CHAPTER II

A glance at the literature in vocational psychology reveals that there is no systematic experimental study in the field of occupational choice. The literature on vocational decision making and occupational choice is replete with descriptive studies having no experimental base. If vocational psychology is to mature as a field of scientific inquiry, it must be based upon experimental as well as descriptive research and the two must be well interrelated. These descriptive studies have been conducted concerning the important variables in decision making in general and occupational choice in particular (Becker and Strauss, 1956; Blau, Gustad, Jossor and Parnes, 1956; Edwards, 1954; Ginzbwr, Axelrad and Harms, 1951; Hilton, 1962; Simon, 1955; Strong, 1943; Super, 1953; Tiedman, 1961, etc.).

Developmental aspects of vocational choice were for the first time investigated by Ginzbwr and his associates in a cross-sectional study on the basis of which they formulated their much criticised theory of vocational choice (1951). The concept of vocational choice as a developmental process starts with the work of Carter (1940). He stated that formation of interest patterns in adolescence are solution to the problems of "growing up". According to Carter they help the individual to fit himself with his biological
patterns. In Carter's formulation, there is a trial and error process of developing interest from childhood fantasy to realistic choice of the youth and adults.

Ginsberg goes a little further. He maintains that vocational choice has some element of compromise. Ginsberg relates ego functioning and development to the choice process by identifying some of the tasks which face the adolescent in deciding upon a vocation, by specifying the pressures which make the accomplishment of these tasks difficult and describing the supports which are available to withstand the pressures. He comments that they draw upon such ego functions as reality testing, differentiation of the present from the future, inhibition of behaviour, and facility in adjusting needs and reality through compromise.

Super has been the most persistent critic of Ginsberg's work. In a number of cross-sectional studies he investigated the developmental stages of vocational choice put forward by Ginsberg. As a result of these studies he (Super) modified Ginsberg's developmental approach and on the basis of these findings started a programme of longitudinal research. Some of the findings of his research have been published in the form of Career Pattern Study Monograph I and II, (1957, 1960) in collaboration with Critics, Overstreet and others. It may also be mentioned that after Terman's "Genetic study of Genius" (1925), career pattern study programme of Super is the only such effort during a
period of more than a quarter of a century. Limitations of time, finance and personnel are serious handicaps in the way of any programme of Longitudinal research. Moreover, many an investigator, in view of the nonfeasibility of Longitudinal research has pointed out that cross-sectional research may prove as rewarding as the Longitudinal one provided it is carefully designed and cautiously yet vigorously carried out.

Super places more emphasis than Ginzberg upon vocational choice as a process and has suggested that the term 'development' be used rather than choice. He provides reason for it because it includes the concept of preference, choice and entry. He introduced the concept of vocational maturity to denote the individual's degree of development from the time of his early fantasy to his decisions about retirement from work in old age (Super, 1955). As an individual matures vocationally, he passes through a series of life stages, each of which helps him in the development of self-concept.

It seems that Ginzberg's theory is too vague to suggest techniques for counselors beyond a general notion that experiences should be collected for young people as they will help them in making decisions. But at the same time it has served a useful purpose for vocational psychology in its stimulation of interest in the development of theoretical foundations for the study of career development.

Super's theory is appreciable in one way that distinguishes it
from others because it has an application on vocational and personal concerns. As a vocational decision requires a person to explicitly state his conception of himself, people with accurate information about themselves and the world are most likely to make sound vocational decision. Super's theory is well ordered, highly systematic representation of the process of vocational maturation. Most of the research reported on Super's theory generally supports his model.

After Ginzberg and Super, Tiedeman and O'Hara, (1963) have tried to clarify and specify that the series of decisions which an individual makes in the course of his career. In addition to Tiedman's theory there have been other formulations and speculations about how vocational choices are made over a period of time. They have made some contributions just as Dysinger (1950) towards the occupational choice as a process. Dysinger stated that negative decisions play an extremely important part in the individual's progress towards the choice of an occupation. There are very many theories of decision making which have been formulated in economics and other related areas (Edward, 1954). These theories have come to be accepted very recently in vocational psychology. Their application to various kinds of problems in information processing, games and statistical decisions and particularly vocational choice is meaningful and useful, has been increasingly recognised (Edwards, 1961; Girshick, 1954; Simon, 1955).

A model of decision making proposed by Gellat (1962) has implications for conceptualising vocational choice within a decision
theory framework and has served as a point of reference for other analyses. He mentions two characteristics which he states all decisions possess.

1) There is an individual who is required to make a decision.

2) There are two or more courses of action from which he must select one on the basis of information he has about them.

A more complex conceptualization of the decision making process which is a general theory of choice behaviour has been outlined by Hilton (1962).

According to Hilton, "The decision making process is initiated by some input ... if, when from the environment dissonance is tested, the input has raised dissonance above the tolerable level." Festinger differed from Hilton about the concept of dissonance. Hilton "perceives efforts to reduce dissonance as preceding and facilitating decision making" (Hilton, 1962, p.296). Festinger has come out with the assertion that it always follows choice. James has pointed out that, it is post choice behaviour and has suggested that the concept of conflict be substituted for dissonance.

In a very simple tone and form, the central idea of Holland's theory is the old notion that "birds of a feather flock together". His theory of vocational selection is a bridge between the popular and new streams of thought in vocational psychology. The popular thought
that Holland employs in his theory is an elaboration of the hypothesis that career choices represent an extension of personality. The novel feature that he talks of is the notion that people project their views of themselves and that of the world of work. Holland's theory of vocational choice is indeed impressive but it has certain short-comings and drawbacks.

1. His findings which have come from high aptitude subjects cannot be generalised to other populations.

2. They did not fit the stereotyped orientations.

Holland (1962) cautioned for these shortcomings in this way, "The reader is reminded that many of these attributes belong to several types or differ only slightly from type to type".

One thing which is more needed in vocational psychology is the use of experimental designs which avoid the effects of biases in sampling resulting from the study only of people coming to counseling centers for help and which would also facilitate replication and allow the introduction of treatment procedures in sequence much as Crites (1964, p.305) has suggested; finally, lead to a more explicit description of input variables, experimental conditions, and expected and observed outcomes. John 'O, Crites has advocated the case of experimental research in his new book 'Vocational Psychology' (1969). Crites has quoted Goodstein (1965) who has suggested an experimental
**FIGURE II: CONCEPTUAL DEFINITIONS OF INDECISION AND INDECISIVENESS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indecision</th>
<th>Anxiety</th>
<th>Non-use of learning opportunities</th>
<th>Inadequate or nonadaptive behaviour</th>
<th>Failure</th>
<th>Anxiety (Consequent)</th>
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<tr>
<td>(Insufficient opportunity to acquire or learn adaptive or adequate responses).</td>
<td>(No vocational choice: unrealistic vocational choice).</td>
<td>(Unable to solve choice problems)</td>
<td>(Conflict between inability to solve choice problem and social pressure to do so).</td>
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<tr>
<th>Indecisiveness</th>
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<tr>
<td>(Sufficient opportunity to acquire or learn adaptive or adequate responses).</td>
<td>(Making a choice is anxiety arousing, because it may mean defying parents becoming independent, etc., all of which &quot;Cue&quot; anxiety).</td>
<td>(May have appropriate information for making a choice but anxiety prevents him from utilizing it, or anxiety may interfere with acquisition of information even though opportunity to learn it is available).</td>
<td>(No vocational choice or unrealistic choice).</td>
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paradigm of research in the field of vocational choice. It was only a suggestive line. So the present study has been executed on those lines with precise care and caution. Despite the unquestioned importance of indecision as a concept and behavioural phenomenon, it has not been systematically explored by those who have written about it. There are a few theoretical statements and hypotheses which are thought provoking. These can serve as basis for further analysis of the nature of indecision and for its empirical investigation. Empirical support for these propositions about vocational indecision is non-existent. There are only two studies available those are by Gessel et al. (1956) and Mackaye (1927).

Indecision in vocational choice refers to the inability of the individual to make some commitment to enter certain occupation. The problem is not that the individual is unable to make a choice but rather that he makes too many choices and cannot decide on one as his goal. His difficulty is that he cannot choose from among his choices. The opposite of it the undecided individual is that he cannot make any choice from among the alternatives which have been placed before him. He is provided incentive to make a choice and freedom to choose but even then he cannot complete the choice act. There is the problem of an ambivalent individual. He is attracted to his occupation but at the same time he is repelled by it. All these involve indecision but for different reasons. No empirical study of indecision has been made so far. Several theorists have noted the tendency for
indecision in vocational choice to decrease as the age increases. More aged individuals seem to have made a vocational choice as compared with younger individuals. Carter (1944) stated inability to make a choice is not a matter of chance. Vocational choice is integrated with other aspects of development, rather than being an independent phenomenon.

Tyler (1961) has observed that the difficulty which some individual experience when they are confronted with the necessity of making a vocational choice or making subordinate decisions which will lead to a goal often stems from their vocational immaturity. She further comments that, "Choices come in sequences, and a person may find it impossible to make a later one if he has not settled the earlier ones". As Havighurst (1953) has pointed out, success with earlier developmental tasks is related to success with later ones. Dysinger (1950) has emphasized that "There are periods of indecision and even indifference, which run through the whole developmental process. Long periods of time may intervene between steps toward vocational maturity".

The results of Gesell, et al., (1956) and Mackaye's (1927) studies throw some light upon the decision making process. According to these studies there is some trend toward greater decisiveness as the individual grows older, but it is not a continuous one, as has been generally assumed. More data is required before we can rely on the results of these investigations. Further research may answer these
questions. What is the actual incidence of individuals who are undecided at different age levels. What factors are related to the trends which occur in indecision, e.g., the impact of reality. And what are the characteristics of individuals who deviate from these trends.

It is still not known why some individuals have reached a decision about their occupation and others have not at a given age level. As Carter (1944) makes clear, "The tendency to have a vocational preference is associated with age, but of course not merely as a product of maturation and not entirely as a result of efforts in deliberate teaching." In other words, how can we account for the fact that there are individual differences in indecision which are not a function of age? Tyler (1961) proposed that there are at least four factors which may produce a state of vocational indecision.

1. Influences emanating from family and friends:— Tyler cites as an example of a boy whose mother wants him to be a minister but who has become weakened in his faith. He does not want to disappoint his mother, but he also does not want to enter the ministry. As a result he remains undecided.

2. Aspects of the occupational role one plays:— An occupation may have both desirable and undesirable features, such as army Chaplain which combines authoritarian and altruistic role expectations (Burchard, 1954). An individual considering such an occupation may be in a quandary because he is both attracted to it and repelled by it.
3. Equipotentiality: An individual may be fitted for several different occupations and find it difficult to choose from among them. Tyler (1958) has identified the problems involved in this case as one of the individual's inability or unwillingness to make negative decisions.

4. Limitations imposed by circumstances: Sometimes indecision will arise because reality prevents the implementation of a plan and no other alternative course of action can be formulated.

Unless we assume that Tyler includes lack of information about the world of work under the fourth factor, we shall have to add fifth aspect in the form that lack of information about the world of work in general or specifically about the chosen occupation hinders the individual in making a decision. The problem is, further complicated by the fact that observed indecision might be a general personality characteristic of the individual which hinders him generally in arriving at decision making him vacillate in all spheres of life - in other words it may be due to the "indecisiveness" characteristic of the individual and associated with the degree of anxiety he experiences in all situations which require him to take a decision in any area of his activity.

It is, therefore, imperative to differentiate indecision and indecisiveness, clearly and unambiguously. Vocational indecision has been defined as the individual's inability to express his choice of
an occupation when he is asked to do so. This type of state of inaction, or no response, can be further analysed, however, in terms of how long it takes a person to make a choice and what does the making of a choice mean to him. Dysinger (1950) makes the following distinctions between what he sees as two types of indecision:

"In the first, the youth is postponing the issue or is considering the attraction of several fields. This is a wholesome experience, particularly when it stimulates the youth to explore the vocational world more thoroughly. The second type of indecision represents the avoidance of the pain of decision."

Tyler (1951) has elaborated upon this latter kind of indecision, saying that it, "represents a general indecisiveness growing out of personal problems rather than doubts related to specific issue of choosing an occupation." She is pointing here out those individuals who seem to have difficulty in making all sorts of life decisions, whether they are of great or little significance. Foner (1953) says, "The individual who cannot make a vocational decision or has no preferences is likely to be an emotionally maladjusted person." One approach which might be taken to define indecisive individual is that he is the one who cannot make a vocational choice even after all the conditions for doing so, such as choice supply, incentive to make a choice, and the freedom to choose, are provided. To make a clearcut difference between indecision and indecisiveness an experimental empirical study is needed.
Goodstein's paradigm suggested by Crites was the best and appropriate answer to this problem. Therefore, the investigator has conducted an experimental study on this suggested paradigm.

There is only one descriptive study and one theoretical statement which attempt to relate anxiety or emotionality variable to occupational choices. In the descriptive study, Kates (1950) investigated the vocational interests, Rorschach responses, and job satisfaction of a group of 100 men employed in routine clerical work by the Federal Government. He found that routine clerks who showed interests similar to those of successful office workers were more likely than others to reveal what Rorschach examiners would call severe personality disturbances, including impulsive emotional reactions to stimuli, an inadequate degree of emotional adjustment to reality and a general emotional immaturity.

Levin (1949) in a speculative paper, has suggested that in a relatively mobile class society in which vocations have class-conferring potency there will be many individuals for whom ego involvement with respect to occupational achievement is high. For such individuals, the problem connected with maintaining class status or of climbing high may lead to "Status Anxiety". Furthermore Levin believes that the recognition of status anxiety as possible determinant of occupational choice may clarify in part some of the difficulties encountered by clients who seek vocational counseling.

There are numerous experimental investigations, however, of the
effects of anxiety on performance in problem solving and learning tasks. The results of this sort of studies have usually been interpreted as supporting the role of anxiety for other studies. While it is possible that anxiety is related to general uncertainty, as some personality theorists suggest, it seems even more likely that individuals who experience specific difficulty in making important decisions may demonstrate more manifest anxiety than an unselected group of persons. Tyler (1961) writes of the indecisive individual who characteristically needs the support of others in making definite decisions about the future. Thus, it is conceivable, for example, that individuals who are at an age where it is appropriate to make an occupational choice but cannot do so, may experience greater anxiety than individuals able to make such a choice.

A large amount of research has been done in the field of conflict. The study of conflict has proved to be a source of interest to psychologists working both with normal and abnormal subjects. The term conflict has been used as almost any situation prior to goal achievement. Any learning situation could be regarded as a frustrating situation until the required response has been mastered to the point at which further errors do not occur.

Investigations into the behaviour of organism in conflict are as old as experimental psychology. Since an individual may be regarded as being in a state of conflict wherever alternative modes of reaction are simultaneously open to him, practically any
experimental situation other than the most simple may be regarded as involving conflict. The present study investigates the effect of vocational choice situations upon decision making. Conflict in this study is therefore, defined as the situation of choice in which two alternatives are reacted to as approximately equal in preference.

It may be deemed that Luria's work on conflict is the pioneer work. Its importance cannot be overestimated. He discovered a novel technique for measuring the motor disturbances accompanying conflict. He extended Jung's original method of word-association as an indicator of conflict. To crown his work with importance is the second factor that he worked entirely on human subjects. He devised many novel and important experimental situations.

Luria making his theory clear says, "The disorganisation of behaviour arises only in the case where some fairly strong system of activity is subjected to inhibition". He distinguishes three major kinds of conflict:

1. That which arises when the excitation is prevented at the last moment from issuing into action (as in conflicts of the setting);

2. That which arises when the subject is unprepared for reacting (as in conflict of defection), and

3. That which arises when the suppressed activity is diverted into central processes.

Luria distinguished between conflicts of the setting, and
conflicts of defection. In the former case, the main experiment involved the sudden introduction of a foreign word into a word-association series (with instructions to give a foreign word as a response). In the latter case, the subject was required to produce a 'past' association to a 'whole' stimulus. After a number of such stimuli, an impossible word was introduced, thus:

1. House (e.g., room)
2. Forest (e.g., tree)
3. Moon

In all the situations described, conflict was induced in the subject. Luria considered that the disturbance of the motor system was not invariably present in affective disturbance. He emphasised the organismic viewpoint that the organisation of behaviour must be viewed as a function of interacting resulting system. The disturbance of any single regulating system changing the balance of forces of the total organism.

Luria rejected that emotional disturbance could be measured by means of physiological changes. He argued that the central changes involved in conflict situations can be measured only by the assessment of behavioural changes occurring. The most important concept formulated by Luria is that of the 'functional barrier'. It may be (functional barrier) equated with the general growth of cortical regulatory processes. Under extreme stress, this barrier breaks down and the excitation
resulting from the stimulus passes directly into the motor system.

For the first time Lewin defined conflict in 'Psychological' terms as 'the opposition of approximately equally strong field forces' (1935, p.88) or more fully, as 'a situation in which oppositely directed, as simultaneously acting forces of/approximately equal strength work upon the individual'.

Lewin has defined three cases in which a conflict could be said to exist.

1. The person stands between two positive valences and is required to choose between them. This type of conflict is known as 'Approach-Approach' type of conflict.

2. The person is faced with an object which has both positive and negative valence and is required to choose between them. The person is both attracted and repelled by object at the same time. This type of conflict is known as 'Approach-Avoidance' type of conflict.

3. The person stands between negative valences, and is required to choose between them. For example a child might be required to carry out a task under threat of punishment. This type of conflict is known as 'Avoidance-Avoidance' type of conflict.

It will be in the fitness of things to call Miller's theory of conflict as co-theory of Lewin's theory. It has very much resemblance to that of Lewin's theory. There are two possible ways of accounting for
the existence of an approach gradient. One of these which appears to be favoured by Miller, treats it as simply a different kind of stimulus generalisation from that involved in the gradient of stimulus generalization of approach. Brown states "the heights of the approach and avoidance gradients vary directly with strength of drive and intensity of the anxious stimulus, respectively". (Brown 1948, p.450). It is that there is cogent evidence for the assumption that increased drive raises the entire gradient of approach or avoidance, whereas decreased drive lowers it. It is an empirical fact that approach and avoidance gradients intersect. Theoretical analysis of Brown (1942b) is important in this connection. He argues that at and near the point of intersection the strength of approach and avoidance tendencies will be approximately equal. Consequently, if two stimuli intermediate between the positive (approach) and negative (avoidance) stimuli are presented, a state of conflict will ensure in the animal. In this way Brown is able to derive the various kinds of conflicts already postulated by Lewin. Thus an Approach-Approach conflict will occur when the identical stimuli are both positive. A double Approach-Avoidance conflict will occur when the identical stimuli are midway between the positive and negative stimuli. In this situation, discrimination will break down. An Avoidance-Avoidance conflict will occur when the identical stimuli are both negative.

The reported research on conflict studies depict that the gradient of Avoidance is steeper than that of Approach. According to
Miller and Murray (1952) the steeper gradient of avoidance is produced by a difference in the source of the drive motivating the behaviour. In all the experiments the approach has been motivated by the primary drive of hunger while avoidance was motivated by the learned drive of fear. With the drive remaining more constant, the gradient of approach should be less steep than that of avoidance (1952, p.227).

The results of Miller's studies do not, of course, in any way invalidate Miller's distinction between approach and avoidance generalisation gradients but they widen the scope for new exploration and investigations. The most important part of Miller's theory is the relationship between conflict and displacement. Miller (1948b) specially explained displacement in terms of the differential steepness of the gradients of generalization of approach and avoidance. Thus, the inhibition of an aggressive response will generalize to displaced responses and tend to prevent their occurrence. The aggressive response itself will also generalize. Now since the avoidance gradient is steeper than the approach gradient, the approach response of aggression will be more readily elicited by stimuli remote from the original aggression-provoking stimulus than by stimuli close to it.

Murray and Berkun (1955) have an outstanding work on their disposal in this field. They used the three dimensional model. It represented involving strength of behavioural tendency, similarity between original and displaced goal, and nearness to original and displaced goal. The experimental results obtained by Murray and Berkun
stated that displacement is a resolution of conflict. Secondly the behaviour of the animals is governed by intersecting approach and avoidance surfaces. Thirdly, the avoidance gradients are lowered because of the extinction of fear. Goal responding in displaced situations will have therapeutic effect on the original conflict.

The two studies which challenged the general theory of Murray and Berkun are required here to be mentioned. Smith (1960) found the gradient of approach in more detail than was the case in Brown’s (1948) study. Smith measured the strength of pull in an approach situation at five distances from the starting point. He used two kinds of rats (albino and hooded) and tested each animal at each distance, the order of testing being randomly varied and spaced at five minute intervals. He found that while he was able to replicate Brown’s approach gradient with albino rats, hooded rats showed an opposite type of gradient. His results also suggested that the gradients are non-linear. In the second study (Trapold, Miller and Coons, 1960), an Approach-Avoidance conflict was set up in the usual runway situation. According to Miller’s theory that if the animals are now placed in the Avoidance dominant zone of the runway (that is, between the goal and the point of maximum conflict where the gradients cross) they should retreat away from the goal up to or slightly beyond the point of maximum conflict, and then stop. Most of the animals in these circumstances moved towards, not away from, the goal.

Maher (1961) presented an acute critical analysis of Miller’s
theory of Approach-Avoidance conflict. He has suggested that the empirical evidence for some of Miller's basic postulates is altogether unconvincing and that quite a number of possibilities exist, particularly with respect to the relationship between gradients and Approach and Avoidance. As Maher points out, "If changes in the strength of drive can change the slope of a gradient (as well as its height) then appropriate manipulation of the drive variables could produce Approach and Avoidance gradients which are parallel - or even steeper for Approach than for Avoidance. Maher concludes that there would appear to be no universal slopes for gradients of Approach-Avoidance. The gradients which are empirically found, at least, appear to be dependent upon many factors, such as changes in motivating variables, availability of sensory ones (Smith, 1960).

The credit of introducing experimental conflict situations in humans goes to Hovland and Sears. Using the simple situation, they examined four types of conflict and their mode of resolution. They found that compromise and blocking responses were more common in the Avoidance-Avoidance than in Approach-Approach situation. The Approach-Avoidance situation on the other hand mainly results in double responses. Hovland and Sears were able to show further that familiarity with the situation did not alter the tendency to make particular types of responses.

Andreas (1958) in a reduct experiment criticised Hovland and Sears' study on the grounds that the blocking of the subjects might
simply be the result of confusion caused by the sudden introduction of the conflict situation and the ambiguity of verbal instructions to respond. Andreas found that conflict was greater in groups tested under high motivation, and that conflict was greater as level of training increased prior to the conflict trial.

Arkoff (1957), however, has given his study in a very interesting manner. He created conflicts by systematically pairing with one another seven personal characteristics: Adjustment, Attractiveness, Health, Intelligence, Popularity, Talent and Wealth. By using all possible pairings, 21 Approach-Approach and 21 Avoidance-Avoidance conflicts were created. An Approach-Approach conflict was created by requiring the subject to choose between the following alternatives:

Which would you rather be?

More attractive than you are now. More intelligent than you are now.

An Avoidance-Avoidance conflict was created by substituting the word 'Yes' for 'more'. Conflict was measured by the time taken to choose. Arkoff found that the mean resolution time was significantly greater for Avoidance-Avoidance conflicts than for Approach-Approach conflicts.

Approach-Approach conflicts were more easy to resolve than Avoidance-Avoidance type of conflicts. The result of this study are in agreement with Lewin's deduction that Approach-Approach type of
conflict took less time to resolve than Avoidance type of conflicts. Male and Female did not appear to differ in the conflict behaviour.

Hull's theory is somewhat similar to Miller's treatment of conflict. A word by way of review may also be uttered about his additional contribution. His is an extensive treatment. He pointed out the generalization gradients, of which Miller makes much use, are not really linear gradients but only appear to be so because of the restriction of free movement. Secondly, Hull has distinguished clearly between conflict situations involving homogeneous and those involving heterogeneous objects. It can be deemed that Hull's theory is altogether more comprehensive than that of Miller and if the model is extended for a detailed study it may prove more valuable.

In the present investigation of ours we have to study the effect of vocational choice situations upon decision making. Conflict in this study is therefore defined as the situation of choice in which two alternatives are reacted to as approximately equal in preference, negatively or positively, or one being negative and the other positive, so that all the three types are produced. The detailed description of creating conflict types follow in the next chapter.