. I like to be active and to be able to do whatever's going on, to do the research; I don't like to just sit in a conference. So I haven't gone on many of the very short-term trips that he's taken as a consultant or as a conference participant.

**VDT:** Where did you really take a first active role overseas in the research--in Thailand?

**GOLDSTEIN:** In Thailand.

**VDT:** What did you do there?

**GOLDSTEIN:** It was small, because I had three small children still, but there I did a lot of the editing of the research. I helped guide the statistical work in the survey. And Sid bounced a lot of what he was doing off me, so that I became . . .

**VDT:** Statistical work?--and yet you're an historian.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I'm a renegade from math. That's developed into a lot of computer work which I do.

**VDT:** And I understand you learned Thai?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, it was functional Thai. I enjoyed that. I think learning one language makes it easier to learn others, so it wasn't difficult for me to pick up Thai.

**VDT:** It's not very close to German.

**GOLDSTEIN:** It's not that. I think it's a switch that your mind gets used to, going from one language to another.

**VDT:** I should know; my Dutch husband has several languages.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I learned Danish too, in Denmark. Danish was easy because it's like German. In fact, similarly between German and English; if I didn't understand a word in English, I sort of tried it out in German and it usually worked pretty well. So I learned--all very useful languages--Danish, broken Thai.

**VDT:** Why did you decide to go back and get a graduate degree? You were already working.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, but the way the university is structured, there's a good deal of weight given to graduate degrees, certainly. And I really did want a little more formal training in demography per se. Also, I wanted to be able really to tie my demography to history.

**VDT:** You got your M.A. in history.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, but my M.A. thesis is historical demography. It was a study of the demographic transition--really the multiphasic response to the demographic transition among the Jewish and Catholic communities in southwestern Germany in the 19th century.

**VDT:** Where did you get those data?

**GOLDSTEIN:** It began with a course with John Knodel, who was here as a visitor one year--1975-76, it must have been. I took the course because I was so interested in the contents. He was working on his German data, which involved these village genealogies, and he showed these to me and some of them had sections on the Jews in the village, and that combined my own ethnic cultural interests with the demography and with the history, so it was a marvelous combination. And it turned out that many of the villages were in the area where my family had come from, so that added even a personal note to it. So I did a paper for him in that course, which was published.

**VDT:** Where was it published?

**GOLDSTEIN:** In a book on Jewish fertility, which included historical and contemporary work ["Some Demographic Characteristics of Village Jews in Germany: Nonnenweiler, 1800-1931," in Paul Ritterbrand, ed., Modern Jewish Fertility, 1981]. So that then sort of laid the groundwork for my wanting to do something more extensive and more thorough for the master's paper. John introduced me to a genealogy for one village that had a substantial Jewish population and it turned out it was the village my ancestors came from.

**VDT:** Wonderful!

**GOLDSTEIN:** Here I was looking at this village and I knew it was one that had been talked about in the family. I looked up the family name; there it was. And I was able to trace our own family back to the early 18th century, because of this genealogy.

**VDT:** Was it in original handwriting?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, it's a bound volume--the large book over there.

**VDT:** It had been done for that one village?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Well, there's a whole series of these. It was begun initially as a Nazi enterprise to prove people's Aryan blood, so it had a very iffy background. It was taken up after the war as a commercial enterprise and people would do them and sell these things to the villages and the people within them. So it just happened that they picked this village.

So I did a complete analysis of the Jewish population. It uses family reconstitution techniques. And the nice part about it is that the reconstitution is done, so all I had to do was apply the techniques; I didn't have to go through the very tedious work of doing the reconstitution. It was wonderful, because not only did I have the data, I also had the history of the village there, plus I had a great deal of family lore and sense of place--which I think is so important in research. That was part of what made the research so exciting for me.

**VDT:** And it's been published?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, it was published as a monograph, by the Conference on Jewish Social Studies [see above].

**VDT:** What a fascinating piece of work! And all the while you were working?

**GOLDSTEIN:** There was a period of two years after we came back from sabbatical [1976-77], from 1977 to 1979, when I was taking courses half-time and I was working here as a research assistant half-time, and then I was doing everything else half-time, because I still had one child at home.

**VDT:** But great years, obviously.

**GOLDSTEIN:** It was wonderful; I loved it.

**VDT:** Have you gone on and done more research on your own? I mentioned that article on mortality of Rhode Island Jews [see above]. It was most ingenious; you had collected the data from Jewish funeral directors and cemeteries.

**GOLDSTEIN:** It was a follow-up on something Sid had done 20 years earlier. We'd been wanting to do it for some time, he never had the time, so I finally said, "Okay, I'm doing it." So I got a little grant from Brown and did it.

**VDT:** Have you done more research on your own?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, I've done an article that looked at urbanization in Baden, that southwest state of Germany ["Urbanization in Baden, Germany, 1825-1925: Focus on the Jews," Social Science History, Winter 1984]. That involved using census data. It was interesting, because census data is published by religious affiliation, so that it was interesting to be able to trace religious differentials in relation to urbanization and directions of urbanization. That was a rather interesting macro analysis to add onto the micro analysis I had done of the village; it was a nice complement. That was another piece of historical research. That was published; almost all of these things have been published.

I did a study that was part of my master's work of Rhode Island Jews in the late 19th, early 20th century, that period of heavy immigration when many Jews were settling here. I did a study of residential and occupational mobility ["Mobility of Natives and Jews in Providence, 1900-1920," Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes, November 1979]. That went back to my earliest training in demography, because it used city directories, in addition to using the manuscript censuses for 1880 to 1910.

**VDT:** Can we skip on to China and the China research? I haven't yet gotten to China with Sid, so I don't know when it was you first went.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Sid went in 1979. I went for the first time in 1981. I like to describe that as a kind of minuet. Sid's credentials had been pretty well established by 1981, because he'd gone in 1979 and he had had some correspondence in the interval and we had some Chinese students here. I worked with them fairly closely. There was one in particular. The first one who came out of China to get her demographic training came here to Brown, and I worked with her quite closely. By that time, I had done quite a lot of work with students from Asia, because we had students from Thailand . . .

**VDT:** When you say you do a lot of work, is that helping them get established or what?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, I help them get established; I help them with their research; I read their papers, given them critical suggestions. They come to me if they have problems with computer programming. I help them with data sources--whatever I can do to facilitate.

**VDT:** This is part of your official job?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, it's true. I do it for any student who wants to come in, any of the graduate students. Mostly the LDC students come because they need the extra help, very often. Occasionally, they need a little lecture on American institutions. So they know they can come to me.

**VDT:** So you went to China in 1981.

**GOLDSTEIN:** At that time, we were meeting with officials and giving lectures. It was officially billed as a kind of lecture tour and Sid gave several lectures; I gave a couple of lectures.

**VDT:** What were your lectures?

**GOLDSTEIN:** We were talking about urbanization and migration, primarily, so I was using some of the Thai data to show how studies of migration can--how one can understand the ties between rural and urban areas, the kind of networking and linkages that can develop.

**VDT:** Multiplicity?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Multiplicity was a whole other project I was also involved in at one point, but that's not China. We insisted that we would be willing to give the lectures, but at the same time we wanted to be able to talk to people about migration and urbanization. And at that time, the Chinese were insisting that they didn't have to study migration, because their system was completely controlled and they knew from their population registration statistics exactly who was moving and what was going on. We said, "Well, that's very interesting, we want to hear more about it." And we would ask questions.

What we did in the various cities where we lectured would be to meet with a combination of

university people interested in demography and officials from either the census bureau or city planning or social science academies, family planning units, who were interested in demography also. It was a real give-and-take. At that point, they were still catching up from the 25-year gap that they had had in social sciences because of the Cultural Revolution, so there were trying to catch up on what was happening in demography and sociology, and we were trying to find out what was happening in terms of migration and urbanization. So it was a fascinating dialogue that we would have. And in the course of it, they became aware that what they thought of as migration, the official change in registration that was captured by their statistics, really only touched on a small part of what was going on.

**VDT:** So you were the ones who awakened them to that!

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, we are the ones who started that whole issue. And I remember in 1981 when we met with the director of the census bureau and one of the questions we asked him was, "What are you asking about migration in the census?" He said, "We don't need to ask, because we know." He also participated in some of the discussions. And in 1987, when they did their mid-decade census--it was a large survey rather than a full census--they asked several questions on migration.

**VDT:** And that was thanks to you?

**GOLDSTEIN:** It was really begun because of this series of talks we had in 1981, and then continued on, and is still continuing. It all began with us. I was very fortunate to be in at that level, really at the beginning of research on migration in China.

**VDT:** Why is it that your name is appearing more and more often as senior author on your China papers?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I guess it's a matter of time; I have more time. Sid has had less time. I'm hoping that he'll have more time, now that he's not director of the center anymore. [Sidney Goldstein, who had been director of Brown's Population Training and Study Center since its establishment in 1965, was succeeded in that post by Frances Goldscheider in September 1989.] So he doesn't have all the administrative responsibilities anymore. I'm hoping that will give him more time for research. He's had such limited time for research, so I've carried the burden for a lot of the research that has been done, even in the United States.

**VDT:** Do you think your input as a woman has given your joint research and publications insights they might not otherwise have had? For instance, who had the idea of really going out and talking to people in China?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Oh, Sid's always been interested in doing that too. I think both of us are much more social demographers than formal demographers. I feel unhappy, and I know Sid does too, dealing with data that we get only as sets of numbers. I think the contextual part of research is so important and the cultural aspects, the understanding of the population. I think that's why our Thai research has been successful, because we spent the year in Thailand and we began to understand what the culture was like and that really has made an enormous difference in interpreting the data.

I think a good example of that was when I worked with the Malaysian data. The Rand Corporation had collected a wonderful set of data and we were asked to analyze the migration-fertility interrelations in that set of data. We found some really strange patterns that went contrary to sort of the accepted wisdom that urbanization meant lower fertility and greater use of contraception. Some of the migrants did not follow that pattern at all and we couldn't understand it. We had checked the data

to make sure it wasn't simply coding errors or mis-specification; it wasn't. We talked to people at Rand and they didn't have any ideas.

Then the year after we finished that research we finally got ourselves to Malaysia. That was in 1983 when we were doing sabbatical and really focusing on temporary migration. But in the process of talking to people in all kinds of situations in Malaysia, including people who ran the rubber estates--Indians, mainly, from the British legacy--they began to tell us what happened to their people as they left the plantations, and it suddenly became very clear. The kinds of family planning sources that were available on the plantations in the rural areas were not available in the urban areas with the same ease and facility of access, so contraceptive use went down, not because the women didn't want it but because it wasn't as available to them in the urban areas. It was just contrary to the usual pattern, but until we got to Malaysia and started talking to people and understanding what was going on, we couldn't interpret the data properly.

**VDT:** Which was that migrants to the cities had higher fertility?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Had low contraceptive use, and this was specific groups of migrants--and some higher fertility. It became very clear once we talked to the people. So that kind of thing, I think, has motivated both of us right from the start.

**VDT:** To find out the people context of what you're dealing with?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes. I think I've raised Sid's consciousness as far as women are concerned. I think I tend to focus a bit more on women's issues. One of the papers we did on some of the Chinese data, for example, was labor force differentials for women, comparing their status and earnings to those of men. It's especially interesting, because China ostensibly is a very egalitarian society, but in fact, of course, there's a great deal of sexism. And it comes through in the statistics very nicely; one can't argue with them. So it was a very nice demonstration of that.

**VDT:** It sounds to me like you would indeed, as a woman, have thought of that. Have you done any teaching? You mentioned lectures in China, but have you done any teaching?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Not formal teaching at the university, no. I did some English-as-a-second-language teaching, for a couple of years [1967-68]. That was before I was involved in demography. I enjoyed doing that; it was fun. I do a workshop on writing here every year. It's just a few sessions on how to write term papers and dissertations and theses.

**VDT:** To both the American and non-American students?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, it's necessary for all of them. That really is to get them started earlier on the mechanics, so they don't waste time at the end, having to do all their referencing and so on.

**VDT:** Is that unusual, in university departments?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I don't know. I don't know of any other departments here at Brown who do it, but I haven't really checked into it. I just think it's a helpful thing.

**VDT:** It must be part of the atmosphere at Brown, which is very close.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think that's part of it, yes. And I work closely with the student representative in

connection with my arrangement of the colloquium series here. I have charge of arranging for the colloquium speakers that we have. I try to work as closely as possible with the students on that so that we get speakers that are particularly relevant to their research and the kinds of people they would like to see on campus. That's worked out rather well.

**VDT:** What are you doing now and what will you do on the upcoming sabbatical?

**GOLDSTEIN:** What am I not doing now! [Laughter] The sabbatical will be pretty well concentrated on the Chinese research.

**VDT:** Do you have some data in particular that you're working with?

**GOLDSTEIN:** We have several sets of data. One set is a large survey that was completed in Hubei province in 1988. That's one that has been collaborative right from the start--Brown and Wuhan University in Hubei province. We started at the questionnaire design stage and the sample design and planning the analysis, and we're now just beginning the analysis.

**VDT:** This is all translated for you--or translated for them?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Both. Basically it's done in English, because our collaborator--one of them at least from there--was a student at Michigan, so he learned English quite well. It's a back-and-forth business; we begin in English and then they translate it into Chinese. The final version, of course, is in Chinese and then we have it translated a couple of times to make sure that we're getting a proper translation. It's always a problem--there are so many nuances in the language.

**VDT:** You know something of the language?

**GOLDSTEIN:** None.

**VDT:** Have you anything to do with this new Chinese Journal of Population Studies?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, that's a Chinese venture. I suppose eventually when we begin writing articles on these data they will be collaborative articles and some of them will be published in Chinese and some may end up in the journal. I assume that would happen. But we don't have anything to do with the journal.

**VDT:** Who have been leading influences in your career, besides Sid and besides Dorothy Thomas? Any others?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I guess John Knodel, in showing me that one can really combine the historical with the contemporary.

**VDT:** He did that with me. One of my favorite Population Bulletins [of which I was editor, at the Population Reference Bureau] was the one he and Etienne van de Walle did ["Europe's Fertility Transition: New Evidence and Lessons for Today's Developing World," February 1980]. When I first heard them give a paper on that topic, I said, "Oh, fascinating!"

**GOLDSTEIN:** I've been doing that still. I've become active in the Social Science History Association; I'm sort of their "China hand." I like to bring in contemporary LDC data as a kind of

counterbalance to the heavy emphasis on historical data that they have at their meetings. Most of them are historians, and some sociologists; it's a nice mix, but heavily historical. What I've been trying to do is look at past patterns of migration particularly or of development in Europe, and then see whether there are similar patterns in contemporary LDCs. Or to look at contemporary LDC patterns and see if they have antecedents in their own past. I've done a couple of papers on that.

**VDT:** Internal migration, you're talking about?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes.

**VDT:** Give me an example of that.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I did one using Thai, Indonesian, and China data, looking at patterns of temporary mobility and seeing how temporary mobility in the 19th century in these countries, at a very early stage of development, played itself out. It was really not so much related to development as related to a continuation of very traditional patterns, and how those same forms of temporary mobility are being carried into the contemporary time, where they're being used not so much for the continuation of the traditional patterns but for a way of moving into modern consumer patterns ["Temporary Migration in Southeast Asia and China: New Forms of Traditional Behavior," Social Science History Association meeting, New Orleans, October 1987].

**VDT:** Within those countries, you had 19th century data as well as current data?

**GOLDSTEIN:** That's right. It takes some digging, but it was fascinating to do that. That's the kind of thing I love to do. This year I gave a paper at the Social Science History Association meeting looking at rural industrialization and migration in China, because what's happening in that area in China is very similar to what happened in the 19th century in Europe. I was trying to show how there are many parallels, despite the very different cultural backgrounds and very different political systems, which has a lot more to say about what's happening in China--and yet there are enormous parallels between the two ["Rural Industrialization and Migration in the People's Republic of China," Social Science History Association meeting, Washington, D.C., November 1989].

**VDT:** You've obviously been very strongly involved in Sid's work, but developed your own lines too.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes.

**VDT:** What accomplishments in your career have given you the most satisfaction?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Just being able to develop my own lines of research has been very satisfying. And to be able to really integrate the historical with the contemporary has been very exciting to do. The other aspect that I'm moving into more and more now is looking at women's issues, partly in LDCs but also with our other big area of research, the Jewish population of the United States. Sid's done a lot more with that than I have, but I'm moving into it more now, and I'm looking particularly at women and I'm seeing how their roles have played out in the community, within the demographic context.

**VDT:** Over the years that you have been involved, what have you seen as leading issues in demography? By that, I mean both U.S. issues--obviously you have been concerned about rapid urbanization in developing countries.



**GOLDSTEIN:** The other major issue has been understanding migration as more than simply a one-time change of residence. I think that's been really exciting work and I think Sid has been really on the forefront of that.

**VDT:** He has, indeed.

**GOLDSTEIN:** The whole question of temporary mobility; the different facets of movement. That's been very interesting to pursue. It's been difficult to do, because most research doesn't pay attention to it and most data sets don't have the information on it. But it's getting more feasible, especially as we get data sets of our own that we've developed.

**VDT:** And what about the future? What will be the big issues?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think population redistribution is going to continue to be the big issue. As fertility becomes more under control, I think questions of development are going to depend more on where people are and who goes where than on how many people there are in the area as a whole.

**VDT:** And what about the future of demography and demographers? You are sitting in a center where everything is running smoothly, but in the U.S., are there still going to be jobs for people like yourself to do basic research in academia?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I would hope so. I really think that basic research is basic. I think that's where our understanding of what the issues are is going to come from. It doesn't come from applied research. It has to come from the basic researchers, so let's hope there are places for them.

**VDT:** Sid and I haven't yet gotten on to the prospects for continuing China-U.S. student exchanges.

**GOLDSTEIN:** That's a big issue.

**VDT:** I'm sure it is. Now, let's get to PAA. You mentioned that you have been a member for a long time. Do you remember your first meeting?

**GOLDSTEIN:** My first meeting was in 1953, before we were married.

**VDT:** You married in June of 1953, so it would have been the one in . . .

**GOLDSTEIN:** In Cincinnati.

**VDT:** It was in two different places.

**GOLDSTEIN:** That's right.

**VDT:** Cincinnati and Oxford, Ohio. What do you remember about that meeting?

**GOLDSTEIN:** It was lovely, because it was small. There was one session per time slot. Everybody knew everybody else. I got to meet all of these people whose books I had been reading.

**VDT:** And you were only the fiancée of a graduate student.

**GOLDSTEIN:** Being with Dorothy made such a difference, because she always treated people as equal; she was never condescending. So I was always part of the group and it was marvelous. I loved those meetings; it was such a nice introduction. Then I went to the ones in Charlottesville in 1954 and then there was a big gap when I didn't go at all, while the children were little. I went to the one that was in Providence, of course. That was in 1959.

**VDT:** But you didn't leave children with baby-sitters and go, in those years?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, I didn't, because it was really before I saw myself as a professional demographer. And it was part of the times: You had little kids; you stayed home and took care of them. Few of us did otherwise, although Anne Lee certainly did, and Ann Miller certainly did. But I came from a much more traditional background, and . . . I don't know. That's how I behaved, in any case. So I really didn't go to meetings on a regular basis until probably about 1966.

**VDT:** That New York meeting?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I went to that New York meeting and I've been going ever since, pretty much regularly.

**VDT:** Were you involved with the women's issues in the early 1970s?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, not very much. It took a while for my consciousness to be raised, I guess.

**VDT:** Now it's been aroused.

**GOLDSTEIN:** There's no question about now, but at that point, no.

**VDT:** Do any of the meetings stand out in your memory--leading up to Sid's year as president in Montreal in 1976?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Not especially. I think the business meetings used to be much more interesting than they are now, because issues were dealt with there and there was much more interaction from the floor. It's gotten much more mechanical now, I think, so it's gotten kind of boring.

**VDT:** Besides the business meetings, the ambiance in general, the places?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Part of the thing that's happened to PAA is that it's been successful and it's gotten bigger. And I think in the process, one loses the kind of personal interaction within the sessions themselves that one had in the past. I think the best proof of that is that the Social Science History meetings are now at the stage that the PAA was at in the 1950s. Although there are several sessions per time slot, people within the sessions generally know each other and it's structured so that there's a real discussion of issues. They almost always run out of time.

**VDT:** Sid and everyone who attended the early PAA meetings has commented on the fact that everybody attended that one session.

**GOLDSTEIN:** There they all were.

**VDT:** All there in one room. Anne Lee said it was at the Philadelphia meeting in 1957 that they

switched to double sessions [this actually occurred at the 1956 meeting in Ann Arbor], so it was beginning in the 1950s. The Social Science History meeting has what, about two or three sessions simultaneously?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, they have four or even five. But they're small, most of them, and generally they're very area-specific, so that people who're interested in migration, for example, go always to the same sessions and people who're interested in police work in the 19th century, sort of law and order issues. It's a very eclectic group, in the sense that it covers a lot of different topics, but because of that people within the same topic tend to be together a lot, so we get to know each other and the kind of discussion one can have is much more interesting because there's a lot more other interaction going on as well.

**VDT:** Do you think it has something to do with actual physical size and setting of the rooms? PAA often gets us into very large rooms.

**GOLDSTEIN:** That's part of it. I think the other part of it is the nature of the papers--that demography tends to be very heavily statistical. Which is fine, except that it's very hard to either assimilate the statistics when they're presented orally or to have much of a discussion about them afterwards. I think if you're talking about ideas and issues, it's much easier to have discussions.

**VDT:** Some people in this series of interviews have said that's one thing that encouraged more discussion in the early days--the papers were not so statistical.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I really think that's true. I think there's been too much number-crunching going on. And I think we get much more hung up on our computer output than we probably ought to be. I think they're wonderful tools and I think they're absolutely essential. But I don't think they should be the end in themselves and they too often overwhelm other issues.

**VDT:** I think yours and Sid's publications are not so overwhelmed with numbers.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I like to think I have something to do with that. I very consciously deal with that.

**VDT:** You mean to keep them free from too much statistics?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Yes, I really try to do that. Well, Sid himself has written a series of articles that haven't had any tables in them at all.

**VDT:** And you take credit for that?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No, these are ones that we haven't even coauthored; he's done it himself. I do tend to take out a lot of table descriptions; take out a lot of the statistics. And just try to emphasize the patterns and the trends, and then speculate about what that means, put it within some kind of context or some kind of historical framework.

**VDT:** Well, that makes you even more rare in demography, which seems to be becoming more and more number-crunching, as you say.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I like to think that a lot of our students really do get training in being more issue- and theory-oriented. Partly because they have to take a lot of sociological theory, and that really does

become much more a way of thinking for them.

**VDT:** Here at Brown, you are more sociological perhaps than any center? You have the department of sociology, of course. Do you have any economists?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Oh, yes. We have economists, anthropologists, community health people--all are involved in the center. And one of the things that we try to do, and it's been one of my responsibilities, is in terms of the speakers we have coming in, either colloquia or summer workshops that we run every year, is to get people from other disciplines, so that we expose our students to as many different related disciplines as possible.

**VDT:** But not number-crunchers--historians, anthropologists?

**GOLDSTEIN:** Economists, geographers . . .

**VDT:** That's a very interesting perspective. I think demography needs more of that.

**GOLDSTEIN:** I do, too. I'm always very pleased when we have people coming in who can give a different social science perspective--or even the health perspective. We have close ties with the community health and the gerontology departments here and I think their perspective has been very valuable for us.

**VDT:** I would love to ask you about your children. I hear your daughter Beth is an anthropologist and a professor at the University of Kentucky and she studied in Hong Kong.

**GOLDSTEIN:** She's a perfect example of what can happen when Sid's on sabbatical. She developed a very strong interest in Southeast Asia because of the time she spent in Bangkok with us.

**VDT:** She was there only about one year?

**GOLDSTEIN:** She was only there one year; she was there in eighth grade. She went to the international school there, but she studied Thai. Well, we learned a little bit of it, but it somehow sparked something. And when she got to Yale, she started to major in anthropology because of that background of having been exposed to other societies, and with a strong minor in Southeast Asia, and she became fluent and literate in Thai.

**VDT:** At Yale?

**GOLDSTEIN:** At Yale, without going back to Thailand. Her sophomore year she was with the University Field Services, took a course in Malaysia, did her fieldwork in Thailand, with an exceedingly successful study; she had it published--as a sophomore. It was a very wonderful experience for her. Then that prompted her to go to Hong Kong as a "Chinese Bachelor." That was part of the China-Yale exchange program. China had this long-standing exchange with Yale and when China was closed to Westerners, and especially Americans, they moved the operation from the Mainland to Hong Kong. So that's how she got to Hong Kong, and there she learned Chinese. So she's fluent in Thai and in Chinese.

Then she decided to go back and do her Ph.D., but by then had gotten interested in problems of education for minority groups--in Hong Kong already--and did that using the Southeast Asian minority, the Hmong, in Wisconsin; there was a large group in Wisconsin. So she did her Ph.D. at

Wisconsin using them as her study group. And now in Kentucky, she's looking at the Appalachian minority and trying to be helpful there. She's very action-oriented within the academic community.

**VDT:** She's in the department of anthropology?

**GOLDSTEIN:** No. Well, she has a joint appointment, primarily in the school of education, educational policy, but a joint appointment with anthropology, with responsibility for Southeast Asia and women's studies as well.

David's our biologist, at Wright State University in Dayton; it's part of the Ohio State system. He got a Ph.D. at the University of California, UCLA. He did a post-doc in Arizona. He's interested in metabolism of birds under extreme climatic conditions--California and Arizona desert conditions. He's since broadened that. I can't understand his research basically, but I do understand that he's really on the cutting edge of developing this whole area of research.

**VDT:** With birds?

**GOLDSTEIN:** I think he's also using now some warm-blooded animals, mice--metabolism, particularly kidney function, in extreme conditions. That has a lot of relevance for the whole environmental impact studies, including impact on human beings. So this is beginning, I think, to be a very large area.

**VDT:** And then the third one?

**GOLDSTEIN:** That is Brenda, who was also influenced by her time overseas. She went into public health; she got her M.P.H. at Berkeley. And because of her background of having lived in Thailand and traveled in Asia, she got a job with a county public health unit in Oakland, California, and she does maternal and family health training of refugee populations.

**VDT:** Interesting! It all tied in.

**GOLDSTEIN:** It all tied in. And we have 5.9 grandchildren. All the children are married and they all have at least one child.

**VDT:** That's marvelous. You've obviously had a wonderful life and career, and it's far from over.

**GOLDSTEIN:** We're very fortunate.

### **Addendum:**

**VDT:** Now, an addition. The first one . . .

**GOLDSTEIN:** The main addition is that I always think of myself as an historian by training and a demographer by marriage. [Laughter]

**VDT:** And she also wants to be sure there's no misunderstanding about influences on her career. I had phrased the question as: Who have been the leading influences in your career besides Sid and Dorothy Thomas? She's now come down to put on record that Sid is really the most important influence.

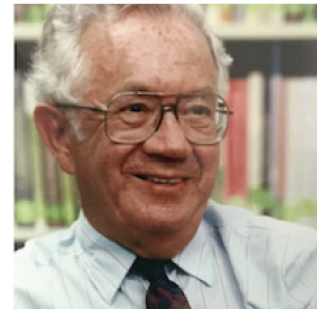
**GOLDSTEIN:** Because if I hadn't met him, I would never have thought of going into demography.

## POPULATION STUDIES AND TRAINING CENTER

## Remembering Sidney Goldstein

September 10, 2019

**PROVIDENCE, R.I. [Brown University]** - On August 5, 2019, the Population Studies and Training Center lost a visionary scholar, founding director, and beloved mentor Sidney Goldstein. He was 92. Sid served on the faculty of the Department of Sociology at Brown University for nearly 50 years, and retired in 1993 as the George Hazard Crooker Professor of Sociology. In his long career at Brown, Sid left an enduring legacy. He wrote field-defining books and papers on migration and urbanization, on the demography of the American Jewish population, and other topics. Sid was also a pioneer in building population studies research, training, and outreach around the world. At Brown, he founded the PSTC, and through his decades-long commitment, built a vibrant intellectual community. Today this PSTC community includes hundreds – if not thousands – of individuals in R.I. and around the globe who are all connected in some way because of Sid's enduring work.



Sid's vision was a demographic research center where scholars collaborate across disciplines, integrate research and training, and partner with governments, academic institutions, and other stakeholders to produce and analyze population data to support planning and improve global well-being. This vision was unusual for its time, and distinctly infused with the Brown ethos of student-centered learning and engaged scholarship.

Sid arrived on Brown's campus as an assistant professor of sociology in 1955, two years after completing his Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. Soon after, he was approached by the R.I. Development Office to conduct studies of the state's population. This work, in collaboration with fellow Brown sociologist Kurt Mayer, led to a series of monographs. Always a dedicated teacher, he immediately saw this project not only as a way to partner with the R.I. Development Office, but also as an opportunity to integrate graduate student training. Public engagement and mentorship, characteristics of this early project, would become defining elements of his professional career.

Sid was a beloved teacher and mentor. During his career, he was a caring and thoughtful advisor to more than 100 doctoral students, and an informal mentor to countless more undergraduate and graduate students. He embodied, and imparted, principles of intellectual integrity, and is remembered with great affection by his former students and colleagues for his generosity of spirit. They also remember fondly spending time with both Sid and Alice, Sid's partner in life and work, and the professional and personal support they experienced through correspondence, dinners, and visits during and after their years at Brown.

Throughout his career, Sid engaged early career scholars from countries around the world. He collaborated with them to support demographic research and outreach that would be valuable to government planning and programs. With encouragement and support from the United Nations, Sid launched a research agenda with colleagues in Asia. His work in Thailand showed how temporary and repeat migration affected urban growth. As one of the first western social scientists to enter China, where government policies strictly controlled population movement, Sid helped to develop migration surveys and collaborated with Chinese scholars who were rebuilding demographic programs. Back in the U.S., Sid was equally engaged with his demographic studies of American Jews, and used the lens of migration and mobility to help to describe their diversity and cohesion.

When Sid was named the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) Laureate for 2005, Jacques Vallin, then the IUSSP president, noted, ironically, that though Sid was professionally known as one of the world's best scholars of migration and urbanization, Sid never migrated himself, and spent his entire career at Brown. Sid's commitment to building a multidisciplinary globally-engaged population center at Brown, and Brown's support of this effort, helps to explain this long and fruitful match.

In addition to being named an IUSSP Laureate, Sid received numerous other accolades and honors. He was a past president of the Population Association of America, and a recipient of fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation, the Fulbright Foundation, and the Social Science Research Council, to name but a few.

As we reflect upon Sid's remarkable contributions to the PSTC, Brown University, and the global community of sociologists and demographers, we note the continued relevance of his vision. Many parts of the world in 2019 are witnessing the rise of authoritarian governments and challenges associated with migration, including increased fear of and violence towards immigrants. At this difficult time, we take heart from Sid's professional and personal values, which exemplified inclusion, openness to and support for others, rigorous scholarship, and mutual respect. We are grateful to Sid for his extraordinary contributions to our field, and for his enduring vision for population science, which lives on at PSTC.

## **FACETS OF REDISTRIBUTION: RESEARCH CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES\***

**Sidney Goldstein**

Population Studies and Training Center, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island 02912

Within the last few years, we have passed three demographic milestones which have great significance not only for the remainder of this century but probably for the next century as well. Since the last annual meeting of the Population Association of America, the total population of the world passed the 4 billion mark, after reaching 3 billion just 15 years earlier; it will probably reach 5 billion within another 13 years.

A second milestone concerns the distribution of the population. Until 1975, a majority of the world's urban population was located in what the United Nations has designated as the more developed regions. This past year, however, if United Nations (1975b) estimates are correct, the balance shifted. For the first time, a majority of the world's urban population dwell in the less developed nations. Moreover, this change is expected to become substantially accentuated. Between 1950 and 2000, the urban population in the less developed nations is expected to experience an eight-fold increase, compared to an increase of only 2.5 in the more developed countries. As a result, by the year 2000 almost two-thirds of the world's three billion urban population will live in the less developed world, compared to only one-third at mid-century.

But the shift in urban balance extends beyond population; it also involves the distribution of cities. Whether judged by cities of 100,000 and over or of a million

and over, the less developed countries now for the first time contain a majority of the world's cities. Whereas only 23 of the world's 71 million-plus cities were located in less developed nations at mid-century, just over half of the 181 cities now are, and by the year 2000 it is estimated that 264 of the projected 414 such cities will be in less developed countries (United Nations, 1975c). This past year marks the transition, therefore, in the relative distribution between the more and less developed nations of both the urban population and the number of cities.

Still a third development has manifested itself—a dramatic reversal in the patterns of population redistribution in the United States as well as in other more developed countries. After many decades during which people migrated first into the cities and then into adjoining suburbs, the rural areas and smaller cities now show signs of faster growth than do big cities and their suburbs. The 1960s were characterized by movement toward metropolitan areas of the United States but away from the core cities (Beale, 1975), an unprecedented number of which lost population; in the 1970s, however, not only the central cities but a growing number of metropolitan areas as a whole have begun to lose population. Between 1970 and 1974, 8 out of the 15 largest metropolitan areas in the United States had declined in population (Morrison, 1975; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976). Whereas, in the 1960s, non-metropolitan areas averaged migration losses of 300,000 per year to metropolitan areas, during the first years of the 1970s nonmetropolitan areas gained 350,000 persons annually. Nor is this development

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\* Presented as a Presidential address to the Population Association of America at its annual meeting in Montreal, Canada, April 1976. Dedicated to Dorothy Swaine Thomas.

unique to the United States. The European (Befolkningens Bevaegelser 1973, 1975) and Japanese (Kuroda, 1975) experiences also point to a substantial change in population redistribution patterns, involving a reversal in the basic pattern of rural to urban and/or non-metropolitan to metropolitan internal migration. A new emphasis on quality of life as opposed to more strictly economic considerations seems to be assuming increasing importance as a motivation both in the decision to move and in the choice of residence (Elgin et al., 1974).

These three developments, then, must be seen as part of a complex set of developments which presents us with new research challenges and opportunities:

1. rapid population growth, especially in the less developed world;
2. sharp increases in the size of the urban population, in the level of urbanization, and in the number of cities, especially big cities, in the less developed nations; and
3. dramatic reversals in population redistribution patterns in many of the more developed countries.

Taken together, these developments point to a growing need for attention to population movement as a key component in population dynamics. In the more developed nations, as vital rates, and especially fertility, become more homogeneous between regions and between urban and rural places, migration takes on increased importance in accounting for differential growth rates and for changes in the composition of population between areas (National Center for Health Statistics, 1970). In less developed countries, migration also accounts for a disproportional share of the differential growth rate of urban and rural places; and in those locations where urban and rural fertility are still very similar, it accounts for almost all of the differential (United Nations, n.d.).

The importance of migration as a component of population change is attested to by the magnitude of the number of per-

sons involved. On a worldwide basis, the most reasonable statistic we have is the United Nations' estimate that, during 1970-1975, a net transfer of about 100 million persons from rural to urban residence took place (United Nations, n.d.). But this is a net figure. Implicit in its size is the much larger gross movement which must have taken place. In the United States alone, 33 million persons were living in a different county in 1975 than in 1970 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975). In contrast, during this same interval, about 17 million births and 10 million deaths occurred in the United States. Although the role of population movement in the overall dynamics of population change is obviously very different from that of births and deaths, the movement of such large numbers illustrates the acute need for concern with redistribution as an aspect of demographic change.

Whereas the study of fertility dominated demographic research in the past several decades, migration may well become the most important branch of demography in the last quarter of the century. Certainly, in many of the more developed countries, the achievement of low levels of fertility seems to be occurring simultaneously with maintenance of high levels of migration. Concomitantly with this situation, however, the less developed countries are experiencing massive flows of migrants into their cities while high fertility levels persist. Although the more and the less developed regions reflect very different combinations of migration and fertility patterns, it is clear that full evaluation of the dynamics of population change cannot rest on attention to one factor alone but must focus as well on the interaction between them.

The importance of migration as a component of population change has significance beyond its impact on the changing population size and composition of major regions, political subdivisions, and rural-urban places. Most, if not all, of the great social problems confronting both the more and the less developed countries to-



day probably have a migration component. Indeed, the general concern with the world's social situation focuses heavily on the interrelated vertical and horizontal aspects of distribution inequalities (cf. United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1974), the former related to the wide disparities in the levels of living and quality of life and the latter to the increasing concentration of population in urban places and especially the rapid growth of big cities in the less developed countries.

Actual or perceived disparities in economic opportunity and in social and cultural amenities between rural and urban places have been major determinants of the rural to urban shift in population. To the extent that such migration is not fully justified by economic development, it perpetuates massive urban poverty in the midst of those locations which are also the economic, cultural, social, political, and usually most modern centers of their nations. To compound this situation in the less developed world, the rate of growth of the rural population remains high. Despite substantial rural to urban migration, the rural population continues to increase and to constitute a significant percentage of the total population; and much of the rural population continues to be characterized by extreme poverty. Therefore, where the critical problems of cities reflect the even more serious problems in rural areas, anyone concerned with rural-urban migration and with urbanization must also give concerted attention to rural population and development. Otherwise, efforts to solve the problems of one of these may actually exacerbate the difficulties of the other and lead to still greater movement.

The close interrelations between migration and other demographic and social aspects of behavior underline the potential role of migration in producing greater homogenization in more developed countries and greater modernization in less developed areas. Migrants may well serve as agents of social change and as diffusers of cultural values and norms, contributing

thereby to the breakdown of differences among regions and among cities, smaller towns, and rural areas—for better or for worse, effecting a more homogeneous national community and the spread of urban and modern values to less developed locations. Although continued heavy rural to urban migration in the less developed nations often creates a dualism in the cities which tends to perpetuate many of the values, traditions, and activities associated with rural life, increasing population interchanges and contacts between urban and rural places may also help to introduce social change and urban values and behavior to even the most isolated rural areas.

Within this general context, one may indeed ask whether migration has possibly already played a key role within the more developed world in the homogenization of fertility values and behavior; and whether in the decades ahead migration may also act as an agent of fertility change in the less developed world, as migrants from urban centers bring with them to the rural areas knowledge, attitudes, and personal behavior associated with lower fertility as part of other urban values and behavior traits (Zarate and Zarate, 1975). Attention to the interrelations between migration on the one hand and nuptiality and reproduction patterns on the other, and the implications of such interrelations for policy provides a unique opportunity for integrated research, especially when pursued within the broader context of urbanization and modernization and from a multidisciplinary perspective (Davis, 1963; Friedlander, 1969).

#### CHANGING PRIORITIES AND PERSPECTIVES

In 1960, Dudley Kirk (1960) concluded that the study of internal migration was the stepchild of demography, that there had been too little attention given to the theory and measurement of migration despite its role as the chief determinant of differences in population change and structure among local populations and, indeed, for many states. Almost ten years

later, the same theme was echoed by Donald Bogue (1969, p. 752) when he observed, "Some of the most acute social problems of the world today are associated with migration. If the problem of human fertility were not so critical at the present time, it is almost certain that human migration and the plight of migrants (especially in the developing nations) would be listed as a top priority problem for research and action." Especially now, given its important role in population dynamics in both the more and less developed regions, we cannot afford not to give migration the high priority it should have received decades ago.

The recency and marginality of our concern with migration is illustrated very well by the American situation. Only since 1940 has a direct question on population movement been included in the U.S. federal census and the Current Population Survey. (For a fuller discussion of available U.S. data, see Shryock and Siegel, 1971.) The data collected since then provide information on the volume, direction, and characteristics of population movement in the United States, but they do not permit analysis of the complete migration experience of individuals, of many of the relevant characteristics before or after migration, or of the social-psychological aspects of population movement.

Alternate sources, such as the continuous work-history samples for social security records, overcome some of these limitations but still have many problems of their own (Hirschberg, 1975). The data are somewhat better in a number of countries where migration information is collected as part of their population registers. Yet of the 65 countries which maintain population registers, only 22 actually provide data on internal migration; and in many instances the information collected is not tabulated or available for research and policy purposes (United Nations, 1969).

The situation in less developed countries is particularly serious. Although some have begun to collect migration in-

formation as part of their census programs, the use of such information for analytic purposes, and particularly for the assessment of urban growth and urbanization, is severely restricted by the limited number and kinds of tabulations made and especially the frequent neglect of rural-urban population interchange (Elizaga, 1972; Goldstein and Sly, 1975a and 1975b; United Nations, 1974a). Some of these deficiencies have been overcome by specialized surveys focusing on migration (e.g., Balan et al., 1973; Caldwell, 1969; Goldstein et al., 1974; Macisco, 1975; Speare, 1973), but most of these surveys focus on small areas or individual communities, particularly big cities, restricting their value for purposes of generalization. Beyond this, they often seriously neglect major segments of the population essential to the full evaluation of the migration process—those who have moved about in rural areas, those who have returned to rural areas from urban settings, and especially those who have not moved at all.

In the absence of adequate direct census statistics on migration, much of our understanding of population movement has had to depend on direct estimates using a wide variety of techniques, most of which yield information on the volume of net migration, sometimes by such selected characteristics as age and sex (Goldstein and Sly, 1975b; Shryock and Siegel, 1971; United Nations, 1970). Yet the fact is that neither you nor I have ever seen the mysterious net migrant. Our estimates of the number of net migrants, while better than no information at all, yield only limited insights into what the migration process is all about. We need to know much more about the magnitude of the opposing streams of movement, the extent of circulatory movement, and the selective character and impact of movement on places of origin and destination. We must also analyze the relation between the in- and out-movement and success or failure in the achievement of individual goals and of a better adjustment on the societal level between population and resources.

Furthermore, we need to know to what

extent migration is complemented by still another type of movement—commuting. All too often commuting has been regarded as a phenomenon common only in the more developed world; yet there is some evidence to suggest that it is becoming increasingly prevalent in less developed countries (Liu and Speare, 1973). Indeed, the slowdown in the growth of some large cities in the less developed world, such as Bombay, may be partly explained by greater reliance on commuting (Zachariah, 1966). It can enable village residents to take advantage of the opportunities in nearby urban settings, while maintaining close ties to their families and their village (Hugo, 1975). It seems likely, therefore, that, as the problems associated with urban residence exacerbate and as the opportunities for employment in nonagricultural activities expand, commuting will increase. As important as it may be, however, to assess the role of commuting both in more and in less developed countries, all too often the necessary journey-to-work data are completely absent from censuses and surveys (United Nations, 1974a).

Given the shortcomings in our migration and commuting data, is it any wonder, then, that we are surprised when basic patterns seem to change? Can you imagine how much less understanding we would have of growth if our generalizations and insights were restricted to knowledge based on natural increase rather than on analyses of separate birth and death rates? Although the situation is not completely analagous, that is what we are often forced to do when we rely for our understanding of redistribution upon those mythical characters, the net migrants, overlooking both the separate in- and out-migration streams and the other forms of population movement, such as commuting. Can you imagine, too, undertaking a comprehensive study of fertility without giving any attention to those couples who have decided to remain childless or those couples who have decided to halt their fertility? How different is it when, in migration studies, we focus our attention en-

tirely on those who migrate, ignoring the great masses of population in the less developed regions and a considerable portion of those in the more developed countries who do not move or who commute? Why is it that, despite all the emphasis on pregnancy histories and cohort analysis in fertility research, we are forced to rely heavily on period-type data in combination with net migration estimates for information on population movements? In so doing, we forego the opportunity to utilize migration histories to assess the extent of repeat migration, the spacing of moves, and the relation of movement to changes in other social and economic characteristics as people move through the life cycle. Given such data deficiencies, how can we expect to assess the true role of population movement in the growth and decline of cities and metropolitan areas and the real impact of development efforts on such growth patterns? On a still more general level, in the absence of equally good and comprehensive data for fertility, mortality, and migration, how can we expect to assess fully the interrelations among these three components as they respond jointly to changing conditions and to each other?

Yet even the most comprehensive data will yield only limited results without extensive rethinking of our basic concepts of migration. Although we have undoubtedly gone well beyond Ravenstein's efforts in the 1880s to establish migration laws (Goldscheider, 1971, pp. 48–75; Kosinski and Prothero, 1974; Lee, 1966; Mabogunje, 1970; Petersen, 1958; Shaw, 1975; Zelinsky, 1971), comprehensive theories and models of migration are still lacking for a number of reasons (Speare, Goldstein, and Frey, 1975):

1. There are serious doubts about the possibility of devising a general theory that has equal validity for both the more and less developed regions (Pryor, 1975a);

2. it is difficult to relate aggregate models, which are useful for predicting the volume of migration streams, to individual models, which attempt to explain why people move;

3. attention must be given to both structural and social-psychological components (Pryor, 1975b); and

4. perhaps, above all, adequate data are lacking with which to test fully the theories and models that have been formulated.

Although it is tempting to do so, we must be particularly careful not to generalize too freely to the less developed countries the migration and urbanization experience of the more developed regions. As in other areas of demographic concern, there seems little firm basis for believing that migration patterns in the less developed countries will follow the same path as those experienced by the more developed. Indeed, the surprising recent changes in redistribution patterns in the more developed countries raise doubts about the validity of past models for the future experience of even the more developed regions (Beale, 1975). The limited evidence from the less developed areas (e.g., Hugo, 1975) indicates that, both for historical reasons and because sociocultural factors overlie economic pressures, the patterns of movement there may be very different from what might be expected given the level of modernization and development. Such countries may experience much more circulatory movement, may witness the operation of considerable urban as well as rural push factors, and may resort to a heavier reliance on commuting at a much earlier stage of development. The norms which influence the form and volume of movement will vary considerably depending on the social, economic, technical, and political circumstances of the community over time and space (Pryor, 1975b).

As a result, it may, in fact, not be possible to devise an adequate general typology; what may be more useful are special purpose typologies. In the more developed world, distance, time, motives, and adjustment all probably have a very different significance now than they had just several decades ago; even more important, they are operating differently in

the less developed areas than they did in the more developed regions at comparable levels of development. Such a situation calls not only for a reexamination of basic concepts and their significance, but also for broader, better, and more frequent data on movement. Among the greatest faults of which we are guilty in migration research is being locked into the same kinds of questions related to the same concepts of migration that were developed years ago for a particular setting at a particular time. This may well help to explain why we are so surprised at what is happening in the more developed world; it may go far in explaining why we know so little about population movement elsewhere.

#### FACETS OF REDISTRIBUTION RECONSIDERED

What are some of the directions in which we should consider changing our thinking and priorities? One of our first considerations must be improved sources of data. We must continue to include direct questions on migration in censuses and other major national surveys and to expand the number of countries in which these questions are asked. Such questions and the tabulations based on them must focus, however, on the types of movement that are of most pressing concern, theoretically and substantively, not just those which have been asked about traditionally (cf. Drury, 1971). For example, to measure migration in the less developed world in terms of population movement between provinces, neglecting entirely movement between rural and urban areas, represents lost opportunities. But inclusion in census surveys of two or three questions on migration and possibly a question on journey to work can only begin to provide the information needed to undertake meaningful assessments of migration. Migration statistics must be made a regular and full component of a system of population statistics (National Center for Health Statistics, 1970, pp. 15-24), especially if the interrelations of migration

with fertility are to be assessed. Every possible effort must be made to incorporate greater attention to migration as part of any data collection effort directed at measuring population dynamics, including even those whose major focus is on fertility. I find it difficult to understand the failure to give fuller attention to migration in such data collection efforts as the National Survey of Family Growth and the World Fertility Survey, and the failure to exploit more fully the migration data obtained in the varied population growth surveys in less developed countries (Linder and Lingner, 1975; Lunde, 1976; Marks et al., 1974).

As attractive as exploitation of censuses and general surveys, fertility surveys, and population growth studies may be for purposes of obtaining information on migration, comprehensive evaluation of migration patterns requires specialized surveys which focus primarily on migration. Because of the complex character of population movement, we need to explore the full array of the different forms of movement and the ways they relate to each other, to other aspects of population dynamics, and to the social and economic structure of the places of in- and out-movement. Most of our emphasis has been given to "permanent" migration, measured in terms of place of birth and place of earlier residence; in the process, we have overlooked a wide range of other types of movement. For example, we need to assess the prevalence of, and the conditions spawning, return or circular migration. Commuting and temporary residence in urban places, including seasonal migration, may also play an important role in the total pattern of adjustment between opportunities and movement. Both affect the places of origin and destination as well as the migrants and their families; and both may serve as important agents of social and individual change.

Among the most serious limitations of available information on migration is the dearth of data on premigration characteristics. This deficiency argues strongly for

obtaining complete individual migration histories; these would permit much fuller assessment of the conditions of migrants both before and after the move and of the relation of one move to another. They would allow identification of those who are repeated or chronic movers and evaluation of the role of repeated migrants in the population growth of given localities as well as in the demographic, social, and political instability of locations. They would permit better assessment of adjustment problems, as well as measurement of changes in demographic behavior which follow migration, particularly in comparison to the behavior of persons who did not move. They would enable identification of changes in the form of movement and the conditions under which greater reliance is placed on permanent migration, commuting, or circulatory and repeat movement.

In addition, in-depth interviewing of nonmigrants as well as migrants should permit fuller understanding of what it is that makes an individual think of moving, what it is that eventually leads to a move, and why so many people do not, in fact, move at all (Goldscheider, 1971, pp. 48-75; Petersen, 1958; Uhlenberg, 1973). Particularly because of the huge reservoirs of population that are building up in the rural areas of the less developed world, it is essential to understand stability as well as mobility. Such information should prove useful for evaluating past and present migration as well as for improving our ability to predict future population movement, particularly at a time when such movement takes on increased importance as a factor in population growth and decline. Beyond this, it should also facilitate efforts designed to control movement—either in form, volume, direction, or selective character—as part of larger efforts to cope with the problems of urbanization, modernization, and development. Such a concern underscores the need to study not only movement to big cities in the less developed regions but that to smaller urban places and the rural areas as well. The

same need is apparent in the more developed areas where the back-to-earth movement, big-city-to-small-town movement, and reversals in regional movement beg for in-depth explanations.

Greater efforts should also be exerted to ascertain expected future mobility. We already have evidence to suggest that there is a strong relation between the wish to move and actual mobility (Mazie and Rawlings, 1972). As the increased migration to smaller towns and rural areas in the United States suggests, had we placed greater reliance on the expressions of preference indicated by respondents in surveys several years earlier (Beale, 1975), we would not have been so surprised at the changing migration patterns. In this case, preferences were translated into action, suggesting that research can help both to understand ongoing processes and to provide a firmer basis for predicting future movement.

Inherent in all these concerns is the need to "flesh out" the skeletal statistics provided by traditional census and survey questionnaires, so that we can understand more fully the dynamics of both movement and stability and have a firmer basis for projecting future trends. We know already from our experience with fertility studies how difficult a task it is to assess the social-psychological aspects of demographic behavior (Myers, 1975). Joint efforts to gain a better understanding of the motives for moving or not moving, and the motives for having or not having children, may well prove of mutual benefit to the more general understanding of demographic behavior.

Concurrently, in order to advance on both the theoretical and the applied levels, we must have comparative research on population movement, especially in relation to urbanization in preindustrial, industrial, and postindustrial settings. Only through such comparisons can we come to understand the varied forms which movement takes, depending on the large array of locational, developmental, and social factors, as well as on the previous types of urban hierarchies and the presence of policies designed to control population flow

and urban growth. In all such efforts, we must avoid reliance upon outmoded and inappropriate concepts, questions, and measures, those whose sacredness stems only from the fact that they have been used in the past and most often in the more developed world.

#### ANTICIPATING THE UNANTICIPATED

Despite the extensive research literature on demographic problems, planners and decision makers have made little use of it (International Conference on Population, Workshop 15, 1975). In part, this reflects the policy makers' failure to recognize the full value of research. In part, it may be the fault of demographers who have not focused enough on those issues which can most easily demonstrate the relevance of demographic research to problem solving. To communicate the evidence on the relation between fertility reduction and development may be difficult, but the role of migration in the mushrooming growth of cities of the less developed countries may be much easier to communicate, because the related problems are themselves so visible. In turn, successful use of demographic research on population movement as the basis for policy formulation and implementation might well facilitate the more general use of demographic research in problem solving. Moreover, focusing on migration as a high priority research area has the added advantage of demonstrating clearly to those engaged in policy making the close interrelations between rural and urban areas (Byerlee, 1974). By more fully assessing how the levels and characteristics of population movement produce or alleviate social and cultural inequality between rural and urban places and within each type of location, as well as how such movement is related to other components of population change in rural and urban areas, such research could serve an integrative function both for scientific and for policy purposes.

Individual governments as well as international agencies and research centers are increasingly recognizing that the growing metropolitan populations make the spa-

tial distribution of population an area of concern at least as important as the rate of growth (Miro, 1974; United Nations, 1974b and 1974c). Reflecting this, the World Population Plan of Action made a number of recommendations regarding rural development, migration, and population redistribution (United Nations, 1975a). However, the quality of our knowledge about the dynamics of population redistribution, and the success or failure of recent efforts to control migration and urban growth, cast doubt on whether we are yet able to make specific recommendations on how to control either.

Despite the plethora of expert opinions on how to cope with the problems associated with migration and urban growth and decline, the answers differ, largely because so much of the discussion takes place in the absence of relevant factual data. William Seltzer (1971, p. 55) stated it well in talking about environmental issues: "Free from the restraints of relevant data, the issues are 'resolved' . . . on the basis of piecemeal statistics of trivia, anecdotes, and speculations of doom or utopia. . . . If the future is to be less blind than the past, there is an urgent need for a systematic and extensive data collection on a wide range of environmental problems." How true this is of migration and urbanization! This is not to suggest that we should wait for the full facts before beginning to cope with the problems; it does emphasize, however, the need to proceed with caution, both before attributing cause and effect relationships and before making value judgments as to the worth of suggested solutions for particular situations.

Because a wide range of social, economic, and political developments can have an impact—sometimes directly, but more often indirectly—on population movement, it becomes crucial to be better able to anticipate the consequences of specific policies for population movement. This would permit both more accurate projections of the resulting levels, direction, and selective character of move-

ments and more effective design of the programs to avoid undesirable migration consequences. As a first step, we need much fuller assessment of policies that have failed, as well as of those that have succeeded, and of their effect on migration and urbanization.

Unfortunately, both urban planning and programs designed to achieve economic and social development in rural areas are all too frequently done with limited attention to their impact on population, and especially population movement. For example, those who have stressed the contributions of the Green Revolution to increasing food supply have often failed to anticipate that the changes directed toward such goals, including expansion of holdings and the mechanization of the productive and distributive processes, could easily generate severe problems of unemployment in rural areas and, in turn, heavier rural exodus to cities, exacerbating the problems of urban places (Currie, 1975). Similarly, proposals are often made and implemented to develop rural areas through the construction of roads linking large cities to small towns and villages, without full anticipation of their potential consequences for population redistribution. Coupled with increasing literacy and widespread modern communications, such road construction does indeed make it easier for people living in the most isolated villages to benefit from development and modernization. All too often, however, planners overlook the fact that the roads which go from the city to the village also go from the village to the city, making it much easier for the villagers to leave and add to the problems of urban centers. In the more developed countries, too, we have been overly naive in failing to anticipate that the complex system of interstate highways and ring roads could contribute to a very significant alteration in migration and commuting patterns (Humphrey and Sell, 1975).

If our efforts to assess the role of population movement in population dynamics are to be comprehensive, encompassing not only past migration but future move-

ment, we must become more sensitive to the signals provided by our existing data and concurrently sharpen our perception of the implications of proposed programs by trying to anticipate what, all too often, have turned out to be unanticipated consequences for migration.

#### OVERVIEW

Although considerable progress has been made in the last few decades, the improvement in the quantity and quality of our information on population movement has not kept pace with the increasing significance of movement itself as a component of demographic change. Going beyond the statistics collected in standard census-type surveys, we urgently need a wide range of data which will permit us to relate our basic research on the volume, form, characteristics, and motivation for movement to the problems of urban and metropolitan growth and decline. Then we will be able to better understand migration as a part of the larger process of development and modernization. This is a challenge not only to those of us who have worked in migration but to the profession as a whole, for the different areas of demography must advance together. Concurrently, we must also benefit from the methods, perspectives, and insights provided by the other social sciences. Only then can we begin to understand how the various facets of redistribution relate to each other; how they relate to changing levels of fertility and mortality, and to population composition; and how they are affected by changes in social, economic, technological, and political conditions.

In particular, we must take advantage of every opportunity to incorporate attention to migration into all systematic efforts to collect data on the dynamics of population change, including the U.S. National Survey of Family Growth, KAP-type studies in other countries, and the World Fertility Survey. We must do so not only for the insights we shall obtain on migration itself, but also for the in-

sights that will be provided on interrelations between migration and fertility and their joint effects on population growth and development. Beyond this, the multiplicity of questions raised by migration in both the more and the less developed regions and its key role in the development process argues strongly for the development of specialized national migration surveys. As far as feasible, these should be coordinated through the United Nations, CICRED (Comité International de Coordination des Recherches Nationales en Démographie), or the IUSSP (International Union for the Scientific Study of Population) to ensure maximum comparability of basic concepts and kinds of data collected. They should be conducted in countries in varied regions of the world, representing different levels of development and urbanization and characterized by different policies with respect to migration and urban growth. The comparative results obtained from a relatively small number of such studies should prove particularly valuable in providing a firmer basis for later considering the desirability either of a separate World Migration Survey or of integrating such a survey with the World Fertility Survey, if the latter should continue. This would provide the basis both for comprehensive assessment of all aspects of population movement and for evaluation of existing migration and urban growth policies and formulation of new ones.

These long-range, large-scale data collection goals should not blind us, however, to the continuing need to ensure maximum exploitation of existing data sources in censuses, ongoing surveys, population registers, and other administrative record systems, nor stop us from moving ahead in refining our concepts and developing our models and theories. Indeed, the latter must be a prerequisite to extensive data collection efforts. It is in these spheres in particular that our own PAA Committee on Population Statistics (COPS) can play a key role.

As redistribution proceeds in both the



more and the less developed regions, it provides us with new challenges to demonstrate our research ingenuity and new opportunities to apply our knowledge to help achieve realistic and effective development policies. The study of redistribution has suffered far too long from neglect within the profession, within government agencies responsible for data collection, within foundations and other groups responsible for funding research, and among those responsible for planning the future and anticipating the consequences of their plans for the welfare of their people. It behooves us to rectify this situation in this last quarter of the twentieth century, when redistribution in all of its facets will undoubtedly constitute a major, and increasingly important, component of demographic change as individuals and societies in both the more and the less developed nations continue their quest for greater equality and a satisfying life.

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