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Sect. III

Développements récents
de la recherche sociologique

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Recent Developments
in Sociological Research

COMMUNICATIONS

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Recent Developments
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A Survey of the Development of Sociology in
the Netherland Especially after World War II.

by

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A Survey of the Development of Sociology in
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General Introduction.

One thing is certain: in the Netherlands social sciences such as social and economic geography, sociography and sociology, have been of only recent development as compared with other countries. University teaching in sociology has, indeed, only begun to develop since World War II. Prior to 1940 there was only one ordinary chair in sociology, namely that at the University of Amsterdam occupied by professor W.A. BONGER, who also gave lectures in criminology. After 1945 several full-time chairs in sociology were established one after another. In 1946 Dr. P.J. BOUMAN appointed ordinary professor of sociology at the State University at Groningen; his inaugural lecture was on "Social Tensions". In the same year Dr. W. BANNING accepted the post of extraordinary professor of ecclesiastical sociology at the State University at Leyden; his inaugural lecture was: "On the Encounter between Theology and Sociology". Dr. A.N.J. den HOLLANDER was appointed to the ordinary chair of sociology at the University of Amsterdam in 1946 and gave as his inaugural lecture: "As Others See Us; a reconnaissance of group opinion and group images". Dr. W.R. HEERE and Dr. A. OLDENDORFF assumed professorial chairs at the Roman Catholic Economic College at Tilburg and at the University of Nijmegen; their inaugural lectures were respectively: "The Urgent Necessity of the Study of National Groups and of the Nations in their Diversity", given in 1946, and "Social Contrasts", given in 1949. In 1947 Dr. J.P. KRUIJT was appointed to the State University in Utrecht (inaugural lecture: "Workers and the New Middle Class") and was followed in 1948 by Dr. S.J. GROENMAN (inaugural lecture: "Notes on the Development of Social Research in the Netherlands"). In 1948 Dr. F. van Heek joined the State University of Leyden (inaugural lecture: "Classes and Class Structure as Sociological Concepts"), while in 1949 Dr. F.L. POLAK joined the Economic College at Rotterdam (inaugural lecture: "The Varying Course of Knowledge and the Society of Tomorrow"). In 1949 the Municipal University of Amsterdam set up a second chair of sociology and appointed Dr. S.J. HOUTSERA (inaugural lecture: "The Concept of Normality in Sociology"); and in 1952 it was able to establish a third, when Dr. S.J. GROENMAN was appointed to serve as extraordinary professor in Amsterdam (inaugural lecture: "Social Adjustment"). The Neo-Calvinist Free University in Amsterdam welcomed its first professor of sociology, Dr. R. van DIJK, in 1949 (inaugural lecture: "Some Remarks on Sociology as a Science"), while, finally, Dr. J. Ch. W. VERSTEGE was appointed to the State University in Leyden in 1951 to give instruction in Social Research and Statistics (inaugural lecture: "Social Research and Statistics".)

Underlying causes of the late development of sociology in the Netherlands.

If we inquire into the causes of the late development of sociology in the Netherlands, and particularly of the late development of university teaching in this field, we find that there is little literature on the matter. We can mention, inter alia, the volume by Harry Elmer BARNES and Howard BECKER, Social Thought from Lore to Science (New York 1938): in this Becker devotes a chapter to the Netherlands. There is also the symposium entitled Geestelijk Nederland 1918-1940, in which den HOLLANDER has contributed a survey of developments in sociology and sociography. Further information can be found in the Sociological Year Books published by the Netherlands Sociological Society for 1947 and 1949 and in J. BUBBENS de HAAN's work Sociology, its development and problems of 1946.

In our opinion, an important factor explaining the belated development of sociology in the Netherlands is to be found in the flourishing and specialisation of the older social sciences, in particular the science of history. Sociology had to win a place for itself among these other sciences. Then, too, the rigid compartmentalisation between faculties was an unfavourable influence: this is point we should say more on later. The comparative social tranquillity which reigned in the Netherlands up to World War II undoubtedly also played some part. The Netherlands has no large metropolises of the size of New York, London or Paris, the disintegration of family and village life appears to have made less progress than in the United States, England or Germany, and our country has not had to deal with a racial problem or an immigration problem as have the United States.

The second World War and its consequences, including the Indonesian problem, have brought much change in this situation. The Netherlands has found itself caught up in the turmoil of modern world developments. We might mention as symptoms of this change that the chair of "Colonial Ethnology" at the Municipal University of Amsterdam was replaced in 1945 by a chair in "The History and Sociology of Indonesia" occupied by Dr. W.F. WERTHEIM, (inaugural lecture: "The Sociological Character of Indo Society", 1947), whilst since 1950 Dr. R.A.J. van LIER has been teaching "The Sociology and Culture of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles" at Leyden (inaugural lecture: "The Evolution and Character of West Indian Society"). The University of Amsterdam has its American Institute under the direction of Professor A.N.J. den HOLLANDER, while at the same university Professor S.J. HOFSTRA gives, inter alia, a course of lectures in African Sociology.

Social Geography and Sociography.

In the Netherlands the social sciences have been marked very much by the influence of geography. This is still the case to a certain extent though certainly less so than in former times. In the 19th century the main emphasis was on physical geography, though as time went by more attention began to be paid to man. Special mention must be made in this connection of Dr. S.R. STEINMETZ, who in 1907 was appointed by the University of Amsterdam to the chair of "Political Geography, Ethnology, and the Geography and Ethnology of the East Indian Archipelago". The social sciences are deeply indebted to him and his name will always be held in grateful remembrance in their annals. STEINMETZ rejected the anthropogeographical limitations imposed on the study of peoples and chose social phenomena as his point of departure. Thus it was that in 1913 he came to define human geography as "sociography": "the comparative study of the higher peoples

and their component elements in their diversity", a discipline which aimed at as objective as possible a description and explanation of social phenomena.

A second training centre for geographers was Utrecht, where, however, tribute was paid to a divergent conception of social geography. This contrast resulted in a long "methodological" struggle between the Utrecht and Amsterdam schools, a struggle which sometimes became quite acute and which has still not come to a final conclusion (36).^{*} In the practical field, however, the followers of both schools of thought showed an increasing tendency to agree and in recent years there has been a noticeable approachment in the theoretical field as well. Most sociologists in the Netherlands originate from the sociographical school, though not all. BOUMAN, HOFSTRA, BANNING and POLAK came to sociology from history, ethnology (under STEINMETZ's teaching), theology and economy respectively, while, conversely, sociological thought has also made its influence felt on these sciences.

The sociographers' preference for the territorial group, inherited perhaps from the old geography, led to a certain neglect of the urban sections of the population. Monographs on rural areas predominate (1), though this is not to say that the town and certain urban groups were entirely forgotten (2). An urban sociology such as that which has borne such rich fruits in the United States, however, did not develop in the Netherlands, even though conditions seemed highly favourable for work in this field of inquiry. Numerous other fields of social life in the Netherlands also remained unexplored territory, for instance, the sociology of the family and the family group, though progress is now being made in this particular field (3).

There came a change in this state of affairs after World War II. Thus, in 1948, a beginning was made, with financial aid from the Government, in the launching of three fairly large-scale research projects. The first of these concerned criminality and morality among the Netherlands people during World War II and immediately after, an inquiry which has not yet been completed and of which nothing has yet been published. The second took the form of an inquiry into the distribution of population in the Netherlands. A report on this work was published in 1947 by the National Planning office at the Hague. The third is an inquiry being undertaken by the Institute for Social Research on the People of the Netherlands into fertility problems. Publications resulting from this latter include: "The Origin, Aim and Programme of the Commission of Inquiry into Births"; T. van den BRINK: Initial Results of a Statistical Analysis of the Trend of the Birth Rate Figures in the Netherlands; and A.E. DIELS. The Views of Betrothed Women regarding the Size of their Future Family.

Netherlands sociographers have not had much influence outside their own country, largely because they have published the results of their work in the Dutch language. They have, however, received recognition from some German sociologists such as TÖNNIES, HEBERLE, v. WIESE. Mention may also be made of the fact that Professor E.W. ZIMMERMAN of the University of North Carolina wrote his book World Resources and Industries: a functional Appraisal (1st ed. 1933), a work used in many American Universities, in collaboration with A.N.J. den HOLLANDER, who was also one of the authors of W.T. COUCH, ed. "Culture in the South" a Symposium". Chapel Hill Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1933.

*Numbers refer to sections of the appended bibliographical survey.

As far as university teaching in sociography is concerned, this has been taught at the Municipal University of Amsterdam by H.N. ter VEEN from 1933-1948 and since 1950 by H.D. de VRIES REILINGH (inaugural lecture: "Adult Education as a Formative Force in Social Life"). Since 1951 C.D. SAAL has been teaching at the State University of Groningen as Reader in sociography (Public lecture: "Social Dynamics: Structural Changes in Rural Society"). At the Agricultural College in Wageningen Professor E.W. HOFSTEE has, since 1946, been giving instruction in social and economic geography and social statistics, but actually in Rural Sociology (inaugural lecture: "On the Causes of Diversity in Agricultural Areas in the Netherlands"), while since 1951 G.H.L. ZEEGERS has been giving introductory courses in the theory and method of social research at the Catholic University of Nijmegen. Finally, H.J. KEUNIG and A.C. de VOOYS, as professors of social geography at Groningen (1949) and Utrecht (1950) respectively, are continuing the teaching of L. van VUUREN, the founder of the "Utrecht Geographical School of Thought", though in both cases with a slightly different emphasis. Their respective inaugural lectures were entitled "Regionalism" and "The Evolution of Social Geography in the Netherlands".

To conclude this section we should like to make some general remarks on the characteristics of sociography in the Netherlands. We have already given a sketch of its origins and beginnings above. Sociography developed into a fact-finding, individualizing, descriptive science of "concrete social reality" and as such was sharply differentiated from the "generalizing, abstract" science of sociology. The danger of a never-ending collection of facts, of a sterile and superficial encyclopedism, becomes obvious and this danger has not always been entirely avoided, especially not in work which aimed at some kind of synthesis. What is needed is a sociography of aspects of human social life, a specialized science contributing to a deepened understanding of the fundamental diversity of the different aspects of society, side by side with a synthetic sociography, taking as the foundation of its descriptive task the insights gained by sociology into the human element in social phenomena, thus becoming a "descriptive sociology" (4) (5). Besides this work there will still be room, of course, for synthetical descriptions of "countries and peoples", of which André SIEGFRIED's studies form a classic example. Synthetic monographs of this kind on various countries have been published in the Netherlands since 1945 in the "Terra Library" series (6).

With all due respect for what has been achieved, it must still be said that the first period of Netherlands sociography is characterised by inadequate sociological training. Part of the blame for this lies with the teaching: this is understandable in view of what has already been said about the origin of sociography in the Netherlands. The training has continued to be aimed at the needs of teachers of geography. Education in the social sciences, which is so important in American Universities, has been seriously neglected in the Netherlands. If, however, sociography is integrated with sociology, and this is the aim of the teaching of sociology as instituted in the Universities since 1945, it will be possible to overcome the "vitia originis" of Netherlands Sociography and to come more into line with ideas in the United States, where the term "sociography" is seldom used, concrete enquiries being published under headings like "rural sociology", "urban sociology", "community studies", "industrial sociology", etc.

Sociology.

As we have already said, sociology was late to develop in the Netherlands. The great champion of an independent and empirical sociology was STEINMETZ (8) and it was thanks to his campaigning spirit, his courage and tenacity that sociology obtained a modest place for itself in our university teaching. The Academic Statutes of 1921 included it as a compulsory subsidiary subject for the degree of doctor in social geography and as an optional subject for the degree of doctor of law. It was later made possible for students to take a separate doctor's degree in sociology after passing a bachelor's examination in the faculties of law, history or social geography.

Every account of the history of sociology in our country should accord to STEINMETZ and BONGER the great place to which their work entitles them. The Nestor of sociology in the Netherlands, STEINMETZ was one of the greatest sociologists of his day and was recognized as such by celebrated German and American specialists. He was, moreover, a great ethnologist. After revising earlier conceptions of the science, he came finally to regard sociology as the science of the group life of human beings, "of the facts of human society as such, that is to say, of its forms, life, development and decline". He was the great advocate of a science based on facts, that is, a science strictly empirical in character, which applied the inductive method, and he offered vehement opposition to the tendency, especially prevalent in Germany, to put the emphasis on the deductive method, and also to the introduction of philosophical "speculations", into sociology. So did W.A. BONGER, who up to 1940 was the only ordinary professor of sociology in our country, besides being, in contrast to STEINMETZ, a militant if unorthodox Marxist, who, due in part to his wide, many-sided knowledge, his great love for truth and his sense of reality, was saved from partiality. BONGER's scientific work bore a strongly personal stamp by reason of which his works, especially those on criminology, found readers beyond our frontiers as well, particularly in England and the United States. STEINMETZ wrote on war (9), the various nationalities (10), the racial problem (11), social forecasts (12), fashion (12b), and many other subjects (12c) - and also published important ethnological studies which we shall not deal with here - while, as the only Dutch contributor to VIERKANDT's Handwörterbuch der Soziologie (1931), he wrote the articles on "War", "Fashion" and "Self-Help". BONGER's work, on the other hand, deal with social-pathological phenomena (13), the population question, the problems of morals, war and democracy (14) (15). Both STEINMETZ and BONGER were among the founders of the journal Mens en Maatschappij (Man and Society) (1925), BONGER remaining a member of the Editorial Board until his death in 1940. He was also the driving force behind the Netherlands Social Democratic Movement's monthly journal De Socialistische Gids (The Socialist Guide), which survived for 23 years (1916-1938).

The social sciences have been allowed to enjoy a very large measure of intellectual freedom in the Netherlands. There has been no question of any political, ecclesiastical or social pressure. The subjects treated consequently display a rich variety: democracy (15) (16), war (9), middle class problems (17), the social structure and the social effects of the economic crisis (18), racial problems (11) (19), secularism (4c) (20) (33b) (33c), the growth of population (21) (see also p. 3), the problem of youth (22), national character (23), industrial sociology (24), religious trends (25), adult education (26), social aspects of knowledge and science (29), symbolism (30a), etc.

A few words should be said of the influence of sociology in other countries on that in the Netherlands. It is understandable that, in a country such as the Netherlands with its great number of religious denominations and its age-old interest in theological problems, attention would be paid to the "Sociology of Religion" as developed by TROELTSCH, WEBER and SOMBART (30d). STEINMETZ admired von WIESE's Beziehungslehre, whereas it was the later generation of sociologist, turning away from positivism (30b), who admired the German "cultural sociology" of Alfred WEBER and others. From 1933 on German emigrants exerted considerable influence. In 1935 two works, Alfred WEBER's Kulturgeschichte als Kultursoziologie and Karl MANNHEIM's Mensch und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Umbaus, were published in Leyden. MANNHEIM, in particular, influenced the thinking of many, while H. SINZHEIMER, H. PLESSNER, K. BASCHWITZ and C.A. MENNICKE found places for themselves in our universities in the sociology of law, philosophical anthropology, social psychology and pedagogics, respectively.

Until 1945 comparatively little interest was shown in American sociology, in contrast to French sociology, the ethnological theories of LEVY-BRUHL (concerning pre-logic and "participation mystique"), in particular, forming the subject of fierce debate, several theologians showing their sympathy with them, while the Amsterdam ethnologists rejected them vehemently. Leyden ethnologists were greatly interested in the work of DURKHEIM and MAUSS, while the 19th century French sociologist Fr. Le PLAY was introduced to the Netherlands by W.R. HEERE (27). On the other hand, as will have become clear from the foregoing, Dutch sociographers and sociologists occupied themselves chiefly with areas and problems in the Netherlands, though a few of them devoted their attention to problems abroad, partly as the outcome of travel for the purpose of study (1d-f) (4b-d) (28).

As can be gathered from some of the remarks already made, in its initial stage sociology in the Netherlands had a certain positivist slant. STEINMETZ had a great respect for the methods of the natural sciences, his preference for "facts" and for a science free from philosophical "prejudices" being founded partly on a materialist metaphysic, while at the same time one can detect a strongly marked Darwinian approach to social phenomena in his work. He was, however, not a behaviourist; on the contrary, he resolutely advocated a "verstehende" method. Since in our country it had not been necessary to separate sociology from social philosophy in order to win for it a place as an independent science, ("normative" sociology before STEINMETZ had been of only slight significance), the conflict centering about its aim and nature underwent a development different from that witnessed abroad, in the sense that sociology tended to draw closer to philosophy instead of emancipating itself from that science. Developments in the Netherlands ran parallel again with those in other countries, in so far as this rapprochement with philosophy meant that clearer emphasis was placed on the psychological character of sociology, though this was not done to the same degree everywhere, while there was also a difference of opinion as regards the theoretical consequences (29). A text-book such as Professor P.J. BOUMAN's Sociologie, Begrippen en Problemen (Sociology, Concepts and Problems), which is in general use and justly highly valued, gives a clear picture of the other, entirely different, cultural approach which has come to influence sociology in the Netherlands. The sociologist POLAK is also occupied with the problems of cultural sociology (30).

The Teaching of Sociology.

The manner in which teaching was organised in the Netherlands, not only in sociology, but as a matter of fact in all the social sciences, left much to be desired, particularly prior to 1945. There was, and there still is, a sharp dividing line between the various faculties (Law, Theology, Letters and Philosophy, Medicine, Mathematics and Physics, Veterinary Science) which the institution of Combined Faculties (for geography among others subjects) has done little to remove. In actual fact, the "social" element in geography was included in the faculty of letters and the "physical" element in that of mathematics and natural science. Sociology existed solely as a compulsory subsidiary subject for students of social geography at Amsterdam and Utrecht.

Some change came about in this unsatisfactory state of affairs after 1945. As early as 1941 the Roman Catholic Economic College at Tilburg had begun to combine economics with sociology in its courses of study so that since 1946 it has been possible for students to take a separate M.A. degree in the social field, besides M.A. degrees combining economics with sociology and also with business economics. Since 1951 it has also been possible to take a doctor's degree combining economics with sociology at the Economic College at Rotterdam. The University of Amsterdam became the only university with a faculty of political and social sciences, section B of which (sociological and sociographical sciences) allows a complete course of training in sociology. At the State Universities of Utrecht, Leyden and Groningen sociology was included under the Combined Faculties of Law and Letters and Philosophy, and complete and independent courses of instruction in sociology were organised. In Utrecht this took place in 1947, at Leyden and Groningen in 1950, at first unofficially and later officially, after amendment of the Academic Statutes. A similar course of study has been recently organised at the Roman Catholic University at Nijmegen. Courses in non-Western sociology at the universities of Leyden and Utrecht have reached an advanced stage officially. We would also mention the Institute of Social Studies at the Hague, under the direction of Professor S.J. HOFSTRA, which devotes great attention to the teaching of regional sociology to students from the underdeveloped countries and which is also making preparations for research work in these countries.

Institutes concerned with Sociology and Social Research.

In the theoretical field mention should be made of the Netherlands Sociological Society founded in 1936 on BONGER's initiative, following the example of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Germany. The aim of the Netherlands Sociologist Society is to facilitate contact among the practitioners of the social sciences in the Netherlands. Meetings are held twice a year at which lectures are given followed by discussions. Up to 1946 these were reprinted in the Society's Handelingen (Proceedings), a publication entitled Mededelingen (Announcements) also appearing. Since that year, however, both publications have been combined to form a Year Book. The first of these appeared in 1947 and six have so far been published. These Year Books also include a sociological bibliography.

Of the institutes active in the field of social research the first to be mentioned is the ISONEVO, the Institute for Social Research on the People of the Netherlands, founded by Professor H.N.ter VEEN at Amsterdam

and at present under the direction of Professor S.J. GROENMAN, the aim of which Institute is "to carry out social research projects with general reference to the Netherlands". At the beginning it applied itself to regional research, whereas at present systematic and functional research have come into the foreground. We have already mentioned the research work being done in the field of fertility. At the moment the Institute has launched research work on social mobility under the leadership of Professor F. van HEEK. It also organises congresses, among which may be mentioned those on the consequences of the increase in population and on social planning in the reclaimed areas of the Zuyder Zee. Research in the field of cultural sociology is also done, while, among other publications, nine monographs on rural areas, have appeared under the auspices of this Institute (31).

As regards Government bodies, many a town possesses a "Statistical Office", a "Sociographical Office", a "Town Planning Office", or whatever other name it may go under, which carries out social research locally. Regional area planning at the provincial level falls under the direction of the Provincial Planning Offices (P.P.D.'s), while the National Planning Office at the Hague concerns itself with planning for the country as a whole. In addition we would mention the Economic Technological Institutes (E.T.I.'s), which are provincial institutes, set up jointly by the Government and private persons, and which carry out research at their request, especially in connection with the establishment of industries. As examples of institutes concerned with rural areas, we would mention the Agricultural Economic Institute (L.E.I.) at the Hague, which specialises in social research in the agricultural field, including, research regarding the "small farmers" (32), a problem of great importance to the Netherlands; mention should also be made of the Foundation for Social Work in Rural Areas, while the excellently equipped Central Office of Statistics (C.B.S.) at the Hague must not be forgotten in this context either, nor the Central Plan Bureau, which has also been active since 1946 in the field of socio-cultural planning and which is co-operating with the ISONEVO on a cultural-sociological survey.

The Netherlands Churches, too, placed as they are with their Message in a world which displays far-reaching changes in social structure, coupled with a mass exodus from the Church and Christianity, have developed an interest in sociology (35). As a result of this we can salute the foundation in 1945 by the largest Protestant Church in the country, the Nederlands Hervormde (Reformed) Kerk, of a Sociological Institute of its own, established at Utrecht and publishing since 1947 a journal known as the Sociological Bulletin, which first appeared once every four months but now appears quarterly, and which in the main publishes reports on religious sociographical research (34). Besides this, the first volume of an extensive pastoral inquiry is shortly to be published. Mention should also be made here of the establishment in the name of the Roman Catholic Church of the Catholic Social-Ecclesiastical Institute at the Hague in 1951, which publishes its Mededelingen ("Announcements") and many reports (see, for instance, 34h).

Thus on all sides we observe greatly increased interest in sociology, which, to a certain extent, seems to become a "fashionable" subject. Such a situation is, of course, not without its dangers. The raw material of the social sciences is ideal territory for the amateur. Theories of culture which are of doubtful sociological value but which meet the demands of the prevailing pessimism as regards our civilisation, have a great attraction for the larger public. On the other hand, in our country, where attitudes to life and political groups are so strongly differentiated, these aspects of "sociological" publications receive particular attention. Much remains to be desired in the

way of responsible "social optics", of a study of our own society which is objective, which sees things in perspective, clarifying the problems in what is familiar and taken for granted, and penetrating beneath the surface.

Here is a task first and foremost for university education in sociology. By the happy combination of theory and practice during the period of study, it must try to cultivate individuals, who, equipped with sufficient knowledge, insight and sense of responsibility, will later be able to perform the task which awaits them in society in a manner both morally and scientifically justified.

Sociological Institutes at the Universities.

We will conclude this account of the development of the social sciences in the Netherlands with a brief summary of the practical work which has been done at the various Universities and Colleges in the field of social science since 1945.

a) The Sociological Institute of the State University of Utrecht

(Director: Professor KRUIJT).

Up to the end of 1952 six sociologists had completed a full course of study and taken their doctor's degree at Utrecht. Students at present pursuing their studies number 100. In the period during which this course of study has been in existence, i.e. since 1947, the following social research projects have been carried out:-

1949-1951: an inquiry undertaken in collaboration with one or two other organisations into the phenomenon known as "mass youth" in various parts of the country, a report on this inquiry having been presented to the Minister in 1951 (22c).

1950-1951: an inquiry undertaken by a few of the Institute's workers into the question of the "Significance for young people of the Youth Movement", the final report on which has not yet been published.

1951: an inquiry into the question of "Youth and the Film" took place, while in the last few years students of sociology have also participated in inquiries held among visitors to the Industries Fair at Utrecht and in a few local inquiries regarding industrialisation in rural areas, social integration in one of the newly-reclaimed areas of the Zuyder Zee, etc.

The intention is in future to let undergraduates participate on several occasions in small-scale research projects organised either by the Sociological Institute or by other bodies, while graduates will be required to undertake an inquiry entirely on their own initiative. At the present moment the Institute is engaged on research among a-social persons in the town of Utrecht.

Finally, as regards Utrecht, it should be said that since 1951 the Sociological Institute has been publishing a Central Sociological Bibliography.

b) The Sociological Institute of the State University at Leyden

(Director: Professor F. van HEEK).

This institute was founded in 1950. Its principal aim, besides its normal teaching task, is the efficient co-ordination of the sociological

research undertaken by the students and graduates at Leyden. As a result, teams of students often take part in research work for their dissertations. The following research projects have been carried out by this method, the results of which will be published in due course:

- 1) An inquiry into the social adaptation of Netherlands subjects of Indonesian origin (principally Indo-Europeans) in the Netherlands.
- 2) The composition and social adaptation of groups of immigrants from Zeeland in the town of Rotterdam.
- 3) An inquiry into social stratification and vertical mobility in the town of Eindhoven.
- 4) An inquiry into the changing social attitudes of Dutch managers in the last half century.

In the course of 1953 the Institute received an order of the "Stichting Textielvak" to make an extensive inquiry into the causes of the seemingly low job satisfaction of the textile workers in the eastern provinces of the Netherlands. This first regional research work concerning this subject in our country will pay special attention to the influences of local factors, which up till now have so often been neglected in the more general surveys concerning human relations in industry. The research project will be financed by funds from the Marshall Aid account.

- c) The Sociological Institute of the State University at Groningen
(Director: Professor P. J. BOUMAN).

This institute serves primarily to train students practising social research under the guidance of C.D. SAAL, Reader in Sociography, and the academic assistant Dr. J. HAVEMAN.

Under the guidance of these teachers the following reports have been published:

1. Personnel training in some factories in Groningen (Dr. J.A. BUURMA) (24b).
2. Personnel supply in the Groningen ready-made clothes industry.
3. Motives for emigration and problems of selection. Analysis of a group of emigrants bound for Australia.
4. "Mass youth" in the town of Groningen (22c).
5. "Mass youth" in the rural areas of Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe (22c).

An inquiry was also carried out in collaboration with the Sociological Institute of the Dutch Reformed Church into the consequences of industrialisation in the south of the province of Drenthe.

- d) The University of Amsterdam.

At Amsterdam courses are provided in both sociography and sociology.

As has already been said, sociography is taught as an independent science in the Combined Faculties of Letters and Philosophy and Mathematics and Natural Science, under which arrangement this teaching, together with that in physical geography, disposes of a Sociographical, a Physical-Geographical and an Ethnological Seminary.

Since 1945 the Sociographical Working Group of this Sociographical Seminary (Director: Professor H.D. de VRIES REILINGH) has carried out the following research projects:

1. An inquiry into what is known as the "hunger excursions" from Amsterdam during the Hunger Winter of 1944/45. An important dissertation has resulted from this inquiry (35).
2. An inquiry into the possibilities of future employment for sociographers and sociologists.
3. Population research in the newly reclaimed areas of the Zuyder Zee, special problems set being the formation of a new community and the process of severing the bonds with the district of origin.
4. A district survey in Amsterdam, partly with a view to testing and improving sociographical methods.
5. An inquiry into the refugee problem in a German area (Falling-bostel in Lower Saxony), undertaken in collaboration with Professor K. BASCHWITZ.

There are approximately 300 students in sociology at Amsterdam, about 25 of them completing their studies each year.

The Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at the University of Amsterdam counts slightly more than 500 students, for all of whom sociology is obligatory up till the candidate examination (3 years). Their sociological training is taken care of by the Sociological Seminar of the University. (Director: Professor A.N.J. den HOLLANDER). A few of these students specialise in sociology for the doctoral examination.

e) The agricultural College at Wageningen.

Since 1946, when the Agricultural College accorded full recognition to the social sciences, scores of students have chosen to study in this department. The opportunity to take a degree in rural sociology has proved to satisfy an existing need. Almost all students choosing this field of study in the past are now filling posts in research, administration or the advisory service, for which some training in agriculture as well as an education in the social sciences are virtually indispensable. Under the present curriculum students choosing the social science field are overburdened with subjects dealing with agricultural technology so that insufficient time is left over for education in the social sciences. It is expected, however, that this obstacle will be largely removed in the new curriculum at present under preparation.

Work on the development of rural social research has been proceeding without interruption since 1946. Thus research has been carried out on the social and economic aspects of the family farm in agriculture, on the social factors influencing differences in the size of families in a rural area, on the social and psychological causes of resistance to the acceptance of advice offered by the agricultural advisory service and on the attitudes of farmers towards the agricultural co-operatives. At the moment an inquiry is proceeding into the development and significance of land use by agricultural labourers, while an extensive research project on the social and social-psychological influences on the economic activity of the agrarian population is due shortly to begin.

b) The Roman Catholic Economic College at Tilburg.

In Tilburg several doctors' theses have been published which fall within the general scope of sociology. Instances are:

J.R.M. v.d. BRINK, Maatschappijstructuur en werkgelegenheid (1942);

A.M. KUYLAARS, Het verband tussen werk en leven van industriële loonarbeiders (1951);

P.C.J. van LOON, Doelmatigheid van het maatschappelijk werk (1950);

A.W. LUYCKX, Het ambacht in de huidige maatschappij (1952);

J. PONSIOEN, Symboliek in de samenleving (1952).

Many students in Tilburg cooperate in work groups, sometimes preparing questionnaires, e.g. Onderzoek naar het Edel-Ambacht in Brabant (1947); de maatschappelijk niet-aangepasten in Tilburg (1950); de spreiding der diensten op gezondheidsgebied in Tilburg (1950). Each year students from Brabant come together in a camp for three weeks; each time studying a different region.

SURVEY OF MAJOR SOCIOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL
PUBLICATIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Rural sociography.

1. a. Veen, H.N.ter, De Haarlemmermeer als kolonisatiegebied, 1925.
 - b. Hofstee, E.W., Het Oldambt, een sociographie. Deel I: Vormende krachten, 1938.
 - c. Hofstee, E.W., Enige aspecten van de bevolking en samenleving in de Drents-Groninger Veenkoloniën. Academiedagen van de koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen, deel II, 1949.
 - d. Hollander, A.N.J. den, Nederzettingsvormen en-problemen in de grote Hongaarse laagvlakte, 1947.
 - e. Idem, "Ueber die Bevölkerung der Appalachen", Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, 1934.
 - f. Idem, "De Boll Weevil in het Zuiden der Verenigde Staten", Tijdschr. Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 1935.
 - g. Oosten, B., Een veenpolderbevolking, 1947
- See also ISONEVO monographs sect. 31 below.

Urban Sociography.

2. a. Blonk, A., Fabrieken en mensen, een sociographie van Enschede, 1929.
- b. Regeling, D., De stad der tegenstellingen, een sociographie van Wageningen, 1933.
- c. Heek, F.van, De Chinese immigranten in Nederland, 1936.
- d. Heertje, H., De diamantbewerkers van Amsterdam, 1936.
- e. Brand, W., Eindhoven, een sociographie van de lichtstad, 1937.

Sociography of family life.

3. a. Kruijt, J.P., Het gezinsleven in verschillende delen van ons land. Theologie en Practijk, 1938.
- b. Idem Het gezin sedert de Middeleeuwen. Sociologisch Bulletin, 1950.
- c. Hofstee, E.W., Het gezin in een veranderende wereld. (verslag studieweek Huishoudwetenschap Mei 1950 te Wageningen).
- d. Bouman, P.J., Gezins sociologie: problematiek en systematiek. Sociologisch Jaarboek V, 1952.

- e. Saal, C.D., Het gezinsleven in Nederland, met name ten plattelande. Sociologisch Jaarboek V, 1952.

Combined sociographical-sociological approaches.

4. a. Groenman, Sj., Methoden der sociographie, 1949.
b. Hollander, A.N.J.den, De landelijke arme blanken in het Zuiden van de Verenigde Staten, 1933.
c. Idem, "Techniek en Sociale Dynamiek in een Agrarisch Gebied", Tijdschr. Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 1950.
d. Idem, "De Emigratie van Puerto Rico naar New York", Tijdschr. Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 1952.
e. Kruijt, J.P., Onkerkelijkheid in Nederland, haar verbreiding en oorzaken. Proeve ener sociographische verklaring, 1933.
f. Vooy, A.C. de, De trek van de plattelandsbevolking in Nederland. Bijdrage tot de betekenis van de verticale sociale mobiliteit en de horizontale migratie van de plattelandsbevolking, 1933.
g. Kempe, G.Th.en Vermaat, J., Criminaliteit in Drente, 1939.
h. Bouman, P.J., Geschiedenis van de Zeeuwe landbouw en van de Zeeuwe Landbouw Maatschappij in de 19e en 20e eeuw, 1843-1943, 1946.
i. Idem De April-Mei-stakingen van 1943, 1950.
5. a. Prakke, H.J., Deining in Drente, historisch-sociographische speurtocht door de "olde lantschap", 1951.
b. Bouman, P.J. en Bouman, W.H., De grote werkstad, 1952. Een studie over de bevolking van Rotterdam.

Sociography of other countries

6. a. Noordman, W.E., De republiek Turkije, 1948.
b. Mensch, C., Zwitserland, Harmonie der contrasten. 1949.
c. Veen, H.N.ter, Japan, bakermat van het Aziatisch Imperialisme. 1949.
d. Vries Reilingh, H.D.de, Denemarken, Oase in Europa. 1949.
e. Fahrenfort, J.J., India, land van Hindoes en Mohammedanen, 1950.
f. Lodewijkx, A., Australië, waarheen? 1950.
g. Schönhage, H.A., Groot-Brittanië, land van stille revoluties, 1950.
h. Baars, H.D., Scandinavie, verwant cultuurgebied, 1951.
i. Kruyer, G.J., Suriname en zijn buurlanden. Lichtplekken in het oerwoud van Guyana, 1951.
j. Lier, A.H.H. van, Spanje, land van tegenstellingen. 1952.

Early textbooks.

7. a. Aengenent, J.D.J., Leerboek der Sociologie, 1911.
b. Slotemaker de
Bruïne, J.R., Sociologie en Christendom, een inleiding, 1912.

Steinmetz's works.

8. a. Steinmetz, S.R., Inleiding tot de sociologie, 1931.
(3e druk 1952, herzien door J.P. Kruijt).
b. Idem Het goed recht van ethnologie en sociologie.
Openbare les, Utrecht, 1895.
c. Idem Wat is sociologie? Openbare les te Leiden,
1900.
9. Idem Soziologie des Krieges. 1929.
10. a. Idem Nation und Nationalität, 1927.
b. Idem Nationaliteiten in Europa, een socio-
graphische en politieke studie, 1920.
11. a. Idem Die Begabung der Rassen und Völker, 1911.
b. Idem e.a. De Rassen der Menschheid, 1938.
12. a. Idem Het sociale voorspellen. Handelingen van de
Nederlandse Sociologische Vereniging, 1937.
b. Idem Die Mode. Kölner Vierteljahrschrift 1926.
c. Idem Gesammelte kleinere Schriften zur Ethnologie
und Soziologie, 3 delen, 1928-1935.

Bonger's works.

13. a. Bonger, W.A., Criminalité et conditions économiques, 1905.
b. Idem Ras en Misdaad, 1939.
Verspreide Geschriften met een korte
levensschets door H. Bonger en een studie
over de werken door Prof. Mr. J. Valkhoff,
deel I: Criminologie en criminele
Statistiek, 1950.
14. Idem Verspreide Geschriften, deel 2: Sociologie
en politiek, 1950.
15. Idem Problemen der Democratie, 1934.

Other works in political sociology.

16. Banning, W.e.a., De nieuwe maatschappij en de democratie, 1935.

Social classes.

17. a. Tobi, E.J.en Luyckx,A.W., Herkomst en toekomst van de middenstand, 1950.
b. Kruijt, J.P., Arbeiders en Nieuwe Middenstand, Amsterdam, 1947 (Oratie).
c. Janssens, J., Klasse en stand. Een sociologische studie over het klasse - en standverschijnsel, getoetst aan de opvattingen van enkele moderne sociologen en aan die van de encyclieken Rerum Novarum, Quadragesimo Anno en Divini Redemptoris, 1938.

Mobility.

18. a. Bierens de Haan, J., Gemeenschap en Maatschappij, 1939.
b. Idem Grondslagen der samenleving, 1946.
c. Heek, F., Stijging en daling op de maatschappelijke lader. Een onderzoek naar de verticale mobiliteit, 1945.
d. Idem Sociale gevolgen van de economische crisis en depressie te Enschede, 1929-1937. Openbare les, 1937.

Racial problems.

19. Wertheim, W.F., Het rassenprobleem, de ondergang van een mythe, 1949.
Idem Herrijzend Azië, opstellen over de Oosterse samenleving, 1950.

Secularism.

20. Psychologie van het ongelooft. Serie geschriften onder redactie van Prof. Dr. Ph. Kohnstamm.

Population problems.

21. a. Jong, A.M. de, Inleiding tot het bevolkingsvraagstuk, 1946.
b. Methorst, H.W.e.a., Het bevolkingsvraagstuk, 1948.
c. Instituut voor Social Onderzoek van het Nederlandse Volk: Prae-adviezen voor en erslag van het congres over de gevolgen van de bevolkingsvermeerdering, gehouden te Amsterdam, 1949.

Youth problems.

22. a. Doornik, N.G.M. van, Jeugd tussen God en Chaos. Onderzoek naar de godsdienstige problemen bij de studerende jeugd, 1948.

- b. Saal, C.D., Hoe leeft en denkt onze jeugd? 1950.
c. Maatschappelijke verwildering der Jeugd.
Rapport betreffende het onderzoek naar de geestesgesteldheid van de massajeugd.
(in opdracht van de Minister van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen samengesteld door zes samenwerkende Instituten) 1952.

National character.

23. a. Kruijt, J.P., De psychologie van het Nederlandse Volk: gisteren, heden, morgen: Tijdsproblemen, sociaal-psychologische beschouwingen over de hedendaagse maatschappij. Red. C.A. Menricke. 1939.
b. Idem Het Nederlandse volkskarakter en het socialisme, 1934.
c. Zee, T. van der, Het Friese Volkskarakter. Tijdsproblemen, (zie onder 23 a).
d. Meertens, P.J. en de Vries, A., e.a. De Nederlandse volkskarakters, 1938.

Industrial Sociology.

24. a. Oldendorff, A., Sociale en psychologische arbeidsproblemen in de zelfstandige onderneming, 1940.
b. Buurma, J.A. Het personeel van Theodorus Niemeyer N.V. en de N.V. Tabaksfabriek Franciscus Lieftinck. Een onderzoek naar het sociale leven van het personeel op een middelgrote fabriek, 1948.
c. Nuyens, F.J.C.J., Gemeenschapsleer voor het bedrijfsleven, 1950.
d. Hornstra, E., De mens in de organisatie van de arbeid, 1951.
e. Horinga, D., Mens en groep in het moderne bedrijf. Een inleiding tot de bedrijfssociologie, 1951.
f. Kuylaars, A.M., Werk en leven van de industriële loonarbeider als object van een sociale ondernemingspolitiek, 1951.
g. Haveman, J., De ongeschoolde arbeider, 1952.

Social Movements.

25. a. Banning, W., Hedendaagse sociale bewegingen, achtergronden en beginselen, 1950.
b. Idem Het communisme als politie-sociale wereldreligie, 1951.

Educational sociology.

26. Vries Reilingh, H.D.de, De volkshogeschool. Een sociografische studie van haar ontwikkelingsgang in verschillende landen en haar mogelijke betekenis voor de Nederlandse Volksgemeenschap, 1946.

The monographic Method.

27. Heere, W.R., Frédéric Le Play en zijne volgeleingen. De methode der monographiën, 1936.

Migration and culture contact.

28. a. Bouman, P.J., Samenleving in puin, sociologische waarnemingen in West-Duitsland, 1949.
b. Idem Volk in beweging, onbegrepen Amerika, 1951.
c. Heek, F.van, Westerse techniek en maatsdhappelijk leven in China, 1935.
d. Lier, R.A.J. van, Samenleving in een grensgebied. Een sociaal-historische studie van de maatschappij in Suriname, 1949.

Sociology of knowledge.

29. a. Hofstra, Sj., Sociale aspecten van kennis en wetenschap, 1937.
b. Polak, Fred. L., Kennen en Keuren in de sociale wetenschappen; een onderzoek naar de afbakening van objectieve en subjectieve oordelen in de economie, tevens proeve van critiek op de wetenschapsleer van Max Weber, 1948.
c. Kruijt, J.P., De waardevrijheid bij Max Weber. Mens en Maatschappij 1952.
d. Topitsch, E., Konventialismus und Wertproblem in den Sozialwissenschaften. Mens en Maatschappij, 1952.

Cultural sociology.

30. a. Ponsioen, J.A., Symboliek in de Samenleving. Een sociologie van de symbolen en van het symboliek denken, 1952.
b. Bouman, P.J., Van Renaissance tot Wereldoorlog. Een cultuursociologische studie, 1948.
c. Polak, F.L., Om het behoud van ons bestaan, 1951.
d. Beerling, R.F., Protestantisme en Kapitalisme. Max Weber in de critiek, 1946.

ISONEVO sociographical monographs.

31. a. Groenman, S.j., Staphorst, 1947.
b. Lieshout, A.J. van, Uden, 1948.
c. Berg, G.J. van en v.d. Berg-Brouwer, P.F., Sociografie van Nijkerk, 1949.
d. Groenman, S.j. en Schreuder, H., Sociografie van Ommen, 1949.
e. Haasteren, A.J. v. en Wessels. H.F. Sociografie van Berkel en Rodenrijs, 1949.
f. Schönhage, H.A. Etten-Leur, 1949.
g. Vries Reilingh, H.D. de Sociografie van Markelo, 1949.
h. Idem Weerselo, 1949.
i. Sleumer, W., Eemnes, randgemeente van het Gooi, 1951.

Sociographical works of the Agricultural
Economic Institute.

32. Het kleine-boeren-vraagstuk op de zandgronden. 1951.

Sociology of religion.

33. a. Banning, W., Theologie en Sociologie, een terreinverkenning en inleiding, 1936.
b. Smits, J., Kerk en Stad, een godsdienstsociologisch onderzoek met inbegrip van een religiografie van de industriestad Enschede.
c. Sociologie en Kerk. Een bundel studies van Dr. W.Banning e.a.
34. a. Kruijt, J.P., Rooms-Katholieken en Protestanten in Nederland, in het bijzonder in Friesland en Noord-Holland. Soc.Bulletin, 1947.
b. Idem, Verklaringen van de geographische verbreiding der kerkelijke gezindten in ons land. Soc.Bulletin. 1948.
c. Vooy, A.C. de, Godsdienstsociographische onderzoekingen (Opferdoes, W. Friesland) Soc. Bulletin, 1948.
d. Saal, C.D., Samenlevingsvormen en godsdienstig leven op het Nederlandse platteland, Soc.Bulletin, 1948.
e. Breek, B. en Louwerse, C., Schets van de religiografische structuur van een dorp op Zuid-Beveland (prov. Zeeland). Soc.Bulletin, 1949.
f. Heslinga, M.W., Een sociologische beschouwing van het niveauverlies van de Kerk. Soc. Bulletin. 1951.

- g. Suverein, J.P., Onderzoek naar de beroepsklassen in het
Nederlandse Volk en in de verschillende
kerkgenootschappen. Soc.Bulletin. 1951.
- h. Kath. Sociaal Kerkelijk Instituut, Rapport no. 84. Geestelijke
Noodgebieden, 1952.

Special study of Amsterdam famine.

35. Kruyer, G.J., Hongertochten. Amsterdam tijdens de
hongerwinter. Meppel 1951.

Geography and sociology.

36. Vermooten, W.H., De mens in de geografie. 1941.
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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

CONGRES DE LIEGE

LIEGE CONGRESS

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Sect. III

Sect. III

Développements récents
de la recherche sociologique

Recent Developments
in Sociological Research

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN AUSTRALIA

by

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and Sociology

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INTRODUCTION

This survey is intended to include the current and recent research carried out in Australian Universities which can broadly be described as sociological or as having relevant sociological implications.

The net has been cast so wide since, with one exception, no Australian University has at present a special Department of Sociology, explicitly concerned with investigations of this kind. Studies of a sociological nature thus have to be undertaken in other University Departments, such as Economics, Geography, Psychology or History. This is obviously not merely a question of academic organization, with no consequences other than the allocation of sociological research to different disciplines. Being so allocated, the research also comes to bear the imprint of the methods, interests and viewpoints peculiar to the respective disciplines. In other words, it will often be only 'broadly speaking' sociological, or will only have a certain bearing, more or less close, on sociological problems.

The broad definition of sociological research here adopted can to some extent be justified also on theoretical grounds, that is, on the grounds of the numerous and inevitable overlaps that must exist between sociology in the narrow sense and other, related disciplines. Even where sociology is firmly established as an independent academic discipline, history, philosophy, psychology and the other social sciences will yet maintain their interests in problems of which sociology also treats or which the professional sociologist might claim as his own. Nor will sociologists forgo their own diverse and specialized interests - in events also investigated by historians, in problems also studied by economists or psychologists, and in those widest issues which convention will assign to philosophy.

Yet the absence, in Australia, of academic Departments responsible for sociological teaching and research means also the absence of a common focus for all these studies, related though they may be by their common interest in social factors. More important, it means certain lacunae in the training of the research workers, especially in theory and methodology. In consequence, strictly theoretical studies are few, and the empirical investigations are not infrequently narrowly descriptive, failing to develop a sharp 'Problemstellung' or to press their analysis sufficiently far. If they are nevertheless brought together in the present survey, this was done because it seemed important under the conditions to indicate also the trend of research, however limited its scope. This trend has grown more and more marked in recent years. And it is the hope at least of the present writer that it will before long be given official recognition, through the establishment of sociological departments in the Australian Universities.

Starting from this broad definition of sociological research, it seemed expedient to group the relevant data under three headings:

(1) Sociological studies in the narrow sense, i.e. studies of institutions and forms of group structure, undertaken both explicitly and with the aim of contributing to the body of generalized propositions about society; (2) research indirectly or incidentally sociological, being primarily concerned with problems of interest to geographers, historians, economists, etc., while providing descriptive information relevant to the sociologist; (3) broad social 'surveys', undertaken for practical reasons (administrative, educational, welfare) but employing sociological techniques and producing data of sociological relevance.

It need hardly be emphasized that this threefold division has been adopted for its simplicity and convenience rather than for its theoretical precision. Thus the arrangement of topics under the three headings does not entirely avoid overlaps or ambiguities of classification.

1. SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES PROPER.

General, theoretical.

- (1) Social Communication. The study investigates the interdependence of (a) channels of communication (institutionalized or non-institutionalized), (b) content to be communicated (as evidenced by the existing interests), and (c) the efficacy of the communication system. The first phase of the empirical research is concerned with a small-scale rural community with uniform economy and hence relatively narrow interest range. Carried out in Department of Anthropology and Sociology, National University. Method - interviews, field observation, ad hoc diaries. Started in 1952, in progress.

Social Class.

- (2) Social Class, and Social Class in America. Two theoretical studies based on the relevant literature. Carried out in Department of Political Science, Melbourne University. In progress.
- (3) Social Class in a rural Centre of New South Wales. The study employs the theoretical framework developed by Lloyd Warner. Method - field observation. Carried out in Department of Anthropology, Sydney University. Started in 1952, to be completed 1953.
- (4) Occupational Mobility in rural and urban Districts in New South Wales. Method - use of official records from the Registrar General's Department. Ibid. Carried out during 1950-51.

Urbanization.

- (5) Urban Environment and Adolescent Attitudes. The study aims at defining the influence of urban culture upon the emotional and thought patterns of adolescents aged 13-18, e.g. upon recreational habits and tastes, prejudices, peer-group and family relationships, and attitudes towards authority. Method - questionnaires and projective tests. Carried out in Department of Education, Sydney University. Nearing completion.

- (6) The Role of old age in urban Society. The study examines the socio-economic conditions of people aged over 55 and, in particular, the possibilities of social participation open to them in the life of a large city. Method - questionnaires and open interviews. Carried out in Department of Social Studies, Melbourne University. Nearing completion.

Industrial Relations.

- (7) Social Relations in Industry, exemplified by the sample study of a factory in Sydney. Method - open interviews and observation. Carried out in Department of Anthropology, Sydney University, in 1950-51. To be published.
- (8) Human Relations in Industry. The study investigates employee-management relationships with special reference to the influence of class-determined value attitudes. Method - open interviews, bearing specifically on life-histories and family background; with unskilled workers in 10 factories of varying size. Carried out in Department of Psychology, Melbourne University. Nearing completion.
- (9) Patterns of Industrial Relations in Australia. The study, undertaken on a comparative basis, covers different industries and aims at developing a general theory of the determinants of human relations in industry. Method - interviews and documentary evidence. Carried out in Department of Psychology, University of Western Australia, during 1949-53. To be published.

Social Tensions and Integration.

- (10) Absorption and Assimilation of Immigrants. The study is concerned with non-British immigrants who arrived in 1949-50, ordinary immigrants and Displaced Persons forming two comparative categories. Method - semi-structured interviews and field observation. Carried out in Department of Anthropology and Sociology, National University. Estimated period 1952-57, the last phase being a 'follow-up' study.
- (11) Social Prejudice. The study is concerned with two aspects of prejudice - (a) Antisemitism; (b) Attitude towards Immigrants. Method - semi-structured interviews. Carried out in Department of Psychology, Melbourne University. Completed; shortly to be published as part of the UNESCO 'Social Tensions' study.
- (12) Social Structure and Personality in Australia. This study deals comparatively with urban and rural situations. Method - semi-structured interviews. Carried out in Department of Psychology, Melbourne University. Completed; shortly to be published.

2. INDIRECTLY SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

In Demography and Geography.

- (13) Immigration to Australia. A number of studies concerned with the history of ethnic minorities in Australia, their assimilation and place in Australian society. A special study refers to German immigrants (in 1850-1900) and Italian immigrants (1920-

- 1940). Method - official records and documentary evidence. Carried out in Department of Demography, National University. The German-Italian study is completed, the others in progress.
- (14) The Population Development in selected Areas of Western Australia.
The study places special emphasis on the relation of settlement to national resources. Carried out in Department of Economics, University of Western Australia. In progress.
- (15) The Italian Fishermen of Fremantle. Ibid. Completed. Published in University of Western Australia Publications, 1952.
- (16) Population Changes in Malaya in 1931-47. The study places special emphasis on economic factors. Ibid., in progress.
- (17) Geographical Distribution of Immigrants in Cumberland County, N.S.W.
The study aims at mapping the distribution and indicating the trends of mobility with special reference to occupation. Carried out jointly by Departments of Geography and Anthropology, Sydney University. Nearing completion.

In Education.

- (18) Wastage of Intelligence. The study is concerned with the premature termination of education in the case of State School pupils of high intelligence. The main emphasis is on personality and social factors. Method - questionnaires and personality tests. Carried out in Department of Education, Sydney University. In progress.
- (19) School Failure and Social Conditions. The study is concerned with pupils of high intelligence and the relation between their failure in school and adverse social conditions. Method - interviews and questionnaires. A second study examines a similar situation from the point of view of personality factors. Carried out in Department of Education, University of Queensland. In progress.
- (20) The Oral Vocabulary of the Australian Labourer. The study aims, by this indirect approach, to define the cultural background and participation of this social stratum. Ibid. Nearing completion.

In History.

- (21) Labour Mobility in N.S.W. in the late 19th Century. Based on official records. Carried out in Department of Economics, Sydney University. Nearing completion.
- (22) Strikes under Arbitration. Based on official records and documentary evidence. Carried out in Department of Philosophy, University of Western Australia. In progress.
- (23) The Relation of private Charity and State Aid. Exemplified by a study of the history of the Royal Melbourne Hospital, with special reference to the factors conducive to the institutionalization of charity. Based on official records and documentary evidence. Carried out in Department of History, Melbourne University. In progress.

In Law.

- (24) Penological Techniques in Western Australia. Based on official records and documentary evidence. Carried out in the Faculty of Law, University of Western Australia. To be completed in 1953.

In Philosophy.

- (25) The Ethics of Punishment. In Department of Philosophy, University of Western Australia. In progress.
- (26) The Logic of Social Enquiry. An examination of the logical issues raised by sociological methods and of certain methodological controversies. Carried out in Department of Philosophy, Canberra University College. In progress.

In Psychology.

- (27) Social Adjustment and Reformatory Methods. The study is concerned with delinquent boys (aged 14-16) of working class background after discharge from Reformatory School. The main aim is to assess the respective influences of school organization, family, and peer relations. Method - questionnaires and open interviews. Carried out in Department of Social Studies, Melbourne University. In progress.
- (28) A Study of Juvenile Delinquents. Deals with the inmates of a Boy's Home in Melbourne and with the social relations and value attitudes emerging in that environment. Method - open interviews, observations, projective tests, and sociometric analysis. Carried out jointly by Departments of Criminology and Psychology, Melbourne University. In progress.
- (29) The Value System of Children as determined by School Environment. The study deals with the pupils in a new boy's school for the 'rising middle class'. Forms part of a broader survey of the urban community (Haileybury) where the school is situated. Method - interviews (with pupils, teachers and parents), observation, and projective tests. Carried out in Department of Psychology, Melbourne University. Nearing completion.
- (30) The Prestige Hierarchy of Occupations. The study is based on the preferences in the choice of prospective occupations evinced by juveniles of working class background. Method - interviews. Carried out in Department of Social Studies, Melbourne University. In progress.
- (31) Role Expectations for Children. The study examines the roles assigned to children of different ages in the expectations of parents, children, doctors, and nurses. Method - interviews. Carried out in Department of Psychology, University of Western Australia. Estimated period of study 1953-55.
- (32) The Effect of 'Frames of Reference' on Group Interaction. The study examines the relation between the modes of interaction of individuals with diverse social background (e.g. immigrants, Asiatic students, army conscripts), and the different 'frames of reference' they bring to the situation. Method - questionnaires and projective tests. Ibid. In progress.

In Social Welfare.

- (33) Care for crippled Children. The study has the practical purpose of investigating the need for reorganization of a 'Crippled Children's Society'. Indirectly, it examines the changes in the functions of the institution over a period in their relation to changing social needs and conceptions. Method - interviews and official records. Carried out in Department of Social Studies, Melbourne University. Completed.

3. GENERAL SURVEYS.

- (34) Social Survey of North Sydney. The practical purpose of the study is to provide information on the needs for social services and amenities. Indirectly, it provides information on the pattern of community life and various sources of maladjustment (e.g. juvenile delinquency). Method - questionnaires and interviews. Carried out in Department of Social Studies, Sydney University. Completed.
- (35) Social Survey of Parahran (Melbourne). The study was undertaken on behalf of the City Council, in connection with its town planning programme. Indirectly, it provides information on community needs and desires as regards housing and civic amenities, and on the general pattern of community life. Method - questionnaires and interviews. Carried out jointly by the Departments of Architecture and Psychology, University of Melbourne. Completed.
- (36) Survey of Dairy Farming in Western Australia. Though this study is primarily agricultural-economic, it is concerned also with problems of rural sociology, bearing on such topics as the occupational history of the dairy farmers, their socio-economic conditions, and the cultural environment in which they live. Carried out in the Faculty of Agriculture, University of Western Australia. In progress.
- (37) Similar Surveys are being carried out in the School of Agriculture, University of Melbourne. Special attention is paid to the relationship of urban and rural settlements.
- (38) Survey of Leisure Interests. A group of studies examining the leisure habits and tastes of adults and adolescents. One study surveys a rural community; two others deal with urban situations, being focused upon the attitude of adolescents towards radio and comic strips. Method - questionnaires. Carried out in Department of Education, Melbourne University. Completed.
- (39) Survey of Mental Health in Infants. The investigation is planned as a continued study extending over the first 10 years of life, of an identical sample. Its main emphasis is on the efficacy of social factors. Carried out jointly by the Departments of Social Studies and the Institute of Child Health, Sydney University. At present in pilot stage.

APPENDIX

Universities and Departments mentioned in the Survey.

Australian National University, Canberra.

Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology. Direction - S.F. Nadel (1, 10).
Dept. of Demography. Direction - W.D. Borrie (13).

Sydney University.

Dept. of Anthropology. Direction - P.A. Elkin (3, 4, 7, 17).
Institute of Child Health. Direction - L. Dods (39).
Dept. of Geography. Direction - J.M. Holmes (17).
Dept. of Economics. Direction - N.G. Butlin (21).
Dept. of Education. Direction - C.R. McRae (5, 18).
Dept. of Social Studies. Direction - Norma Parker (34, 39).

Melbourne University.

School of Education. Direction - G.S. Browne (38).
Dept. of Criminology. Direction - N.R. Morris (28).
Dept. of Political Science. Direction - W. McMahon-Ball (2).
Dept. of History. Direction - R.M. Crawford (23).
Dept. of Psychology. Direction - O.A. Oeser (8, 11, 12, 28, 29, 35).
Dept. of Social Studies. Direction Ruth Hoben (6, 27, 30, 33).
School of Agriculture. Direction - S.M. Wadham (37).

University of Queensland, Brisbane.

Dept. of Education. Direction - F.J. Schonell (19, 20).

University of Western Australia, Perth.

Faculty of Agriculture. Direction - E.J. Underwood (36).
Dept. of Economics. Direction - F.R.E. Mauldon (14, 15, 16).
Faculty of Law. Direction - F.R. Beasley (24).
Dept. of Philosophy. Direction - A.C. Fox (22, 25).
Dept. of Psychology. Direction - F.W. Walker (9, 31, 32).

Canberra University College.

Dept. of Philosophy. Direction - Q.B. Gibson (26).

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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Sect. III.

Développements récents de
la recherche sociologique.

Sect. III.

Recent Developments in
Sociological Research.

REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN INDONESIA

by

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Institute for Social Research,
University of Indonesia,
Djakarta.

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In the colonial period, interest in sociology was limited. In the Neth. Indies, before the war, some research had been done on the coolie budget, on the causes of the decline of wealth of the native population, etc.; but the object of these researches was very limited, and attention was almost exclusively paid to economic and not to social factors.

Accordingly, teaching facilities in the social sciences were extremely limited. The Faculty of Law in Djakarta from 1924 to 1929 had an eminent sociologist in B.J.O. Schrieke, who later was succeeded by Hollenan. Schrieke's report on social tensions at the West-coast of Sumatra was a classic in its time. In 1928, a number of articles were compiled under his direction in The effect of Western influence on native civilizations in the Malay Archipelago, the first work on the acculturation-problem in Indonesia.

It is to be pitied that in later years social anthropology took the place of sociology in the curriculum. Social anthropology has tended to accentuate the "primitiveness" of Indonesian society and has paid almost no attention to "modern" or "Western" social structure. Of course, the best among the social anthropologists have been aware of this and their work in later years has become of greater value to sociologists. Therefore, social anthropology has been included in this report.

After the war and the subsequent independence of Indonesia, a great number of social problems suddenly came to the fore, and interest in the social sciences grew rapidly. As a result, teaching and research facilities were expended, and the social sciences began to play a more important place in the curriculum. The present situation (February, 1953) with regard to the position of the social sciences in this country, can be summarized as follows:

Social science is taught at both the official state universities:

1. the University of Indonesia at Djakarta (continuing the pre-war Neth. Indies University), including Faculty of Law and Social Science with a separate branch at Macassar, a Faculty of Economics; and one of Arts and Literature;

2. the Gadjah Mada-University at Djokjakarta, including a Faculty of Social and Political Science, and a Faculty of Law with a separate branch at Surabaya.

In addition, there exist a number of private Universities, some of them having Departments of Law and Social Science, for instance at Bandung, Padang and Djakarta. Almost nothing is known of social science teaching and research at these Universities, as most of them have been founded only recently.

Social Anthropology is being taught at the Department of Arts and Literature at Djakarta by Dr. G. J. Held and Dr. F. A. E. van Wouden. The first is known for his fieldwork in New-Guinea before the war, while the latter has been working after the war in Central Celebes and Sumba. Since 1947, the Department has an Institute of Language and Culture (Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja), which has done some outstanding research in the field of social anthropology. In particular, the work of Dr. Chabot on social stratification and sexual tensions in a small village in Southern Celebes must be mentioned. At present, Miss E. Allard is working on a research program on the status and family-structure of the Indo-Europeans (Eurasians) in three different towns; while Prof. Held is planning a research on the island of Sumbawa.

Sociology proper is taught at Djakarta in the Department of Law as well as in that of Economics. Professor of Sociology is Mr. Sunario Kolopaking Sanityaviyaya, but owing to his prolonged illness sociology is taught at present by Dr. Jusuf Ismael and the writer. Since December 1, 1952 an Institute for Social Research (Lembaga Penyelidikan Masyarakat) has been founded by both Departments together; it is the first of its kind in this country. It is intended to serve as a center for documentation as well as research, and has an extensive library on sociology. At present, research is being carried out in cooperation with the students' societies, as to the living conditions of students in the capital. A more extensive research on the problem of the transmigration of Javanese peasants to Southern Sumatra is in preparation for the middle of 1953.

At the Macassar branch of the Law and Social Sciences Department, sociology is taught by Dr. H. Th. Chabot. He is engaged in research in one of the wards (kampong) in this town, where people of different parts of the country are living together. He has recently been working at the Sangihe and Talaud Islands, north of Celebes.

As to the Gadjah Mada-University at Djokjakarta, sociology is taught by Prof. Mr. Djojodiguno, author, with Mr. Tirtawinata of the Adatprivaatrecht van Midden-Java (1940). Also, in the academic year 1952/53 Mad. Jeanne Cuisinier from Paris (author of La danse sacrée en Indo-Chine et Indonésie) has been teaching sociology and social anthropology as a visiting professor. She is doing some research on the women's societies in this town. The Gadjah Mada-University is furthermore cooperating in the research of the town of Wonosobo (C. Java), by a research team of American graduates from Harvard and Yale Universities. This research, which is planned to take about 1½ year and to

cover all aspects of the social life of a typical Javanese small town, will be the first extensive special survey ever carried out in this country.

There have been individual researches by the political scientist Paul Cattenburgh from Cornell University, who worked in the Salatiga-area, while R. J. Palmier, from the London School of Economics, is working in the Banjumas-region.

From the work of institutions outside of the Universities, that of the Bureau of Land Utilization in Bogor should be mentioned. In a great number of small but excellent reports, this Institute has shown awareness of the social factors involved in physical planning.

As will be seen from this report, the social sciences in Indonesia are still in the phase of teaching on an elementary level. As yet, none of the Universities can offer facilities to study sociology as an independent subject, and there is practically no specialization worth mentioning. Moreover, teaching is severely handicapped by the lack of proper textbooks in the Indonesian language, so that English and Dutch textbooks are widely used. There are also almost no Indonesian periodicals entirely devoted to social science, although the Tijdschrift van het Bataviaas Genootschap does still appear. In Holland, the Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde and Indonesie are among the most important journals on Indonesia.

Among the non-specialized periodicals Orientatie (in Indonesia) and De Nieuwe Stem (in Holland) have repeatedly published articles on Indonesian social science.

The few sociologists working in Indonesia have not yet been organized into a society, nor is there a national committee affiliated with the I.S.A. There is however, a small informal discussion group in Djakarta, meeting once a month.

It is to be expected that the number of Indonesian social scientists will grow in the future, because among students there is a lively interest in social problems. On the other hand, many more workers will be needed to cover the enormous fields, still open.

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SOME RECENT TRENDS IN JAPANESE SOCIOLOGY

by

Liaison Committee
Japan Sociological Society.

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I.

The purpose of this paper is to give the foreign sociologist a rough idea of some major trends in Japanese sociology for the years 1950 through 1952. 1)

For this present purpose, the following three sources of data were used:

1. The results of the Census of Current Research Projects undertaken by the Liaison Committee of the Japan Sociological Society in October, 1952.
2. The study reports given at the 23rd, 24th and 25th annual meetings of the Society from 1950 to 1952. 2)
3. The list of research projects carried out with the "Government Grant-in-Aid for Fundamental Scientific Studies" 3), during the 1950-1952 period, issued by the Higher Education and Science Bureau, Ministry of Education.

II.

It goes without saying that there are a considerable number of studies, besides those drawn from the above three sources of data, which may be said to belong to sociology in a broad sense. Such research projects may easily be picked out, for example, of the afore-mentioned list covering studies carried out with the Government Grant-in-Aid for Fundamental Scientific Studies under separate classification of economics, psychology, political science, etc., to say nothing of the literature published in these various fields.

In the field of Sociology, these materials may roughly be classified as follows:

- 1) As to the trends in Japanese sociology before 1950, see Prof. K. Odaka's paper "Japanese Sociology: Past and Present", Social Forces, Vol. 28, No. 4, May 1950.
- 2) The Japan Sociological Society has three branches at present, namely, the Kanto, Kansai and Seibu district societies. These district societies hold meetings annually in their various districts and possess a membership of 450, 250 and 230, respectively. The study reports given at these district meetings are not, however, included in our source 2 for want of the necessary data.
- 3) Since the termination of World War II, the Japanese Government has yearly awarded its grants-in-aid to those who are engaged in active research in every field of science.

TABLE I.

Field	Number of Projects			Total Number
	1950	1951	1952	
Rural Sociology	16	15	16	47
Industrial Sociology	12	11	17	40
Theory	8	12	11	31
Family	11	9	10	30
Methodology	9	11	5	25
Social Stratification	5	3	7	15
Criminal Sociology	6	6	2	14
Urban Sociology	3	5	5	13
Social Psychology	4	3	6	13
Public Opinion	4	4	5	13
Sociology of Religion	4	5	2	11
Population	2	4	4	10
Ethno-Sociology	5	3	1	9
Educational Sociology	3	3	2	8
Sociology of Knowledge	3	3	2	8
Sociology of Law	5	2	1	8
Economic Sociology	4	3	0	7
Moral Sociology	2	2	2	6
Social Work	5	1	0	6
Miscellaneous	5	3	3	11

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The table explicitly shows that the largest number of projects are in the field of Rural Sociology (47, 14.5%), followed by Industrial Sociology (40, 12.3%), Theory (31, 9.5%), Family (30, 9.2%) and Methodology (25, 7.7%), in this order.

A brief commentary on the above five major fields may be given as follows:

Rural Sociology

The majority of the empirical researches in Japanese Sociology have traditionally been undertaken in the field of Rural Sociology. This tendency still holds good for the period 1950-1952, a place of foremost importance having been given to the study of family relations in the rural community. Generally speaking, however, the methods currently in use in this field are, with few exceptions, conventional.

Industrial Sociology

The empirical researches in Industrial Sociology have increasingly developed in postwar Japan, as is the case with many other countries. Only a handful of sociologists had begun the study of Industrial Sociology in the period directly following the termination of the recent war, but today the number of studies undertaken in this field in all parts of the country is considerable. The central theme has shifted from emphasis on business organization to union-management relations. It might be added that this field boasts of using the most progressive and varied methods in its research-work in Japan.

Family

The study of the Japanese family is very closely related to Rural Sociology and may be said to have progressed hand in hand with it, the three main items which formerly occupied the interest of specialists in this field being the study of the external structure of the family, the relations between the family and the society, and the institutional problems of the family. These have since given way to other themes, and the interest of researchers is currently focussed on the analysis of the psychological aspects of the family, such as the motivation and needs of family members.

Theory

In the above three fields, and in other fields of sociology, the empirical approach is definitely strong in present-day Japan. In spite of this tendency, theoretical studies are not at all scarce, as may be seen from Table I. It is regrettable, however, that many of these studies are excessively theoretical and have not raised themselves above the social-philosophical stage; thus they leave a wide gap between them and the empirical researches which cannot easily be bridged. It is to be hoped that, in the future, genuine theories firmly based on empirical research and truly worthy of leading the way will make their appearance in the Japanese sociology.

Methodology

The most outstanding feature of methodology during this period is the increasing popularity gained by the statistical method and its wide use by scholars in empirical research. This may be said to account for the very significant results witnessed by sampling, scaling and testing in the fields of Industrial Sociology and Social Stratification.

In conclusion, we would like to draw the reader's attention to a few studies of special interest undertaken during this period.

The first is a Sample Survey of Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the Six Large Cities of Japan undertaken by the Research Committee of the Japan Sociological Society. This Survey, in which 50 researchers from 18 universities and research institutes all over the country participated, was most significant in the sense that it was the first time Japanese sociologists joined their efforts for a study of large proportion. 4)

4) For details, see the "Report of a Sample Survey of Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the Six Large Cities of Japan", issued by the Research Committee of the Japan Sociological Society in 1952 (doc. ISA/SSM/Conf.2/5)

The Social Tensions Survey and the Tsushima Area Studies should also be given special mention in the sense that they were cooperative undertakings by sociologists and scholars of the neighboring social sciences and will leave their mark in the history of Japanese sociology as the first truly interdisciplinary social research projects. The Social Tensions Survey is a research study of the social tensions observable in various phases of, and inherent in, Japanese society; about 80 ethnologists, ethnographers, psychologists, social psychologists, economists, political scientists and sociologists, centering around the Japan Cultural Science Society, are taking active parts. It is worth mentioning that sociologists were most active and took a leading part throughout these two research projects.

III.

We list below some of the most typical research projects undertaken by members of the Japan Sociological Society and which were granted aid by the Japanese Government during the 1950- 1952 period.

Rural Sociology

- The Land-Worship of the Japanese Peasant,
Michiji Kobayashi, Hokkaido University
- A Field Study of Democratization in a Snowy District,
Masataro Abe, University of Toyama
Ichiro Hirata, University of Toyama
- The Social Structure and Change of the Rural Community
Kazuo Goto, Tokyo University of Liberal Arts
- A Field Study of the Rural Society
Zisho Usui, University of Kyoto
- The Social Structure of Farming and Fishing Villages in the Goto Islands,
Saichi Yagi, University of Hiroshima
- A Sociological Study of Rural Culture,
Minori Ushiom, University of Yamaguchi
- The Social Structure of the Japanese Village,
Seiichi Kitano, Kyushu University
- A Study of Corporations in the Mountain and Fishing Villages,
Ryozo Takeda, Waseda University
- An Analysis of the Changing Structure of a Reclaimed Village,
Junji Kawagoe, Aichi University
- Attitudes of Family Members in the Rural Community,
Takeshi Koyama, University of Osaka
- Fundamental Social Institutions in the Mountain and Fishing Villages,
Ryozo Takeda, Waseda University
- The Second and Third Sons of Japanese Farmers,
Ekai Hayashi, University of Tokyo,

Industrial Sociology

- A Field Study of Industrial Location in Hokkaido,
Kiyohide Seki, Hokkaido University
- A Sociological Study of the Strike,
Rikuhei Imori, University of Nagoya
- An Analysis of Human Relations in Industry,
Kunio Odaka, University of Tokyo
- A Survey of the Rural Factory Worker,
Yoshiro Tomita, Nagoya University of Technology
- Unemployment and Social Relations,
Tetsuro Kida, Nihon University of Social Work
- The Internal Organization of the Labor Unions and their Members' Attitudes,
Junichi Kurokawa, University of Tokyo
- Human Relations and Industrial Morale,
Kunio Odaka, University of Tokyo
- A Socio-Psychological Study of Morale,
Yoshitoshi Kubo, University of Hiroshima
- A Study of the Status and Role of Foremen,
Keizo Yoneyama, Keio University
- Industrial Workers' Identification with Union and Management,
Kunio Odaka, University of Tokyo
- The Spinning-Factories in Tsushima City, Aichi Prefecture,
Yoshiro Tomita, Nagoya University of Technology
- A Sociological Study of Labor-Management Relations,
Minoru Ushioji, University of Yamaguchi
- The Problems of Absenteeism in the Work-Group,
Fumio Anzai, Osaka City University
- Marriage and Family
- A Study of the Farm Inheritance Relationship,
Ekai Hayashi, University of Tokyo,
Tadashi Fukutake, University of Tokyo
- A Study of Divorce,
Tsuneo Yamane, Nanzan University
- The Changing Alliance Relations,
Seiichi Nakano, University of Hiroshima
- The History of the Doctrines on Family,
Shuhei Yamamuro, Meiji-Gakuin University
- A Field Study on Farmers' Wives,
Saïdo Shimmei, Tohoku University,
Sadao Tsushima, Tohoku University

Family Structure and its Social Adjustment in Tokyo,
Tokira Imai, Tokyo University of Liberal Arts

The Dissolving Process of Conjugal Relations,
Tsuneo Yamane, Nanzan University

Urban Sociology and Social Stratification

The Factors Affecting the Culture of Osaka,
Kazuta Kurauchi, University of Osaka

A Study of the Middle- and Small-Sized Town,
Eitaro Suzuki, Hokkaido University

A Study of Social Stratification,
Shunsuke Oshio, University of Yokohama

A Survey of a University-District in Tokyo,
Noboru Kawamata, Waseda University

The Social Structure of the City,
Eitaro Suzuki, Hokkaido University

A Sociological Study of the Local Town,
Zisho Usui, University of Kyoto

The Extended Family Groups (Dozokudan) and the Social Stratification in the
Japanese Rural Community,
Seiichi Kitano, Kyushu University

Social Stratification and Mobility in the Six Large Cities of Japan,
Japan Sociological Society

Research Methods

Methods of Social Research,
Tadashi Fukutake, University of Tokyo

Experimental Sociology,
Masateru Ikuta, Keio University

The Reliability and Validity of the Questionnaire Method,
Aritsune Tzuzuki, Tohoku University

Miscellaneous

The Fundamental Problems of Occupational Education in a Local Community,
Tatsumi Makino, University of Tokyo,
Kenji Naito, Kyushu University

A Field Study of Family Dissolution in Postwar Japan,
Toshieki Shigematsu, University of Kyoto

The Influences of the Family Group on Juvenile Delinquency,
Ryoichi Yokoyama, University of Nagoya

- The Social Basis of the Community School,
Tetsuro Sasaki, Tohoku University
- A Field Study of Monbetsu (The Family of Pedigree) in Modern Japan,
Ryutaro Nakajima, Rikkyo University
- A Sociological Study of the Japanese Zaibatsu (Plutocracy),
Kizaeemon Ariga, Tokyo University of Education
- The Formation and Change of Attitude by Mass Communication,
Yujiro Chiba, University of Tokyo
- The Formation of Public Opinion,
Kenji Moriguchi, University of Kyoto
- A Research on the Moral Sense of Young People,
Shotaro Sakurai, Nihon University
- A Study of Korean Folkways,
Takashi Akiba, Aichi University
- The Primitive Family,
Tsutomu Himeoka, University of Kyoto

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIOLOGICAL
RESEARCH IN WEST AFRICA

by

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The impact of the Second World War on West Africa was immense. African troops fought overseas, and acquired new skills; and gained new experiences. Nor were civilians who remained at home unaffected by the war. They were asked to increase their production of raw materials needed for the war, such as palm kernels and rubber; to give money to aid the war, or accept lower standards of living. Some experienced a loss of income due to the fall in cocoa prices; but others gained higher incomes from war work, or from remittances from relatives in the forces. Though more money was put in circulation, there were fewer goods to buy; consequently inflation and profiteering on a national scale assumed proportion never known before.

There was also a drift of population to the towns where the troops were quartered, and where well-paid work was to be found. All this created new social problems, or intensified old ones. At the end of the war, most West African towns were faced with problems of overcrowding, unemployment, juvenile delinquency, and shortage of locally grown food, as well as of consumer goods from Europe. Then there was the problem of resettling ex-servicemen. Horizons had been widened, and expectations of higher standards of living had risen. Schemes to deal with these problems seemed slow and ineffectual. Discontent with metropolitan governments mounted, and found expression in the agitation for political freedom.

Along with this was the desire for the rapid development of economic resources in order to meet the demand for higher standards of living. The effect of all this was to quicken the pace of industrialism. I should explain that with reference to West Africa, I think industrialism is more than the social adaptation to industrial and technological development generated from within the local community; were this the case, social change would be slower; we have to regard industrialism as largely the social adaptation by West African communities to the technology and commerce of Europe. This has been the principal source of rapid changes in physical environment, in social and political organization, and even in values. The impact of the Second World War has accelerated the pace of social change.

Against this background, the need for sociological research was strongly felt. There was the need for enquiries into land utilization as part of the problem of stepping up agricultural productivity to meet the demand for food; or into the special problems posed by the fast-growing towns which represented the apex of the process of industrialisation where unemployment, delinquency, overcrowding, family disorganization, the emergence of new social classes, and acute political and administrative problems called for expert investigation. The towns exemplified in more or less degree the problems that faced West African Communities generally. Studies of the movement of labour, of Commerce, of family structure, of municipalities and local authorities, of occupations and standards of living, of marketing, of political structures,

and the like were deemed necessary in order to provide data and information for social amelioration. Accordingly, a new impetus to research was given.

An Institute of Arts, Industries and Social Science was established at Achimote in the Gold Coast in 1943. Under the direction of Mr. H.V. Meyerowitz, the Institute sought to develop and adapt African arts and crafts to large scale production. African students were trained in pottery, tile-making and weaving. Dr. M. Fortes, a Social Anthropologist, was later appointed to the Institute from Oxford. With the help of a human geographer and an economist he conducted an Ashanti Social Survey designed to provide the information that was needed for dealing with the social problems that the war had intensified. Preliminary reports of their investigations have appeared in "Ashanti Survey 1945-46, an experiment in social research" (Geographical Journal 1947); in "The Ashanti Social Survey: a preliminary report", by M. Fortes, (Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 6, 1949); in "Time and Social Structure, an Ashanti Case Study" also by M. Fortes in Essays presented to A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, and in "The Towns of Ashanti: A geographical study" a paper read by R.W. Steel at the 16th International Congress of Geography, held at Lisbon in 1949.

In order to obtain data for the planning of economic and educational development in the British Cameroons, the Nigerian Government made a grant to the International African Institute for research in that area. The services of an anthropologist, Dr. P. Kaberry were secured. The results of her studies have been made available in a series of publications: "Preliminary Report on Fieldwork in Bamenda, British Cameroons", (mimeographed) International African Institute, 1946; "Land Tenure among the Nsew of the British Cameroons", Africa 20, 1950; Women of the Grassfields, a study of the economic position of women in Bamenda, British Cameroons, London, H.M.S.O., 1952.

Recent studies of Nigeria also include Bascom's "esusu", a credit institution of the Yoruba (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 1952) and "Social status, wealth and individual differences among the Yoruba" (American Anthropologist 1951).

During the war, the British Government established the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund from which money was made available for social research in British Colonies. The Colonial Social Science Research Council was accordingly set up in London to formulate plans for studies and research in the field of the social sciences in British Colonial territories. Its first Secretary, Professor R. Firth, visited West Africa in 1945 to study the social and economic problems there, in order to assist the Council in planning a suitable programme of research. His report covered the major economic, political and social problems of post-war West Africa (vide R. Firth: "Social problems of anthropological research in British West Africa", Africa 17, 1947). The Colonial Social Science Research Council has since sponsored a number of studies in West Africa in which studies in Land Tenure, especially in Nigeria, (Niger Province Zaria, Keduwa, Benin, and the Cameroons) have had special attention.

In 1945, the Council made a grant to the International African Institute for an Ethnographic survey of Africa. The survey has been designed "to present concise critical and accurate account of our present knowledge of the tribal groupings, distribution, physical environment, social conditions, political and economic structure, religious beliefs and cult practices, technology and art of African peoples", collated from existing material, published and unpublished. Six studies have so far (1950-1953) been published on West Africa by the Institute as part of the survey:

1. M. Manoukin: Akan and Ga-Adangbe peoples of the Gold Coast,
2. M. McCulloch: The Peoples of Sierra-Leone Protectorate,
3. Daryll Forde and Jones: The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria,
4. Deryll Forde: The Yoruba Speaking Peoples of South-Western Niger,
5. M. Manoukin: Tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast,
6. M. Manoukin: The Ewe-speaking People of Togoland and the Gold Coast.

As has already been indicated, in West Africa, and in fact in East and Central Africa also, there has been a growing recognition of the need for the study of urban populations. At the request of the Gold Coast Government, a study was made of the port of Sekondi-Takoradi, in order that the Government may have data on the social conditions of that town (vide Busia: Report of a Social Survey of Sekondi-Takoradi, London, Crown Agents, 1950). Such studies are needed not only for throwing light on the kind of social problems in which administrators are interested, but also for an understanding of the social processes which accompany the industrialization of Africa.

In 1950, a West African Institute of Social and Economic Research was established at Ibadan in Nigeria, under the directorship of Professor Hamilton Whyte, an economist. Research projects in hand at the Institute include: A Comparative Study into Yoruba Social and Economic Organizations; The Palm-Oil Industry in South-East Nigeria; A Social Study of the Enugu Coalmining Community in Nigeria; Monetary and Banking Systems of Nigeria; Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1855.

The Nigerian Cocos Marketing Board has also financed an Economic Survey of the Cocos Producing areas of Nigeria.

In the Gold Coast, the Department of Sociology at the University College of the Gold Coast established since the war also has a number of projects in hand. These include urban surveys, studies of the tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, studies of the social attitudes and levels of aspiration of Middle School boys in Accra, and work on traditional music, and folklore.

The topics that have been mentioned are enough to show that research is being pursued on many and varied sociological topics. I must now discuss the theoretical and methodological problems posed by these researches.

The theoretical problem is where to draw the line, if any, between Social Anthropology and Sociology. Africa has been traditionally a field of enquiry for anthropologists; and many of the recent studies to which I have referred have been carried out by anthropologists. When therefore one talks of sociological research in Africa, one must face the question as to whether one implies an enquiry different from the kind that social anthropologists have undertaken, and if so, how one draws the distinction. Are all the studies I have mentioned above within the field of sociology, or are there some which are anthropological and outside the field of sociology? On what principles are the distinctions to be drawn?

One can easily distinguish Physical Anthropology from Sociology; for the study of variation in the human family, and of human physical evolution is easily distinguishable from the study of men's group life and learned beha-

vion.

But the distinction between Social Anthropology and Sociology is not so obvious. Most Social Anthropologists would probably accept the definition of Social Anthropology as "the investigation of human society by the intensive study and the systematic comparison of societies of diverse kinds, with the object of arriving at valid and significant generalizations about the social life of human beings generally".

In the search for such generalizations, social anthropologists have made intensive studies of non-European societies, and have developed special field methods and techniques suited to the situations they have studied. It would generally be agreed by social anthropologists that they regard all human societies as being within the field of their study, but that they have concentrated on non-literate or "primitive" societies because being smaller in scale with regard to numbers, territory, and range of contacts, possessing simpler technological equipment and little specialization of social function, and being generally more homogeneous in composition, such societies are easier to study than those of Europe; and that, as in other scientific studies, to proceed from the less complex to the more complex offered a more fruitful line of approach. It is for these reasons that social anthropologists have concentrated on the study of the social behaviour of non-literate societies, covering their family and kinship systems, political and economic organization, religious institutions, laws and customs, arts and crafts, music and dance, and the functional relations between all these aspects of social life.

Professor Radcliffe-Brown has described Social Anthropology as the "natural science of human society". His successor to the Chair of Social Anthropology at Oxford regards Social Anthropology as a branch of Sociology, "that branch which chiefly devotes itself to primitive societies"; but there are anthropologists who refuse to be regarded as sociologists specialized in the field of primitive societies, and insist on a distinct identity and difference in kind.

There are others who regard Social Anthropology as merely a branch of Cultural Anthropology. I need here only refer to the familiar controversy that has raged between cultural anthropologists on the one hand, and social anthropologists on the other, as to whether they study societies or cultures, and as to the differences between the concepts; the latter maintaining that they study social relations and not cultures, while the former maintain that the study of social relations per se is only a sub-section of culture. Into that controversy we need not enter at present; but both social anthropologists and cultural anthropologists study the learned behaviour patterns of man. Sociologists do a similar thing. Professor Ginsberg has succinctly described the sociologists' field of study as "the web or tissue of human interactions and interrelations."

It would be difficult to deny the identity of some of sociologists and social or cultural anthropologists; and in this connection we may note the recent trend towards the integration of the social sciences, particularly in the United States. Much contemporary research and literature in anthropology, sociology, as well as psychology have dealt with the concepts of human learning, society, culture, and personality with varying emphases according to the particular discipline.

Behaviourist psychologists have been occupied with the theory of human learning and behaviour; social anthropologists and sociologists with social structure and social relationships; cultural anthropologists and some sociologists with culture and cultural change; and psychologists and psychiatrists with personality. We may also note recent studies of Personality and Culture

by anthropologists.

It is being recognized from the work that has been done that the theories of human learning, society, culture and personality dovetail into one another, and can be fused into a single integrated science of human behaviour. I might instance the Institute of Human Relations organized at Yale in 1929. Its purpose was described in these terms:

"There are indeed independent sciences of behaviour, as for example, psychology, psychiatry, sociology, and anthropology. But until the essential facts and principles of these disciplines have been put together into a unified science of behaviour it is unlikely that the basic understandings of human behaviour needed for finding better solutions to the many practical problems of human relations will be achieved. It was for the purpose of achieving this unification that the Institute of Human Relations was established."

As another instance, I might refer to the Department of Social Relations established at Harvard in 1946.

"Its founding was premised upon the widely recognized fact that the study both of the individual in society and of many social phenomena requires the combined resources of the anthropological, psychological, and sociological sciences. The Department takes as its range of enquiry the study of social behaviour and of the social systems and cultural patterns which mould behaviour. Comprising as it does the field of Social Anthropology, Social Psychology, Clinical Psychology, and Sociology, the Department of Social Relations represents the integration of hitherto distinct though actually interdependent disciplines within the social sciences."

Similar experiments at integration are going on in other American Universities. I may mention the Northwestern University where a new course of Psychology, Anthropology and Sociology (Social Science A1) is offered for First Year Students, and the University of Chicago where a similar course is given at the post-graduate level.

In referring to this trend, I do not wish primarily to raise here the question of integration which is itself a large and important subject on which opinions vary. There are some who welcome the trend toward integration; they admit that though it is not easy to achieve, the gains in the interchange of concepts and techniques, in the comprehensive view of individual and social behaviour that it offers, and the participation with other social scientists on research projects are enormous. But there are others who consider that the study of human society would be better advanced by each discipline pursuing its separate course, and all borrowing from one another such theories and techniques as proved valuable. This is certainly a question which it would be fruitful to discuss.

But my main purpose at present is to draw attention to the fact that for students of society working in West Africa today, the question of the integration or distinction of the two fields of Social or Cultural Anthropology, if you wish, and Sociology demands fresh thinking and formulation. The laboratory has changed in character with the impact of industrialization and Western technology, and the responses in social adaptation that African Communities are making to the impact.

It has been said that the distinction between the sociologist and the social anthropologist has lain in the field which each has studied and in the methods used, rather than in a difference of aim. That while the sociologist

has been concerned with the structure of societies like those of Britain and America, the social or cultural anthropologist has been concerned with non-European societies. Therefore, it would seem that sociologists have to justify their intrusion into the anthropologists' preserves in Africa; but in the light of recent studies, anthropologists have made similar intrusions into the preserves of sociologists.

In America, Ireland, India, Japan and Canada, important studies of industrialized societies have been made by anthropologists, and sociologists have worked in Africa, or among American Indian tribes, or used materials collected by others on the "Simpler Communities". That this last is no new departure we may recall the works of Pioneer Sociologists like Spencer, Sumner, Morgan, or Hobhouse. A new and significant fact, however, is that there have already emerged in Africa today communities and social situations that are similar to the European and American industrialized societies which have hitherto been studied by sociologists.

We may consider also the question of methodology. I may illustrate the problem by referring to the methodological problems of urban surveys in West Africa. As I have said, there is a growing need to study the new cultural patterns, the social structures, and social problems of the large towns that have emerged in West Africa with the growth of overseas trade, internal transport, markets, mines, specialization, and in some instances of secondary industries as well. The particular situation calls for the combination of the lengthy first-hand information of attitudes and beliefs, the informal interview, and long residence developed by social anthropologists on the one hand, and the compilation of social data capable of expression in numerical form, and the use of samples and questionnaire techniques developed by sociologists on the other. Both methods are needed, for the methods of sampling, questionnaire surveys and statistical analysis would not yield much understanding of the changes in concepts, social relations, and attitudes that result from the new culture and the new situation; nor would the methods of the social anthropologist alone give sufficiently precise information about the new heterogeneous communities, so different from the homogeneous tribal groups that have hitherto been intensively studied by him. Attempts have accordingly been made by individuals and research institutes to combine the two techniques. This is the kind of situation which demands fresh thinking, and a willingness to depart from tradition.

I may use another illustration. In a recent review of Dr. Kaberry's book Women of the Grassfields which I have mentioned, Dr. Margaret Mead had this to say: (Africa April 1953). "The problems of study of standards of living among a people near the subsistence level present many difficulties which are not easily solved by anthropological techniques. In twelve of the detailed budgets, Dr. Kaberry has given a year's expenditure and income in cash, and for the same period a separate estimated outlay and income in kind reduced to cash terms, with extensive notes on items in the budgets of the individuals concerned". Both sociologists and anthropologists frequently undertake budgetary studies nowadays; they also undertake social surveys; and they use similar methods for the study of similar social situations. Thus not only in aim, but now in field and in method also, social anthropologists and sociologists have been drawn closer together; I might even say, indistinguishably close. It seems to me the contemporary African scene makes it extremely difficult to maintain that social anthropology and sociology are two distinct disciplines. It is of importance for students of society working in Africa today that this question which is both theoretical and practical should be faced and clarified. It is of importance not only for the organization of teaching

and research, but also for a definition of the aims, if the two are in fact separate disciplines. I may make bold to say that in the light of the considerations I have indicated above, I find it hard to defend a separateness and distinction, and I have come to the view that social anthropology has been that branch of sociology which has concerned itself with small-scale and comparatively homogeneous societies. With increasing industrialization, such communities are rapidly diminishing in number.

I am aware that here I merely revive an old controversy, but I do so because the studies I have reviewed show that recent developments in sociological research in Africa make it still a live issue.

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Sect. III

Développements récents
de la recherche sociologique

Sect. III

Recent Developments
in Sociological Research

SOCIOLOGY IN ISRAEL : 1948 - 1953

by

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Since 1948/49, when the first report on sociology in Israel was submitted to the Constituent Congress of the International Sociological Association in Oslo, many vigorous and extensive developments have been made in the various fields of sociology. This has been due, both to the extension of teaching and research facilities in Israel,¹⁾ and to the unique opportunities which are present in Israeli society from the point of view of social research. Developments have been made in several directions and on several levels: In surveys and inquiries of different kinds, in demographic research based on census material, in methodology and in fundamental research and thought. These developments have, to some extent, been extensions and continuations of previous work; but there have also been various new beginnings. The present report intends to survey the main trends and to dwell especially on some problems connected with the fundamental research.

Numerous agencies have dealt with the various surveys. Foremost among them are the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Government, the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, survey and research departments of the various ministries and municipalities, and the Henrietta Szold Foundation.

The Central Bureau of Statistics has executed basic surveys (census and various sample inquiries) which, in addition to their general importance, have served as a basis for more intensive demographic work, to be described presently. Besides the regular statistical information contained in its various Bulletins, the Bureau has published several important surveys in the fields of income tax statistics, criminal and economic statistics. The Institute of Applied Social Research has executed many opinion and attitude surveys and studies in various fields - housing, industry, among officials, on general adjustment to work, and several others - all of which produced interesting reports in the various fields. Besides their importance from this point of view, the execution of these surveys also gave rise to various methodological developments, mainly in the field of scale analysis, to which Dr. L. Guttman, the Director of the Institute, has made basic contributions, by which several new components of scalable attitudes were discovered and used. Methodological developments have also been made by Dr. Guttman and his associates in the fields of latent structures and in the analysis of mental abilities and testing, and in what is called "image" and "facet" analysis.

These developments have all been mainly in the fields of construction of various mathematical models for psychological and social research, which then have to be applied to significant fields of research. In some fields, such as psychotechnics, they have already been used with interesting results, and more developments are to be expected. The work of the Institute has contributed to methodological problems of survey work and has also made contributions in several other fields of attitude measurement. It may yet have additional re-

percussions on some other fields of research and inquiry. Among these fields, one of great interest is the application of various psychological tests to people stemming from various cultures. As is well known, this problem has been of great importance on the borderline of psychology and anthropology.

Some interesting contributions to this problem will also probably be derived from several works instigated by the Henrietta Szold Foundation (published in its quarterly, Megamoth), directed by Dr. C. Frankenstein, which were directed mainly at the problem of different types of abstract thought among different cultural and ethnic groups. These various researches are being continued, and will render many interesting results, as have generally the various educational surveys of the Szold Foundation. (Among these one of special interest is on causes of retardation in school.)

Within the demographical field the work of Professor R. Bacchi - who is both the Government Statistician and Chairman of the Statistics Department of the Hebrew University - is of great general interest and significance. Utilizing unique opportunities in the field of census data and other continuous surveys, he has endeavoured to analyse the main demographic changes attendant on the processes of cultural transformation and development of a homogeneous social continuity. His work includes analysis of the age and sex structure of different population groups (ethnic, cultural, etc.), the different family patterns and the process of change and transformation of the demographic and reproductive habits of different groups. Although this work is already in advanced stages, much analysis still remains to be done. The various results seem to be of general importance in such problems as overpopulation of underdeveloped countries, ways of controlling population movements, etc.²⁾

Much work has also been done in the field of investigating some of the demographic and statistical aspects of mass immigration and absorption of immigrants. Here the main emphasis has been on patterns of inter-group attraction in different fields - marriage, cultural and social life - and their changes throughout various periods of time as related to various social and economic problems. This work is of special interest, as there exist enough materials to make possible wider comparison with the pre-State, or Mandatory, period.

Within the scope of these researches, that on cultural indices of absorption, undertaken for UNESCO, should be given special mention. In it patterns of cultural change, educational advancement and mobility and acquisition of the Hebrew language are being analysed. All these researches are both of general interest in the field of population studies and of special importance in providing material for adequate analysis of various social trends within a whole society. It is now being planned to integrate these studies with intensive sociological studies, so that the interpretation of the two would provide for the integration of different aspects of research.³⁾

Social development conditions in Israel, the great influx of mass immigration and the processes of development of an integrated social structure out of these elements and the variety of social forms within them, have provided an unusual opportunity for combining inquiries into "immediate" problems with fundamental research in the field of sociology. The Research Seminar in Sociology of the Hebrew University has focused most of its researches in this direction, so that they might analyse various aspects of the integration of a social structure and some basic social and psycho-social processes related to it. Among these the

following should be mentioned: (1) The first stage of the research on absorption of immigrants;⁴⁾ (2) the second stage, which deals mainly with problems of mobility, communication and leadership;⁵⁾ (3) research on the social patterns of the elites and professions in Israeli society; (4) problems of social stratification in communal and cooperative settlements in Israel;⁶⁾ (5) research on youth movements and immigrant youth.⁷⁾ Each of these researches has many subprojects; but we shall indicate here only the main results achieved so far and some of the main problems they raised.

The first research on absorption of immigrants dealt mainly with two interconnected problems: The conditions under which different types of motivation to perform new tasks in the absorbing society arise; and main processes and types of integration within the new society. It was found that these different kinds of predisposition to change are related to the motivation to migration, the initial social crisis in the country of origin and in different types of Jewish communities which gave rise to it, and the extent of family and over-all social solidarity within the country.

The main components of absorption were related to the extent of stability of social relations and roles; the extension of social participation beyond the basic primary groups; the maintenance of communication and reference group aspirations, and various types of identification with the social system. According to the combinations between these components, various concrete types were described. The development of these types was then correlated with the predisposition to change, on the one hand, and general conditions of absorption, on the other. In this way some of the basic processes of integration of a new society were analysed.

The second stage of the research on absorption of immigrants is being focused on some of these basic components of social integration. Problems of reference group behaviour, patterns of communication, types of leadership patterns and processes of leadership selection and their relation to the other variables are being investigated among different groups of immigrants. At the same time comparative material is being gathered in several samples of the "old", stable population. This work is still in the first stages, but it already shows various interesting developments and possibilities.

Closely connected with this problem is the third research, the study of the structure and recruitment of the elite and the professions in Israel. These studies aim, first, to describe the transition from the Mandatory period of the Yishuv, with a diffuse, non-centralised political and social elite and numerous collectivity oriented professional bodies, to the State period, with its growing concentration of power and bureaucratisation. This analysis is, then, related to the main types of political interaction (especially between elite and non-elite membership) and to the distribution of power. The influence of all these factors on various types of social identification and participation will be studied and connected with the former researches. The studies are done through both analysis of various sources and intensive field-work in selected areas. (Both researches are closely interwoven with the UNESCO project on tension now being executed in Israel.)

The fourth research, the study of social stratification within communal and cooperative settlements in Israel, has a double significance. First, it traces the development of division of labour, social stratification and leadership within originally equalitarian settings; and the existence of two main types of settlement provides us with almost experimental conditions. On the other hand, this study has direct

bearing on the problems of elite composition and changes in Israeli society. The various types of pioneering settlements performed several elite functions during the period of the Yishuv, and it seems that they are now losing some of their former standing.

The fifth research: All of these researches are focused on the study of some of the basic processes making for a homogeneous society in Israel, and of the development of different kinds of tensions within it. It was thought that the study of youth movements and youth problems would prove to be of additional significance from the point of view of transmission of the social and cultural heritage and maintenance of social continuity. The study of youth movements was connected with a wider, cross-cultural study (based on about 150 societies) of the development of age groups in different kinds of societies. In that study it was proved that age groups and youth movements tend to arise in universalistic societies, i.e., societies in which kinship or other particularistic groups do not constitute the bases of the social division of labour, and cannot perform all the educational and integrative functions of the social system. In such societies various age groups arise which may also, however, develop various deviant tendencies.⁸⁾

Youth movements were especially active in the "older", established sector of the community, and it was felt that the study of immigrant youth is of great significance from the point of view of discovering the bases of social integration of the society. Several preliminary studies have been launched in this direction, the aim of which is to analyse the main types of group participation, relation to family background and general aspirations. The focus here is on the development of new ego-identity and identification with the new society. Emphasis is laid on the question as to whether there exist continuity and balance between instrumental and technical aspirations and between social and expressive participation, and on the effects of lack of balance between these spheres.

In this connection a study should be mentioned which is now being undertaken by the Szold Foundation and the Institute of Applied Social Research on the formation of citizenship concepts (mainly concepts of responsibility, etc.) among youth.

All of these studies are in various stages of development and execution, and it is hoped that they will be largely extended through grants from various foundations and institutions. It is worth while to mention that some of them will be closely connected with the UNESCO Tensions Project, which will be executed in Israel this year. Together with the abundant survey material, they should gradually throw some significant light both on the problem of emergence of a new social system and on many general problems of human behavior and social integration.

Side by side with these various studies which have been centered in Israel, the trend of regional - Middle Eastern - studies has also been continued and developed. As was shown in the former report, this trend - exemplified mainly in the work of Professor A. Bonné - has focused on the analysis of the impact of Western ideas and forces on the structure and development of Muslim societies. The basic theme is much akin to that of Max Weber, whose analysis of economic mentality it follows closely. During this period the vista of these problems has been widened so as to refer to the general set of problems connected with underdeveloped countries.

Among the focuses of Professor Bonné's researches are the issues of economic motivation and conduct, which have proved to be of eminent practical importance for those in charge of economic policies in underdeveloped countries. These issues concern both the economist and the sociologist. The problem of initiating economic changes and the nature of non-economic obstacles to economic advance require full consideration in the analysis and formulation of the approaches to economic development. New criteria for financing economic development and the allocation of "social" capital for such purposes, the problem of establishing new land tenure relations and the requirements and impact of industrialisation are among the issues dealt with in this context.

Other research objectives of Professor Bonné and his associates are the socio-economic processes in Israel, where a large-scale immigration primarily from Oriental regions entered an economy oriented towards advanced patterns of productivity and consumption, and the economic performance of these immigrants.

Within the field of historical studies, particularly those related to Jewish society, there also exists a vast scope for pioneer sociological work. Such work is being done by Dr. J. Katz, of the Hebrew University, who is centering his investigation on the analysis of social stratification within traditional Jewish societies, on patterns of education within them, and mainly on the transition from the traditional to modern times. Here special emphasis is being laid on the analysis of social movements and ideological trends; and some of the "Problemstellungen" of both Max Weber and K. Mannheim find here an ample field for testing and application. Some comparative work of this kind, especially on the patterns of stratification in various Jewish communities, is connected with the studies on immigration and with the work of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University.

While vigorous developments in various field of sociology have taken place in Israel in the last four or five years, all these are, in a way, but beginnings which will have to be fostered and expanded.

FOOTNOTES

1. See S. N. Eisenstadt, Sociology in Israel, 1949, submitted to the Constituent Congress of the International Sociological Association, Oslo.
2. See R. Bacchi, "La Population Juive de l'Etat d'Israel", Population, 1952.
3. See R. Bacchi, "Cultural Absorption of Immigrants", Population Studies, 1951.
4. See S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants in Israel, Jerusalem 1951, reprinted in an extended form in Human Relations, vol. V, No. s 3, 4.
5. See S. N. Eisenstadt, "The Place of Elites in the Process of Absorption of New Immigrants", Am. Journal of Sociology, Nov. 1951; "Processes of Communication among New Immigrants in Israel", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring 1952.
6. See Y. Garber-Talmon, "Social Stratification in Cooperative Settlements", British Journal of Sociology, 1953.
7. See S. N. Eisenstadt, "Youth Culture and Social Structure in Israel", British Journal of Sociology, June 1951; "Delinquent Group Formation among Immigrant Youth", British Journal of Delinquency, July 1951.
8. See the special research report, document ISA/L/RB/10.

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Sect. III.
Développements récents de
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Sect. III.
Recent Developments in
Sociological Research.

RAPPORT SUR LE CENTRE DE RECHERCHES SOCIOLOGIQUES
SUR LES RELATIONS HUMAINES --- GENEVE

par

Dr. Roger Girod
Université de Genève.

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Président: Professeur Jean Piaget, Directeur du Bureau International d'Education et membre du Conseil Exécutif de l'UNESCO.

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Buts: Favoriser la connaissance scientifique des interactions par lesquelles les consciences et les dynamismes collectifs qui les environnent s'influencent réciproquement, en vue de contribuer aux efforts de tous ceux qui cherchent à accroître l'autonomie de l'homme par rapport aux structures sociales, aux déterminismes historiques, aux pouvoirs et aux mythes qui contrarient sa capacité d'assumer pleinement ses responsabilités.

Pour cela: entreprendre des recherches;
tenir à jour une documentation appropriée.

Programmes de recherches

Ces programmes sont contenus dans différents documents qui indiquent les principes de travail du "Centre" et énumèrent une cinquantaine de travaux qu'il serait disposé à entreprendre dès maintenant.

a) Principes de travail: Le "Centre" voudrait pouvoir considérer toute enquête sur un problème particulier à la fois comme un moyen de fournir des données immédiatement utiles aux personnes qui lui ont demandé ce travail et comme une occasion de faire progresser son programme scientifique à long terme, qui vise à accumuler des données précises sur:

- les interactions par lesquelles le contenu de l'existence des groupes et des individus et la structure des situations s'influencent mutuellement;
- la manière dont ces interactions varient suivant la position des individus et des groupes dans la société globale;
- les attitudes collectives, c'est à dire les inclinations structurelles qui orientent une collectivité vers une forme d'action donnée en présence d'une situation d'un type déterminé.

Dans la mesure où c'est nécessaire et possible, les personnes ou institutions qui demandent une enquête au "Centre" sont invitées à constituer un petit groupe de travail, ou "laboratoire", dont la fonction est d'abord d'aider le directeur de la recherche à découvrir les faits et ensuite de favoriser éventuellement la mise en application des solutions pratiques suggérées par cette recherche.

b) Types de recherches: Les recherches énumérées dans les programmes de travail du "Centre" touchent notamment aux problèmes suivants:

- milieu social et santé;
- milieu social et structure de la famille;
- milieu social et degré de bien-être matériel (revenu par tête, habitudes alimentaires, logement, etc.);
- travail et contenu de l'existence des individus et des groupes (signification attribuée au travail et satisfactions trouvées dans le travail, fatigue, etc.);
- éducation (origine sociale des élèves des établissements des divers degrés, y compris les universités, conditions matérielles et psychologiques dans lesquelles ils étudient);
- information (structure du contrôle des organes d'information, nature de leur public et de leur influence, leur manière de réagir, les processus structurels de la communication des informations);
- mobilité sociale;
- nature et exercice de l'autorité dans différents milieux et dans des situations variées (types de chefs, étendue effective de leur autorité, rôle de l'opposition et des minorités, processus par lesquels s'élaborent les décisions qui lient la collectivité, etc.);
- manière de réagir et de raisonner dans différents milieux, degré d'influence effective des idéologies, rapports entre les idéologies et les situations objectives;
- les classes sociales, leur réalité vécue;
- transformations des attitudes individuelles et collectives sous l'effet d'une modification de la situation objective ou sous l'effet d'une campagne d'information;
- productivité économique et productivité sociale du travail et des autres éléments du système de production et de distribution;
- relations entre groupes appartenant à des pays différents: rôle des attitudes collectives, ou dispositions structurelles objectives, et rôle des attitudes mentales individuelles ou communes (de "compréhension", d'"agressivité", etc.)

Activités du "Centre" depuis sa création:

Activités en 1952

Recherches

1. La recherche sociologique moderne. Ses méthodes. Ses rapports avec le progrès social. Ce travail se poursuit de manière continue. xx) 1, 2.
2. Sociologie électorale. L'abstentionnisme à Genève, hier et aujourd'hui. Étude globale du phénomène au moyen de statistiques et analyse en profondeur de certaines attitudes au moyen de 50 interviews comparatifs. Enquête terminée, ayant abouti à trois documents (76, 11 et 18 pages), avec 29 tableaux statistiques et graphiques et 4 cartes. x) 3, 4.

3. Sociologie de l'information. Comment le public est informé des résultats d'études faites par des institutions internationales. Examen d'un cas particulier: la diffusion des informations concernant les "Etudes sur la situation économique de l'Europe" publiées par la Commission économique pour l'Europe des Nations Unies; processus psycho-sociologiques de communication et contenu des informations. Analyse méthodique d'environ 1500 articles provenant d'une vingtaine de pays et aperçu de la structure du public atteint. Travail fait pour le compte de l'UNESCO. Terminé. xx) 5.
4. Sociologie du travail. La productivité du travail dans le bâtiment à Genève. Enquête faite avec un groupe de contremaîtres, sur la base d'observations directes. En cours.
5. Sociologie des interactions. Interactions entre les structures sociales et le contenu de l'existence des groupes et des individus en Suisse. Il s'agit d'un projet visant à mettre en chantier une enquête de longue haleine sur les rapports que l'on peut observer en Suisse entre la structure des groupes (régions culturelles, cantons, professions, classes, entreprises, etc.), les relations humaines qui s'y développent et les attitudes de leurs membres. Soumis au Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique. A l'étude.

Documentation, exposés, etc.

6. Documentation de travail, renouvelée en permanence. Elle est constituée principalement par voie de correspondance avec des organismes de recherche étrangers et par l'utilisation du matériel que les Nations Unies et le BIT rassemblent dans ce domaine. Les travaux et projets du Centre ont été resumés dans 23 documents constituant ses archives.
7. Analyse des publications et documents des Nations Unies et des Institutions spécialisées du point de vue ^{des} sciences sociales, pour le compte de l'UNESCO. Ce travail se poursuit de manière continue. Il aboutit à des chroniques qui paraissent dans chaque numéro du Bulletin international des sciences sociales de l'UNESCO. 491 publications et documents analysés entre juin et décembre 1952. xx) 7.
8. Analyse d'ouvrages d'intérêt sociologique pour la Revue internationale du Travail, du BIT. xx) 6.
9. Cours sur la productivité dans le cadre du 3ème (septembre 1952 et du 4ème (novembre 1952) stage international organisés à Genève par le Centre d'entraînement syndical international.

Publications

1. Roger Girod. Attitudes collectives et relations humaines dans les sciences sociales américaines. Préface de Jean Piaget. "Bibliothèque de sociologie contemporaine", Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1952, 346 p.
2. id. La recherche sociologique instrument de progrès social, Revue internationale du Travail, BIT, Genève, mai 1952, 28 p. Existe sous forme de brochure en anglais, français et espagnol.
3. id. Une enquête sur l'abstentionnisme électoral en Suisse. Revue de Suisse, Genève. A paraître.
4. id. Les facteurs de l'abstentionnisme électoral. Revue française de science politique, Paris. A paraître.

5. id. Comment le public est informé des résultats d'études faites par des institutions internationales. Processus psycho-sociologiques de communication et contenu des informations. Bulletin international des sciences sociales, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1952, UNESCO, Paris. En français et en anglais.
6. id. La situation de l'ouvrier français, d'après Michel Collinet, Revue internationale du Travail, Vol. LXVII, No. 1, janvier 1953. BIT, Genève. En anglais, espagnol et français.
7. Chronique des publications et documents des Nations Unies et des Institutions spécialisées. Bulletin international des sciences sociales, Paris Nos. 3, vol. IV et suivants. UNESCO, Paris. En français et en anglais.

x) - publication à paraître.

xx) - publication parue.

Le numéro est celui de la publication correspondante.

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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Sect. III.

Développements récents de
la recherche sociologique.

Sect. III.

Recent Developments in
Sociological Research.

A COMMUNITY SURVEY OF DARMSTADT, GERMANY

by

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Cologne.

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It would be much easier, and doubtless of greater interest, if I reported on sociological research in Germany since the war. The Darmstadt Survey which I will try to summarize, is only one of eight comprehensive projects now under way or being completed. I must at least list these:

1. The Survey of Youth Morale and Unemployment by the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund. The technical responsibility was assigned to the Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft, Hamburg. Two volumes dealing with unemployment and vocational problems have appeared. The third, which will be a sociological and psychological analysis of the materials, is now in preparation.
2. The study of a coal mining community in the Ruhr District near Dortmund and of labor-management relations in the coal mine is the work of the Sozialforschungsstelle, Dortmund. The volume dealing with labor-management relations is now published and the second volume reporting on the community life of the same miners is soon ready for the press.
3. The Sozialforschungsstelle is also engaged in two steel surveys, each dealing with a different community and a different phase of the industry. Like the study of coal, each of these projects is divided into two phases; labor-management relations in the steel plant and the community life of the steel workers. The field work on both projects is about complete.
4. A study of social integration has been carried on in Germany by the UNESCO Institute for Social Science at Kocln. This work began in a small community near Koeln. It was to have been extended to other communities of different type but the lack of funds forced a change of plans. The project is ending in a German-wide questionnaire. The analysis of the German-wide questionnaire is now under way. The results of the village survey will be reported here by Dr. Wulfsbacher.

5. A social survey of houses and their dwellers in Frankfurt, a work that was done by the Statistical Office of Frankfurt/M. The housing study has been published and is being followed by a study of the income and expenditures of the same population groups.
6. Finally, a survey of housing needs in coal communities is being carried on by the Sozialforschungsstelle, Dortmund. This project has had the task of assembling the social data needed for planning the most suitable housing for miners and for the community planning needed in building the new villages.

A considerable number of other research projects could be named, such as those concerned with industrial training, apprenticeship, industrial hygiene, the refugee problem, etc. This much, however, is sufficient to illustrate my point that the Darmstadt Survey is only one among a number of sociological studies under way in Germany. The Darmstadt project was, however, the first of these to get started and was one of the first to be completed.

Darmstadt and "Middletown"

Sometimes the Darmstadt Survey has been referred to as the "German Middletown", and some of us who have been associated with the project are flattered. Yet the Darmstadt Survey is in some respects similar to and in others different from the Middletown Survey by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. The principal similarity concerns the effort to study a city as a whole. Let us consider the differences:

1. The Darmstadt Survey included a considerable hinterland area. This was necessary because, among other reasons, about half of the Darmstadt inhabitants were blown into the hinterland by the bombings of 1944. In 1952 more than 20 percent of the workers in Darmstadt still resided in the hinterland.
2. The Darmstadt Survey included a larger variety of contact with urban and hinterland community life than was possible in the Middletown Survey. Most of these contacts with public and private agencies and organizations as well as individuals continued for about three years.
3. The Darmstadt Survey was designed by agreement between Germans and Americans to be an experiment in training and research. The work from beginning to end was performed by a staff of potential research scholars.

The Darmstadt Survey is also different in that there will be two reports from the same materials. The German report appeared in ten monographs but the American report, now being written, will be a single-volume summary, as was Middletown. In making comparisons between Darmstadt and Middletown it must not be forgotten that the work of the Lynds was a pioneer project, published in 1929. Community research has gained a vast amount of experience during the intervening years, and Darmstadt Survey

was able to profit by this experience.

How the Darmstadt Survey Began

In September 1948 a proposal to make a community survey was approved by the American Office of Military Government (OMGUS). This was a proposal of the then Manpower Division. It was thought that the efforts of the pre-1933 labor leaders to re-establish free trade unions would be reinforced if the effort could be accompanied by a factual acquaintance with some of the community and other problems of German workers. We assumed then that a cooperative study could be carried on by German social scientists and the trade unions.

Responsibility for the management was assumed by the Akademie der Arbeit which is associated with the University of Frankfurt. The director of the Akademie appointed an advisory committee of three labor leaders, a labor court judge and a labor editor. The first task of the committee was to define the objectives of the survey on the basis of tentative objectives proposed initially by the Manpower Division. The second task was to select the city or cities that would be surveyed.

1. Concerning the Objectives:

The Manpower Division had proposed that the survey be carried out in two small industrial cities of about 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants each. The committee suggested that the project be limited to one city of about 100,000 inhabitants, more or less.

The committee did not favor the idea of limiting the survey to a city, but insisted that a good share of the hinterland should be included.

It had been proposed that the survey be limited to studies of housing, cost of living, income and certain community problems of the workers. The committee favored a more comprehensive research. This would need more time and cost more than had been anticipated by the Manpower Division. While I was personally pleased with this view of the committee, it was problematic then whether funds for a more extensive survey could be obtained.

Finally, the committee seemed not favorably impressed with the idea that the survey should be a cooperative effort between trade union functionaries and academic persons. Members of the committee seemed to be agreed that the survey must be scientific and that scientific work should be done by professionally qualified persons.

2. The Selection of Darmstadt

Certain criteria were set by the committee for selecting the city to be surveyed. It should be an industrial city, preferably of mixed industry; a bombed city but not overly bombed, a city with its own cultural tradition and hinterland, rather than being the satellite of a larger city. If a city in the American Zone of Occupation were considered, it should then

be one in which a relatively small part of the German labor force was employed by the Americans. It should, moreover, be a city that would welcome the survey.

Among several cities considered, Darmstadt most nearly met the requirements. The Buergermeister and other leaders of Darmstadt were pleased with the selection. They as well as all organizations and agencies in the community cooperated fully throughout the survey.

The Working Objectives of the Survey

The objectives of the survey, as defined by the committee, were very general. It was presumed that the details would be worked out after the work got under way. It turned out to be a difficult matter; in fact, the objectives remained only loosely defined during the first several months. However, this lack of clear definition was no bar to getting on with the work in terms of such questions as the following:

1. How do the people of this city and its hinterland earn their living and to what extent is the character of community life influenced by the work the people do ?
2. How do the people of the different social and economic levels rear and educate their children ?
3. How do the people of this city and its hinterland spend their free time, and to what degree do their free-time activities reflect the character of community life ?
4. What differences, socially, economically and politically, maintain between rural and urban community life, and in what ways do the rural and urban influence each other ?
5. How are the people; the bombed-out, the refugees, and others, housed, and what of family life in these homes, the relations between parents and children, etc. ?
6. What relations obtain between groups of people and the institutionalized phases of community life, and what groups in the community may have relationships of tension with the established forms of authority ?

These sound very much like the objectives that the Lynds had in their survey of Middletown. The fact is that Middletown was read religiously during the first weeks of the Darmstadt Survey, as were other community survey reports. But these were laid aside once the field work began and were hardly referred to again until the writing of the monographs began.

Planning and Operation

Although maintained from American funds, the sponsorship or management of the project was a German responsibility. The German sponsor employed the project staff and selected a German project director. On the management side the work was operated throughout as German.

According to the initial plan, one or more American sociologists would be made available to give technical advice on methodology and other phases of the work. They would have no administrative responsibility. After the work began, the distinction between advisory functions and administrative functions ceased to be of great importance. American advisors and the German staff consulted continuously on almost every phase of the work. Happily, from my personal point of view, they were not always in agreement; but this had been expected.

It was my task to secure the funds for the project and to assume for the High Commission the responsibility for reporting on the progress of the work. Before we could secure funds it was necessary to prepare a work plan for the project. While such a work plan could be somewhat indefinite, it could not be vague. The finance officers, for example, had to know approximately when the work would be completed. Researchers find it very difficult to make the approximate work plans needed in order to secure funds, often they prefer to avoid the task of doing so. On the Darmstadt Survey, however, both the American advisors and the German staff did make an honest effort to plan work schedules:

1. With respect to the stages of the work: a) the preparation and testing of schedules; b) field work; c) analysis of the materials resulting from the field work; d) the gathering of supplemental material; and e) the writing of the reports. Rough estimates were made of the approximate amount of time and work needed for completing each stage or step.
2. With respect to work-stage requirements: Naturally, each of the five steps indicated above had to be planned in relation to its component areas of work. In the field work stage, for example, more effort might be expended on one area than on other areas. While that was to be expected, it was necessary to avoid imbalance. That is sometimes difficult among researchers each of whom may feel that his area of work is especially important. The management problem for all the work in each stage of the survey was to meet the practical demands of time and money without doing injury to the demands of science.

However, it is one thing to make schedules but something very different to keep the work on schedule. I am well aware of the difficulties. However much I may have urged for having the work meet the practical demands of time and money, I recognize that the work must also meet quality standards. What is the zone of tolerance between the making and the keeping of research work plans? I don't know the answer, but the financial officers and others in the Office of the High Commission were not sympathetic toward the pedestrian pace of the Darmstadt Survey. It must be remembered, too, that many of these public officials share the views of many business men, that much of this social research is so much waste of time and money.

On the other hand, and for reasons which I think I understand, some of the researchers on the Darmstadt Survey felt

that they should not concern themselves about time schedules. When the project was at least four months behind schedule at the close of the first year and not less than eight months behind schedule at the end of the second year they remained undisturbed. I am sure that many sociologists share this view. If so, here is a problem sociologists must face.

At the end of the second year, with nothing to show for the work already done, it was not easy to obtain another grant of money. With the work only entering the writing stage and with the project nearly a year behind schedule, the prospect of getting money to finish the work was not bright. A committee was assigned to the task of deciding whether further support should be continued or denied. Fortunately, the committee reported favorably. Funds were then provided for completing the work and publishing the monographs. It should be added that the members of this committee were persons of social science training. They were able to report that the quality of the work was high.

Development of the Darmstadt Survey

When we compare the Darmstadt project with other surveys of equal size and complexity we are forced to conclude that the work was not unduly slow. Three years and three months elapsed between the beginning of the work in February 1949 and the publishing of the first monograph and when the project closed in June 1952, the first four monographs were in print. As of February 1953 all but two of the ten monographs had been published. I know of no measure for picturing the great progress made since four years earlier when the German project director with a staff of several assistants started the operation.

Not very much was accomplished during the first few months of work. That was to be expected. The director and his staff tried as they could to get their bearings. Until the arrival of the American advisors after five months the staff was occupied mainly with a structural analysis of the community. The group formed itself into a research institute for social science research and this institute served a useful purpose later when the director resigned to accept another position. It served as the formal organization, with a rotating chairmanship, in which the senior staff members felt competent to work without German supervision and directly with the advisors.

Because of the inability to secure competent specialists on short notice, the American advisors did not arrive until June and July 1949. Two sociologists, Dr. Henry J. Meyer and Dr. H. Ashley Weeks were secured from the New York University. The third was Dr. S. Earl Grigsby who had been engaged in rural sociological research for the United States Department of Agriculture. Dr. Grigsby remained continuously until June 1952. Drs. Meyer and Weeks returned each of three summers as they could be released from their regular university work. Together, these three sociologists gave to the project a total of 56 man-months of advisory service.

During the first two years of the survey various German advisors were consulted when and as problems arose. In the final

stage, however, it was deemed advisable to use German professors to advise in the writing of the monographs. Accordingly, Dr. Max Rolfes of the Institut fuer landwirtschaftliche Betriebslehre, Justus Liebig Hochschule at Giessen, and Dr. Theodor W. Adorno of the Institut fuer Sozialforschung, University of Frankfurt, were induced to assume this responsibility. All the monographs except that on the free time of the Darmstadt people, by Martin S. Allwood of Sweden, were issued under their editorial guidance.

From February 1949 to June 1952 the number of persons on the German staff ranged from 16 up to 30 and then back to 15, an average of 20 for the entire period. This made a total of about 820 man-months of work. In addition, the survey made some use of volunteer workers, mostly students who worked as interviewers, receiving only their expenses. When we consider all the time spent on the project by staff members, German and American advisors and other persons, we have an estimated total of about 950 man-months of work paid for out of project funds.

When the practical man, or one who describes himself as such, looks at these cost figures, he may be tempted to ask difficult questions. These questions, whether they come from practical men in business or equally practical men in public office, cannot be ignored, if we hope to get financial support for sound social research.

The Intangible Worth of the Survey

We can agree that the Darmstadt Survey could have been completed in a shorter time and at a lower cost, and we agree with the proposition that social research cannot afford to be unaware of time and cost limitations. However, on the Darmstadt project work objectives were subordinate to training objectives. We who had the responsibility feel that the training objectives were achieved, but who can say whether the training realized was worth an expenditure of 25 percent or more in time and money?

The American advisors made suggestions only. They did not direct the work. Sometimes their advice was accepted, sometimes not. Certain staff members were sometimes unwilling to accept suggestions that did not square with their own academic training. New work ways, accepted some times reluctantly or perhaps with some minor change, were later used with devotion. The American advisors were forced to be exceedingly discrete and often indirect in making suggestions. Thus, there was much lost motion during the first years. That was expected as part of the learning process. Often there were long discussions about small matters such as the order of the questions that would be used in a questionnaire. These defensive attitudes gradually faded away.

Moving from one phase of the survey into another involved a considerable struggle. Present work as it became understandable acquired a certain fascination. For example, it became a fascinating work to write questionnaires, and later it was equally fascinating to prepare codes or to analyse case studies. Each new phase of the survey was a new venture into the unknown. I am happy to report that the learning process moved faster with

each passing month. Although the Germans remained formal throughout and the American advisors quite informal, the entire group before the end of the survey had become an effective working team.

Most of us who watched the development of this undertaking are firmly of the opinion that the money was well spent. We will know much more in five years when we review the records of the nine German monograph writers and of the three or four members who did not write monographs but are now employed in research institutes. As far as I am concerned, the important product of the survey is not the ten monographs, but the six or eight potential research scholars. I venture that the same group could perform a similar survey in half the time without advisors.

Concerning Methodology

Except in very minor respects, the Darmstadt Survey developed nothing new respecting methodology. Considerable thought was given by staff members to the methods that might be or should be used. Most of the long and usually earnest discussions concerned the application to the survey of one or another method. As might be expected, any method used needed to be adapted to the work at hand. As the project moved from one stage to another, the staff began to realize that methodology concerns the workways of research and that methods are not in themselves precise ways of work that can be transferred whole from one research to another; that the use of any research method is effective or not depending on the resourcefulness of those making use of it.

We may say, then, that the research methods used were those that had been used with some success in other community studies, but each was used as it could be used. The methodology differed with each of the several phases of the project. Each monograph is the result of a different combination of research methods.

The Reports on the Survey

Initially it had not been intended that the findings of the Darmstadt Survey should appear in monograph form. It had been the plan to issue a German report in one or two volumes. Later it was decided to divide the field into special subjects and have each senior staff member follow a subject through. Another reason for this decision was that six of the seniors would use their monographs as doctoral dissertations. In brief, the following were the monograph subjects:

1. The Structure and Function of the Rural Community within the Influence Area of a Middle-Size German City
2. Rural Population within the Influence Area of the City
3. The Part-Time Farmer and his Family at the Meeting Point of Rural and Urban Ways of Life

The above three monographs comprised the rural phase of the survey, supplementing one another.

4. Youth in the Postwar Period5. The School and the School Children in a Bombed City

These two monographs on youth and school children were drawn largely from the same materials, mainly a large number of essays written by school children and questions from older youth in the schools, plus supplementary supporting materials.

6. The German Family after the War

This monograph is based largely on the family questionnaire in Darmstadt plus data on the family from the rural questionnaire.

7. A Group of Girls in an Upper High School Class

This is a group of case studies of 14 girls who were together in school for a period of four years, some of them longer. But it is also a study of the group relations of the class.

8. Public Officials and Citizens

This monograph is concerned with the services of public offices in Darmstadt, the behavior and attitudes of public officials and the attitudes of the citizens towards the public officials.

9. Trade Unions and Work Councils in the Judgment of the Worker

This is a report on the operations and functions of labor organizations and the attitudes of workers towards them.

10. The Free Time of the Working Population of a Bombed City

This is a report on what most of the people of Darmstadt do when not working or sleeping. The definition of worker is sufficiently broad to include housewives and the children who work hard at their lessons.

It will readily be seen that certain important phases of community life were not included. This could hardly be avoided. But the missing elements may later be supplied. All the files of the projects, including the Hollerith cards, many case studies and certain descriptive materials which were not used have been given to the Technische Hochschule in Darmstadt. The social science faculty here has indicated a determination to use these materials as background for further studies of the Darmstadt community.

As I indicated earlier, an American volume is now being written. I regret to report that the work moves slowly. Besides being a summary of the materials in the monographs, it will contain supplementary descriptive data to orient the non-German readers. Much of this supplementary material was not necessary in the monographs prepared for German readers.

Local Cooperation

Something should be said about the response in Darmstadt and in the rural communities to the survey. At the outset of the project the German staff was quite concerned and somewhat fearful about the reception they might receive. It was largely because of this concern that the staff members formed an institute, hoping that the term "scientific" might ease their approach to the people. It was believed that the people had been wearied by questioning during the Nazi period. The staff was relieved and happy when it was found that the people did not resent being talked to or questioned. From that point on the staff members became more concerned about their methods of approach, how best to make their purposes clear to the people. They found that the more frank and clear they were in explaining their purposes the more frank and cooperative the people were in giving information.

While the American advisors helped as they could in guiding this approach to the people, they avoided making any direct contacts. All contacts with public agencies, private organizations or individuals were made by the members of the staff. If the American advisors had met with German public officials or private citizens such contacts were usually informal. They assumed no authority to speak for the project.

As had been assumed, there were occasional individuals who did not care to be interviewed, but the number was much smaller than expected. There was no refusal to cooperate from any public or private agency. This attitude of friendly cooperation continued to the end of the survey. If there was criticism it was in isolated instances. It never became overt. On the other hand, although the communities concerned were friendly and cooperative, perhaps I should say tolerant, there was never much expressed interest concerning the worth of such a survey to Darmstadt or its hinterland. The survey was treated as some sort of scientific exercise, perhaps important for community life, perhaps not. It was something that belonged in the realm of Sozialwissenschaft. Now that the monographs have appeared there is a growing awareness that they may have some bearing on the problems of everyday life. It is too early to predict in what direction or to what degree this new interest will develop.

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THE JAPANESE FAMILY

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Elements common to the family in other cultures are, of course, to be found in the Japanese family. However, we must distinguish between the concept of "family" conceived of by western scientists, and that of "ie", often translated as "house", but here translated as the "Japanese family". The family in Japan is best characterized as an institution, fundamentally composed of a couple with or without the presence of other members, in which each member receives *raison d'être* by contributing toward the maintenance and continuation of the family; which, as a social entity recognized as transcending the mere existence of family members, has existed in the past and will continue into the future long after any present member has expired. This conception of what the "ie" is, brings into play special forms and characteristics in the sphere of relationships between family members. What are these forms and characteristics, and how, through them, does the family as a peculiarly idealized institution express itself?

A. The Japanese family is conceived of as existing continuously, from the past and into the future, unceasingly, independent of the birth and death of its members. Ancestors and offspring are linked together by an idea of family genealogy, or *keifu*, which does not mean merely relationship based on blood inheritance and succession, but rather a bond of relationship inherent in the maintenance and continuance of the family as an entity whose existence is longer in time and more important than that of its living members. In any given period of history all family members have been expected to contribute to the perpetuation of the family which is held to be the highest duty of a member.

B. Each family has a household shrine and there offers worship to gods. These gods are worshipped together as a single family god by the family as a group. The family god is the guardian god not for individuals but for the family itself. Ancestors are worshipped by the family group at the grave and at the family Buddhist altar. Although ancestors are distinguished from the family god because ancestor worship is connected with Buddhism, the family god and ancestors, nevertheless, coincide in function as the family guardians.

C. The property which the family holds is not considered to be the total of fortunes owned by the individual members, nor is it the property held in common by all family members; it belongs to the family as an identity in itself. It includes, in the case of the farm family, such things as, houses, house sites, arable land, woodland and hayfields, furniture, clothes, tools, farm implements, grain and other kinds of foods, and cash. An individual family member is allowed, by the patriarch, to hold his own property but only to a negligible extent.

D. Family affairs are managed by the patriarch under whose direction other family members participate. The patriarch is the priest in

family worship, the manager of family properties, and the director of family production activities. Even when a family member commutes for work to another location, thus making possible a livelihood independent of the family, his cash income is included as part of the income of the family and is controlled by the patriarch. Under his command the wife of the patriarch is charged with the consumption aspects of family life. In consequence of his supervision of family members inside the family system, to the outside world the patriarch represents the family as a group, and most significantly, the family as a single entity, since his social status is both equal to and the same as that of the family. During the period he heads the family he must multiply the family property he has inherited, and, in transmitting it to his successor, feels shame should it have been reduced while under his management. In the society of Feudal Japan (1192-1867) patriarchal power over individual family members was strong, but its strength was not based on the arbitrary will of the patriarch. On the contrary, the patriarch himself was controlled by the institutional demands of the family, that is to say, demands following from the necessity for the continuation of a family as an identity, and beyond the immediate needs of living members.

Nowadays patriarchal power has become remarkably weakened, for a series of changes have taken place in the character of human relations within the family and in the institutional control of the family over its members. It should be mentioned that the influence of European and American culture has promoted this trend. On the other hand, social conditions which have sustained the traditional family system have not become entirely extinct. This is especially true of the Japanese rural community, overcrowded with small farm peasant families,¹⁾ even after the land reform program went into effect.

Having outlined above customs which best express the characteristics of this institution, for a clear understanding of the Japanese family an analysis of these customs is prerequisite. How do these customs determine actual family life? The answer to this question, owing to limitation of space, will be confined to three main topics: (1) family members, (2) succession, (3) establishment of a new family.

(1) Family members. Since the 8th century, when the earliest census registration was recorded, the form of marriage prevalent among the public at large has been monogamy, while until about a century ago polygyny was popular among upper class families. Polygyny was one of the devices used to show a family's high social standing. If a wife were childless the husband often kept a concubine, whose offspring succeeded to the headship of the family thus securing its continuation. When neither wife nor concubine bore him a child, custom allowed the family head, or patriarch, to adopt a successor. Thus, with an other way to provide a successor available, concubinage is not regarded merely as an institutional device for inheritance or succession.

Family members may be divided into two categories: (1) Persons socially recognized as being related in the family line, chokkei, in which successors, their spouses, and possible successors are included, and (2) members socially recognized as being outside the family line, bokei, under which all other family members, that is, relatives and ser-

vants, are grouped. The former enjoy a higher social status than the latter, and therefore even brothers are assigned status hierarchically with reference to the possibility of succession to headship.

One male offspring who is to succeed to the headship of the family lives with his parents after his marriage. He assumes the headship and has to take care of the parents when they have become aged. In addition, he is responsible for the support of bokei members and directs the labor of family members in the management of the household. Couples in successive generations live together under the same roof; the cohabitation of couples in two generations is common, that in three generations not infrequent, although that in four generations in the same domicile is relatively rare. Cohabitation of couples of different generations is needed to fulfill the institutional demands as well as economic requirements of the family.

A bokei member remains in the family after he is grown, as long as his labors are needed in the work of the family. Consequently, the extent to which a given family includes bokei members depends on the scale and variety of enterprise the family is engaged in. On the one hand, a family of small-scale enterprise need not retain a number of bokei relatives within it, with the result that these people either enter other families as adopted sons, "yoshi", or servants or they are allowed to establish new families of their own as branches, bunke, of the older, original family, honke. On the other hand, a family of relatively large scale enterprise includes its own bokei members, particularly servants, because they are suitable for domestic labors, who might be classified as secondary kind of members of that family. Although bokei relatives and servants are treated differently, the distinction between them is not a rigid one. For example, a servant who has served his master, the patriarch, over a long period of time, frequently is treated as the patriarch's adopted son or is allowed to establish a new branch family. This new family is given the name of bunke like that of a branch family of a bokei relative. When these bokei relatives and servants marry and remain inside the original family participating in the household life, a large family is formed, which, though relatively rare even among farm families, is extremely important in illuminating the fundamental character of the Japanese family. When, with the increase in the number of offspring of these bokei relatives and servants, the household life of the family becomes unwieldy, a branch family, or bunke is ramified from the large family.

The honke gives a part of the family property to and in various ways helps establish, a new branch family. The honke and its bunke form a group of families, termed dozokudan, about which more later.

(2) Succession. In the continuation of the family great emphasis has been placed on succession to family headship, katoku sozoku. The patriarch selects a certain son as candidate to succeed him. In general, this candidate is chosen from among the sons borne by the patriarch's wife, but in the past among upper-class families, when she had no son, the candidate might have been selected from among sons of the patriarch's concubines. In the Kamakura and Muromachi Periods (1192-1573), the eldest son born by the patriarch's wife did not monopolize the status of candidate, but in the Edo period (1603-1867), primogeniture came to be institutionalized.

Family continuity is so important that when there is no male heir every effort is made to adopt a son to carry it on. In many cases where the patriarch has sons neither by his wife nor concubines, the

adopted husband of the patriarch's own daughter is made son and successor. When he has no offspring, the patriarch often adopts both a boy as his successor and a girl as the successor's wife. Sometimes a patriarch adopts his younger brother as his successor. Such adopted sons are called "yōshi" and are considered chokkei relatives. They are distinguished from "yoshi", or adopted sons, who belong to bokei relatives by the social status they hold within the family. Both types of "yoshi" were regarded as sons-in-law in the Meiji Civil Code, but provisions of the Code were different for both types of "yoshi". Clearly, these provisions reflect the differences in actual treatment accorded such persons which is based on customary practices.

When the successor assumes headship of the family, after the retirement or death of the former patriarch, he begins to manage the household and control family property. It is customary, therefore, that nearly all family property is inherited by him. Sons and daughters who do not succeed to the headship are given only a part of the family property. The Civil Code which was enacted under the influence of western legal thought after the Meiji Restoration, challenged the existing notion of family property by defining it as the property owned in the name of the patriarch himself. From the standpoint of custom, however, the patriarch, as sole representative of the family, represented family ownership of its property. What a new patriarch inherits as the family property, in reality, is not the property left behind by the former patriarch himself. When the former patriarch distributes the family property among his sons, a majority is inherited by the successor, but a part may be spared to other sons for founding new branch families. The property so donated is not, however, given to the son himself for whom the branch family is established, but rather to the branch family which is thus established.

A family, itself, has a social standing, and, since the social standing of the patriarch mirrors that of the family, the successor is expected to have qualities corresponding to the social standing of his family, that is, he should have the personal characteristics which qualify him for the responsibilities to be borne by the head of the family. In the majority of cases one of the patriarch's sons does succeed him, because, beside being the son of the patriarch, he is also thought to be qualified by virtue of the status of his mother, who comes from a family the social standing of which equals that of her husband's. In case the son of the patriarch's concubine (his wife having produced no heirs), who comes from the family of lower social standing, is chosen to succeed, his qualifications will have to be augmented through being recognized as the son of the patriarch's wife. When a patriarch has no son who has the characteristics needed for the status and responsibilities, someone who does qualify, although born into a different family, is adopted as his son and successor. The concern here is that the institutional demands of the family make qualification exceed the importance of kin relationship of the successor, adoption being used as a device in this connection.

If we consider a "yōshi" as a son-in-law, we are compelled to consider the adoption of an heir as a "legal fiction" as it is considered in modern western law. From the view-point of Japanese custom it is not a fiction. A "yōshi" is not considered a son-in-law, but a son. Anyone who holds the status of son is regarded as a son, the concern here being not whether he is a son or an adopted son but whether he is a son included in chokkei or in bokei.

Even after all its members have died the family as an institution can continue to exist. This continuity is possible because of the existence of the family property, family god, graves, etc. The situation in which the family possesses no living members is most critical. Should such an eventuality arise, relatives and others who are connected closely to the family select an heir to preserve and continue the family, restarting the normal course of life of the family.

(3) Establishment of a new family. The concept of relatedness which connects a new family with the older family that establishes it, is an extension of the peculiar idea of family genealogy, keifu, mentioned at the beginning of this paper. It should be kept in mind that no dozokudan is purely a consanguineal group, because it may include bunke established for unrelated persons, as will be described below. The bond of relatedness between the honke, or main family, and its bunke, or branch families, is the consequence of the idea that a family continues to exist over a very long period of time. To sustain and continue the families, mutual social as well as economic assistance is maintained between the honke and its bunke, while they remain in the same locality. Cooperation during times of intense economic activities such as harvest and planting, and formal visits of congratulation and condolence are performed on occasions determined by tradition. A group of families made up of a honke and its bunke (dozokudan) also worships its own guardian god, ujigami,²⁾ which is the guardian god of the honke itself in many cases. Each family of the dozokudan has its own guardian god and, at the same time, worships the guardian god of the honke as the god of the group of families.

In establishing a new branch family three types are to be distinguished:

- 1) Bunke of a bokei relative, the most common;
- 2) Bunke of a servant;
- 3) A family immigrating to a new community seeks the sponsorship and social and economic patronage of an influential family in the new community. In doing so, the sponsoring family assumes the status of honke and the immigrant family the status of bunke to it.

The first and second types of bunke we have already discussed in some detail. It will be enough to give supplementary description here. In the first type of bunke it is a rule that upon its establishment it is given a larger amount of the honke family properties than that given to the servant bunke, unless distribution of family property to bunke would seriously jeopardize the social standing of the honke. The second type of bunke occurs in conjunction with large-scale family enterprise; after a servant has lived and worked in the honke for many years, a new family may be established for him by the patriarch. Instead of paying for the servant's services by day or month, the patriarch eventually is expected to establish a branch family for him. Even so, the relations between the patriarch and the servant are maintained for the most part, but now within the new hierarchical relationship of honke and bunke. Among farm families, the number of servants of long employment has undergone a reduction under the influence of capitalistic economy which has accelerated the disintegration of large-scale domestic enterprise after the Meiji Restoration, and, consequently, the establishment of servant bunke has greatly declined. On the other hand, in families of commercial and domestic industries in the cities, where labor

force is supplied primarily by servants, this kind of bunke was relatively numerous, but has recently also become scarce with the change in the form of employment.

The third type of bunke occurs relatively often in the rural community. When a family immigrating to a given local community asks a powerful family there to be its patron, there arises that peculiar idea of genealogy which connects honke and bunke, between the patron family and the immigrant family. The landlord, asked to be this sort of patron, or honke, has a part of his arable land cultivated by the immigrant bunke, or employs the latter in other jobs of his household. In other ways, too, he helps the bunke earn a living. Some similar relationships hold true for other kinds of enterprises. The bunke receives various kinds of patronage from the honke and in return it has to serve the honke. This sort of bunke has now come to be almost extinct.

Tokyo, Japan.
January, 1953.

The authors are professor, assistant professor, and instructor respectively of Tokyo Kyoiku University. Mr. Morton is a visiting lecturer to the university under the auspices of the professor exchange program of the Institute of International Education and the Japanese Education Ministry.

FOOTNOTES

Sources for this essay are: K. Ariga, Nihon Konin-Shi Ron (On a History of Marriage in Japan), Nikko Shoin, 1949, Tokyo; T. Nakano, Dōgyō-Gai ni okeru Dōzoku-Soshiki (A System of Groups of Extended Families in a Merchant-Guild in Kyoto), Japanese Journal of Sociology, Vol. I, No. 3, 1948; K. Morioka, Chūsei-Makki Honganji Kyodan ni okeru Ikke-Shu (The Group of extended Families Belonging to the Shin Sect of Honganji at the End of the Medieval Period), Japanese Journal of Sociology, Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2, 1952-53; J. Morton, "Family System and Authority in a Japanese Village", in preparation.

1. In 1949, seventy-four per-cent of all farm families in Japan cultivated lands amounting to 10 Tan or less (43 %, 5 Tan or less; 31 %, 5 to 10 Tan). (1 Tan equals 0.245 acres.) Source: National Agricultural Statistics, 1949.
2. Ujigami is a tutelary god in the earlier meaning of the word, but at the present time is used in a broad sense, the guardian god of an entire community.

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Sect. III

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Recent Developments in
Sociological Research

THE RESEARCH PROJECT ON LEADERSHIP, MOBILITY AND COMMUNICATION

The Hebrew University, Jerusalem; The Research Seminar in Sociology

Preliminary outline

by

S.N. Eisenstaat

THE RESEARCH PROJECT ON LEADERSHIP, MOBILITY AND COMMUNICATIONThe Hebrew University, Jerusalem; The Research Seminar in Sociology

Preliminary outline by S.N.Eisenstadt

This project has developed out of the first stage of the research on absorption of immigrants in Israel conducted by the Seminar. That research has shown the importance of leadership and mobility in the process of group-transformation of immigrants and their absorption within Israeli society. It has been decided to focus the second stage of the research on absorption on these problems and their relations to the emergence of different types of immigrant groups and countries. At the same time it has become apparent that these various problems could be restated from the point of view of systematic theory and could become a meeting point for several such problems. Accordingly, the research was re-formulated in terms of these problems. It is the purpose of this brief outline only to indicate this basic framework and to explain the general design of the research in its terms. No substantive findings will be reported here, although several stages of the research have already been executed and several interesting findings came out. (Some of them have been tentatively reported in the pages on "Social Mobility and Intergroup Leadership" presented to the 2nd World Congress of Sociology).

The research attempts to converge the following lines of thought and investigation which have lately been developed: 1) Reference group behaviour; 2) Communication; 3) Social Participation and Leadership; and 4) Mobility. It is proposed that the juxtaposition of these different lines of thought could not only prove fruitful for each of them but will also maximize their importance and bearing on general problems of integration and stability of social systems.

The starting point may well be the problem of reference group behaviour. It has become almost a commonplace that in order to understand a person's behaviour and attitudes it is not enough to know the actual roles which he performs and the group within which he participates, but also his various reference groups and standards. Although the importance of reference groups has been shown to be great in a multi-group, complex society, it may be assumed that it is not necessarily smaller in "simpler" societies. It is through his referring himself to some "outside" group and standards that the individual broadens the scope of his social orientation beyond his immediate roles and groups. It may, then, be assumed that it is through such reference-group behaviour that our individual orientation to the total society in which he participates and towards its ultimate values is developed and maintained. But till now

studies of reference-group behaviour have been mostly focused on the influence of these groups on an individual's attitudes and behaviour, but there has been almost no systematic exploration of the different types of reference groups which are "referred to" in a given society and their relation to the institutional structure of that society. It seems to us that such a systematic exploration is of great importance, and only through it we shall be able to understand the relation of reference groups to the status-system and the integration (or disintegration) of a society. In this way it will be possible to ask why different individuals choose different types of reference groups, what determines this choice, to what extent are they congruent with orientation to the society's values, and what are its effects on their conformist and deviant tendencies.

The search for determinants of reference groups choice will necessarily lead, as Hyman's study has already indicated, to the individual's status-image and aspirations. According to our point of view these should, however, be closely related to the main values and norms of the society and the individual's attitudes towards them. An important intervening variable within this context has been proved to be the evaluation by the individual of his various membership groups in terms of the various reference groups.

If we look on reference group behaviour as taking place within an organized social system and as related to the main value and norms of the society - and not only as segments of individual behaviour - then its relation to communication processes will become almost self-evident. Systematic analysis of communication within society has already shown that it has the two interconnected functions of maximizing the effectiveness of social interaction within any kind of group and of providing the individual with both technical and valuational orientations beyond his immediate surrounding and groups. It is mostly with the latter that what may be called the "central channels" of communication within any society are concerned. Many researches have clearly shown the importance of communication for the maintenance of identification with the central values of the society.

It may thus be restated that processes of communication are one of the mechanisms through which reference-group orientations and aspirations are developed and maintained. Thus the problems of effectiveness of communication, of communicative receptivity, i.e. of the predisposition to receive various types of communications, are very closely connected with the whole gamut of reference-group problems. If our assumption that it is the individual's status-image and collectivity-orientation that largely determines the choice of reference groups is correct, then one of the basic problems of research would be the elucidation of the effects of different types of communication on the development of these status images and aspirations, the extent to which the status image of an individual sets limits to his

communicative receptivity and the conditions which this may be changed. These questions would, in their turn, throw light on the problem of the choice of different types of reference groups by the individual and the extent and ways in which the institutional structure of the society exerts influence in this direction.

It is in this context that the next problem, that of leadership, comes in. Recent studies of communication have emphasized the importance of a) the primary group, and of b) the "opinionleader" as channels of communication. The relation between the two has been investigated in several studies. These studies should be extended so as to include various levels of leadership, formal and informal, and the extent to which they exert communicative influence with the society. It is in this way that the processes through which the institutional structure of a society exerts its influence on the choice of reference groups by various individuals, can be systematically approached. It would enable us to analyse the processes of transmission of various goals and values from the various bearers of authority, power and influence within a society to its various members, and the conditions of its effectiveness or non-effectiveness. In this way the initial problem of the relation of the various reference groups to the institutional framework of the society becomes, as it were, rounded up and, at the same time, closely connected with problems of social consensus, conformity and deviance.

The relation between the various types of leaders and the groups within which they act and to which they communicate should also be more systematically explored. Of special interest here is the question of the tasks of leadership in mediating between different role-conflicts and different value-orientations which exist within any society. It has lately been demonstrated that within any society there exist not only its basic values but also several "secondary" ones. The problem of the way in which these last ones are interconnected within the total institutional framework of a society has not yet been systematically explored, and there are some indications within new researches that various types of leadership perform important functions of mediating between different sub-structures of a society and its basic value orientations, and that it is through the communication of reference-orientations that these functions of theirs are performed. Thus we come here to the problem of the existence of different levels of consensus (and of deviance) within a society, and the necessity to investigate them systematically.

It also seems possible to connect at least some aspects of processes of social mobility with the various problems analysed above - although there are still many unexplored problems in this context. Mobility usually involves the development of new reference groups and standards and attempts to attain new positions. It does necessarily involve a revaluation of one's membership groups and general position

within the society. It also involves communication and contacts with new groups, and may also involve the selection of new leaders. The extent of success or lack of success of mobility-aspirations, and of the relations between the membership groups and new positions has been proved to be an important determinant of conformist or deviant tendencies.[†] It may thus be seen that the process of mobility is directly related to the problems analyzed in this outline, although their exact relations have yet to be investigated.

This is the main theoretical framework of the research. It is within this framework that many specific hypotheses have been and are being continuously developed. Some of them have already been published, some are still being "worked out".⁺⁺

Although all these problems can, and should be investigated in many settings, it has been thought that the situation of absorption of immigrants in Israel provides an excellent opportunity and framework for such an investigation, especially because of the process of development of a new, integrated structure can be here directly analyzed.

We shall now only briefly indicate the general design of the research-project and its execution. The design was built up in such a way as to enable the continuous expansion of the research when the necessary funds may become available.

1. Investigation of a sample of local communities among old and new immigrants in Israel, focused on: internal cohesion; main value-orientation; participation in general associations etc.; identification with the country; types of leaders and leadershipselection, relations between leaders and communities.
2. Investigation of various types of "ethnic" groups of immigrants, from the same points of view and especially in relation to the development of "particularistic" identification.
3. Investigation of the main types of associations, civic, cultural, political etc., their membership, values and leadership.
4. Investigation of the composition of the various types of leadership and elites within the country.

 + See before-mentioned report to the Congress.

++ See, for instance, S.N. Eisenstaät, in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Nov. 1951, and in PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, Spring 1952, as well as several reports in Hebrew.

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5. Investigation of the main agencies and processes of leadership selection among the new immigrants and their influence on their groups of origin.
6. Special intensive investigation among immigrant youth (parallel to the general research on youth movements) so as to elucidate the formation and development of reference group behaviour and orientations.
7. Intensive investigation of special situations of lack of communicative receptivity and of deviant types of behaviour.

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REPORT ON THE RESEARCH PROJECT ON YOUTH MOVEMENTS
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1. Youth movements have been a unique feature of Israel society since the very beginnings of modern Jewish settlement in Palestine. Although originating in the entirely different set-up of the Diaspora, where they served the purpose of preparing Jewish youth for migration to Palestine and of reorienting them from an urban middle-class way of life to work on the land within the framework of collective, pioneering communities, these movements showed surprising force of survival amongst the changed conditions of life in Israel. It is difficult to estimate the size of membership, as joining and leaving are informal. This and the propagandistic bias of the politically affiliated competing movements make youth movement statistics rather unreliable. In 1949 official estimates put the total membership figure as high as 40,000 (out of a total of about 110,000 youths in the 11-17 age groups). Various considerations lead us to assume that effective membership was not more than 20,000 - 25,000. As, however, the turnover is considerable and membership spreads over a seven year age span, it may be safely stated that a majority of Israel youth, apart from children of recent immigrants, does have some youth movement experience. The general significance of the phenomenon from the point of view of Israeli society seems to be beyond doubt. From a sociological point of view the phenomenon appears to be unique amongst societies with democratic political institutions and a liberal way of life.

2. The point of departure for the construction of our hypothesis was the question: What functions do the youth movements fulfil in the Israeli social structure? The hypothesis, derived from the analysis of cultural data and formulated by one of the directors of the project (see S.N. Eisenstadt, in a forthcoming publication and in the British Journal of Sociology, February 11, 1951), was that such formalized age groups are found in societies where the discontinuity between the particularistically oriented family and universalistic large society, which is characteristic for most present-day societies, goes together with collectivistic elements in the central value system. These characteristics seem to describe adequately Israeli society, where emphasis on pioneering service to the community, and the values of communalism and cooperation, are continually being contradicted by a largely capitalistic and individualistic economic structure and status-system.

x) The project is being directed jointly by Dr. S. N. Eisenstadt and the writer.

This broad structural-functional hypothesis, like all hypotheses of this kind, has to be proved on cross-cultural material. For the analysis of a single society it had to be translated into terms of the processes of socialization. What is the meaning of the various fields of activity - the parental house, the school and the youth movement - for the child, and what is the place of their corresponding value systems in the individual child's scale of values? What is the most important function of youth movements - is it to provide values, to satisfy needs of social solidarity, or is their significance mainly of an expressive nature closely related to the emotional upheaval of adolescence? Accordingly a number of hypotheses were drafted, aimed at linking together various aspects of behaviour in the movement and various attitudes towards youth movement activities and ideology with relationships with parents, the status of the child at home, attitudes towards teachers, towards the school, plans for the future, etc. A detailed questionnaire was drawn up containing mainly open-ended questions, covering these aspects of the child's life. The questionnaire was administered by students of the Sociology Department, who with very few exceptions were themselves former members of youth movements, and as a rule, after a short period of training, had no difficulty in establishing an atmosphere of confidence with the interviewee. Data secured from observation and information received from youth leaders show that the validity of the interviews is high. However this method of interviewing was extremely time consuming (6 - 7 hours of work for each interview, including the writing up of the report). There was also a shrinkage of the sample (varying between 10 % to 15 % in the various movements) owing to difficulties in arranging appointments or failure on the part of the interviewees to keep them. Therefore it was decided to experiment with a more formal type of questionnaire, to be filled in by the youth movement members in small groups of 10 - 15 under the supervision of a field worker. This method proved a failure in one of the movements, where the start was made; at a later stage, however, through careful selection of the field workers, re-drafting of the schedule and improvements in the technique of supervision, the results proved satisfactory. Personal interviews conducted with samples of those who answered the questionnaire showed a high amount of consistency, apart from the "problem" cases. However, in these cases too there was in the filled-in questionnaire sufficient indication of some disturbance, although this was rather short of clinical precision.

1. Scouts (coeducational in Israel and non-dogmatic, non-partisan idealist socialists): interviews with 1 in 4 members between the ages of 15- 17 in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv and a few small towns, giving a total of about 100 interviews. Questionnaires were filled in by a random sample of 200 of the same age group.
2. Hamahnoth Haolim (left-wing socialists): 187 questionnaires (1 in 2 sample, ages 15- 17, whole country), out of which 68 cases interviewed.
3. Tnuah Meuhedeth: questionnaires in process of administration on a 1 in 2 sample. Interviews also planned.
4. Hashomer Hatzair (extreme left): Betar (extreme right): interviews with small samples of 35 and 25, respectively.

Although the planned collection of the material has not yet been completed, preliminary analyses have been made of the material of the Scouts and Guides and of the Hamahnoth Haolim and of about half of the material of the Hashomer Hatzair movements. This mainly qualitative analysis was made with a view to seeing whether there are sociologically important differences

between these movements, and whether certain well-known movement types (the active leader-type, the average, and the non-respected types) as ascertained by their youth leaders and by the interviewers (who were well versed in the matters of the movements) correspond to certain typical motivations of the members themselves, and to types of family situations, progress in school and plans for the future.

The results (which are yet preliminary and partial) show that there is a considerable correspondence between the youth movement joined, the school and the social status of the parents. Scouts recruit most of their members from the old established secondary schools of some social standing, whereas the Hamahnoth Haolim members come mainly from technical high schools and the less fashionable secondary schools. There is, of course, a corresponding difference between the statuses of parents, although - as will be shown presently - it is not always the objective status which is decisive. The Hashomar Hatzair members (and this is as yet no more than a mere impression) seem to come from a more varied background. However even the small numbers interviewed show a very marked tendency of this movement to absorb youngsters from broken homes. The atmosphere of this ideologically totalitarian movement and its thorough and efficient organization of the total life of its members appear to be substitutes for a stable home life in these cases. This differentiation of movement membership according to class lines is somewhat of a surprise, both in view of the progressive ideology and policies of these movements and in view of the recency of Jewish settlement in the country.

As to the typology of participation within one movement, a few distinct types seem to emerge, some of which I shall attempt to describe in some detail. In constructing this typology, mainly the following variables were considered: status in the movement, amount of participation, identification with movement, plans for the future, attitudes towards school, parents' status, parents' attitudes towards status, affective relationship between parents and child; parents' influence on child's plans for future, parents' attitude towards movement. The active leader-type in the movements - even in the fairly left-wing Hamahnoth Haolim - is not one who is in conflict with his parents, rebels against them, etc., but one who as a rule has emotionally harmonious relations with them. There seems to be, however, little guidance on the part of the parents of this leader-type (especially in the Hamahnoth Haolim), who appear to be unable and probably unwilling to serve as an ideal (either occupationally or from the point of view of values) for their children. Although there does not seem to be expressed dissatisfaction with status, there is a kind of passive dissatisfaction, or at least lack of identification, with it. The function of the movement in these cases seems to be to provide a system of values and a plan for the future, which the family is unable to provide. In these cases the family seems to have been a successful primary socializing agency, and also an efficient provider of material welfare and emotional security, leaving, however, the actual preparation of the child for adult life to the movement, often by actually directing the child to it. This type of member tends to stress the importance of the practical functions and the general values of the movement. His identification with it is a practical one, through many, often important, functions which he himself fulfils.

In cases of actual dissatisfaction with status on the part of the parents and the feeling of inadequacy of the family as a provider on the part of the child, the movement appears to the child as a kind of reference group, without, however, his being quite certain about the nature of his membership in it. Often he draws a line between himself and the "aristocracy" of the movement, who come as a rule from more secure families than himself.

The actual functions fulfilled by this type of member within the movement are not many and are not of great importance. His identification with it is at times more intensive than in the case of the first type, but nearly always less practical. There is rarely the feeling of oneness with the movement, which appears rather as a probably better alternative to their present surroundings and an ideal rather than part of their own identity.

Children of families with high identification with their status (the important variable seems to be identification with the status, and not so much the objective status itself) tend to choose a more neutral type of movement (such as the Scouts and Guides); or in cases of this kind in the Hamahnoth Haolim they tended to stress greatly the non-political elements of the movement's ideology, often expressly denying the importance of the political element in spite of the obvious facts.

The non-respected or problem member was, in our cases, a problem to his family as well. It is obvious that most of the movements are fairly "institutional" in their standards of behaviour, unable and unwilling to do anything with the deviant or even with the actively rebelling type. This seems to be different in the extreme left or right-wing movements.

Whereas in the case of relationship between family and movement the former appeared to be the independent variable, in the case of the influence of the school the connection seems to be the reverse, with the movement forming and limiting the child's perception of the school and its function within his life plan. The importance of the school is limited to the transmission of knowledge, and its educational influence beyond this is generally denied. Identification with the school and with teachers does not exist, and even in cases where it obviously does, the movement member will tend to rationalize it away. The same applies to the subjects of study. Interest is often pointed out; but as to the wish for professional or occupational careers, this is expressly subordinated to the demands of the movement in the Hamahnoth Haolim (not so in the Scouts). Similarly, preparation of school work is a second priority to activity in the movement.

This typology (which has yet to be substantiated on the full material) does not cover all the types and motives of participation, and even the material upon which the present analysis is based will have to be further analyzed before quantification will be attempted. However, it may be of some interest to indicate the implications of the material for the analysis of the total social structure.

The avowed aim of the youth movements is to bring about social change through transferring urban (mainly middle-class) youth to the working life of rural communal settlements, which are supposed to form the basis of a utopian socialistic community. They are intended to mean for the youth a break with the life of their families. However our results indicate that the choice of movement itself is to a large extent influenced by the status or status security of the family. Similarly, the child's role in the movement seems to be, to a large extent, a reflection of status factors. This is the case not only in such near bourgeois movements as the Scouts (even this movement has a socialistically tinted ideology?), but also in such almost expressly "revolutionary" movements as the Hamahnoth Haolim. Many middle-class parents seem to direct their children to this movement, or at least tacitly to agree to their participation in it. They regard it as a suitable agency of education for social life and the inculcation of the idealistic values of socialist Zionism. The choice of a fairly dogmatic movement reflects in these cases the parents' lack of identification with their social roles, a kind of flight into ideology without really wanting social change.

This might still leave open the possibility for the movement to turn this rather passive resentment into action and organize it for its own ends. The continued harmonious contact between parents and children does not, however, point to such conclusions, and indeed a very small proportion of members joins a communal settlement - the path definitely prescribed by the movement and strongly identified with by almost all of the members as long as their membership lasts. The actual meaning of membership is therefore not education for social change, but the inculcation of some idealistic socialism, which has acquired a place in the central value system of the society (or perhaps rather in its central symbol system, in view of its lack of consequence for social practice in an increasing number of cases), and is paid lip service even by broad strata of the middle classes. From this point of view the function of the movement is complementary to that of the family.

It has, however, a further meaning, which emerges from the movements' forming of the child's perception of his plans for the future and his preparation for it through schooling, technical education, etc. In this respect there seems to be a definite effect to deflect the child from gradually building up his adult roles in terms of economic functions and organizing them actively round the fulfilment of roles in the movement. As these (politically and ideologically oriented) roles organize his perception of the tasks of adult life in his formative years, they introduce the political-ideological element into his picture of the status structure of Israeli society, and finally into his actual fulfilment of status roles, limiting thereby the orientation to economic achievement. Thus it can be seen that all these researches have some bearing on problems of stratification and mobility within Israeli society, and render a detailed analysis of the processes of social continuity and transmission of cultural heritage from generation to generation. In this way the initial starting point of the broad structural hypothesis will be completed through an analysis of dynamic motivational processes.

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Sect. III.

Développements récents de
la recherche sociologique.

Sect. III.

Recent Developments in
Sociological Research.

A DIMENSIONAL SYSTEM OF HUMAN VALUES

by

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A DIMENSIONAL SYSTEM OF HUMAN VALUES

Introduction

Bertrand Russell has recently said:

"If politics is to become scientific, and if the event is not to be constantly surprising, it is imperative that our thinking should penetrate more deeply into the springs of human action. All human activity is prompted by desire.... If you wish to know what men will do, you must know not only, or principally, their natural circumstances, but rather the whole system of their desires with their relative strengths."

The Rockefeller Foundation in its annual report for 1948 recognized this fact: "There can be no satisfactory solution to the problems of our civilization that does not take into account the ideals and spiritual aspirations of men ..."

Professor Lundberg said in his Presidential address to the Pacific Sociological Society in April, 1950:

"What do we, in fact, have at present in the way of a comprehensive inventory of the values of any group? What do we know about the intensity with which these values are cherished? What do we know about the different value systems of different classes within the same country? To what extent can we reliably predict what people will do from our present knowledge of their value systems? To what extent can it be shown that an unrealistic value system is primarily responsible for the frustration that result in the neuroticism of our time?"

Generally speaking, our project seeks to find the solutions to those questions through a systematic study of the values problem. Our value system includes all that man values in all his various institutions; it includes the philosophical, ethical, and religious values as well as the economic values.

One of the main obstacles to the advancement of the social sciences has always been the absence of reliable indices representing objectively and accurately the phenomena about which social scientists must talk and attempt to establish correlations.

We take the analysis of values from Aristotle and mainly from Kant whose basic categories of quality, quantity and relationship fit our operationally defined exponents of zero, one, and two. On this foundation, we build a more scientific system with the help of better tools, such as symbolic logic and contemporary mathematics, especially statistics and matrix algebra, combined by our dimensional analysis.

We seek, with the aid of our dimensional system to chart progressively the exact relativity of values by measuring and systematizing them.

We hope that the result will be to make an exact science of the Greek aphorism "man is the measure of all things" which he surely must be in the realm of human values.

The application of the technics to measure values to any large extent is a vast undertaking requiring decades of research by thousands of skilled

scientists equipped with million dollar resources. Research on human values can be expected to yield fruit only to the extent that it is supported as research on plastics, crops, or atoms is now supported.

Our General Dimensional System for Studying Values

The intention of our dimensional system is to augment social science as a means of expressing, predicting and controlling inter-human behavior in respect to whatever values men hold.

Our dimensional system is based on six classes of dimensions which systematize social science. We have defined several hundred concepts of the social sciences as compounded of these six basic classes of dimensions, further subclassified when expanded by their modifying scripts. (Refs. 1, 2, 6, 10, 15, 33).

These six basic classes of dimensions are:

- Time T, universal to all empirical sciences
- Space L, " " " " " "
- People P, distinctive to the human sciences
- Desiderata V, anything desired by people, anything valued, any "object of value",
- Desiring D, any index of intensity of desiring a V, what one will give or do to get or keep a V.
- Attendant Social Conditions C

Thus we have the 3 forms of the actance formula:

Verbal form in general	The Act- ence or predicter index of the soci- al behavi- or to be predicted	is defined as the product of indices of	People or Valuers	their De- siring or Valuing or acting	and Desi- derata or Values	their Timing	Spacing and other known Condi- tions
------------------------	--	--	-------------------------	--	----------------------------------	-----------------	--

Dimen- sional form	(I _A = P ^p D ^d V ^v T ^t L ^l C ^c)
--------------------------	--

Inter- roga- tive form	What activity?	results from	who ?	desiring or doing what ?	why ?	when ?	where ?	how ?
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A dimensional formula in physics and in sociology is a formula in which:

- 1) the variables are factors combined by some kind of multiplication so that the actance I, is their mathematical product; 2) the six variables are each weighted by an exponent. A dimensional formula is defined as "a sum of products of powers of basic factors", without regard to the absolute size of the units. Thus the dimensional formula P² or P³ means that

population is taken twice or three times as a factor even though each factor may be numerically different. x) (Refs. 15, 29, 33)

A case of this actance system is our interactance subsystem in which the population is observed as interrelated - a second^{power} index, (P^2) i.e., a product of actors and reactors. The whole of Project Revere "Testing message diffusion from person to person" for the United States Air Force as part of their leaflet dropping operations in psychological warfare, is an example of a research program testing this interactance system, factor by factor, as a case of our actance system. (Refs. 21, 23, 30).

Our Dimensional System of Values

Let a desideratum or a value V, be defined as anything desired or chosen by someone sometime. In polls, a value is operationally defined by what the respondent says he wants.

Let desiring or valuing be defined as acts showing a person's intensity of desire for a value. In polls these acts of desiring include the respondent's saying how strongly he feels about the value or what he will give or do to get it.

A colloquial statement of our values system might be (Refs. 26, 34, 38):

Somebody	saying	something	at	somewhere	under
	he desires		some		suitable
			time		conditions

In the interrogative formulation, a poll asks a representative sample of people specific sub-forms of such generalized questions as (Refs. 30, 38):

who gives what? to get what? when? where? how?

x) For a dimensional formula to become a statistical formula requires:

- 1) specifying the particular operationally defined statistical index which represents the dimension. (A dimension is an interconvertible class of such indices -- as the time dimension may be measured in indices of clock hours, or years, or ordinal ranks in a sequence, etc.);
- 2) specifying further the units of that index;
- 3) specifying further the limiting points of that index such as its origin or zero point, its maximum, etc.

The three corner scripts $\begin{smallmatrix} S \\ S \\ S \end{smallmatrix}$, other than the exponent S , in our standardizing and inter-disciplinary "S-notation", specify the indices, units, and limits which convert a general dimensional formula into a particular statistical index, thus yielding observable data and testable hypotheses.

Our values project is intended to measure by polling or "demoscopes" these six factors and their correlations.

To develop our values project into a full system of human tensions requires:

1. defining values
2. observing values
3. classifying values
4. measuring values
5. scaling values
6. correlating values
7. predicting values
8. validating values
9. experimenting upon values
10. deducing new values
11. combining values

How to Define Values

How can values, which are philosophical, religious and ethical intangibles be objectively defined?

What does "democracy" mean to most of us? How many persons have the same notion of "freedom"? Can any social science define a "right" as clearly as physicists can define a "force"?

The social scientist needs sharper conceptual tools to understand, predict, and control phenomena in his field. Our techniques for solving the problem of definition consist mainly in using operational definitions whose reliability can be measured and shown to be high.

These operational definitions will make symbols correspond better to their referents, for they state as statistical formulas do, what operations are to be performed on what materials, in what sequence or relationships. Such operational definitions may be retrospective or prospective, aiming either to identify and measure a present value or to generate it in the future.

For instance, we have used formulas of statistical moments to define important human values in measurable terms and proposed them for scientific purposes of prediction and control. Eleven classic ideals such as "freedom", "security", "progress", etc., have been redefined as statistical moments of some order. (Refs. 3, 27)

Thus "freedom" in respect to X" (such as travel) can be operationally defined by counting the alternatives open to one to attain a given end. If for a traveller three roads to the next town exist and two are blocked off by a storm, his freedom here is cut to a third. He has no choice when there are no alternatives -- he is compelled to take the only way. A "Land of the free" means a land where people have many alternative courses of conduct, materials and other choices open to them in many respects. This proportion of all possible alternatives is stating degrees of freedom in terms of a zeroth moment, a relative frequency.

Similarly "progress" must be specified as progress in respect to desideratum, V, to a population P, at a time T. Then "progress" to those people is simply getting more of that desideratum. This is an increase of its mean amount and is a mean first moment. Thus to say that people want progress is but saying they want more of what they want. Expressing it as a first moment of a statistical index standing for that desideratum is the scientist's way of

specifying exactly how much progress is wanted or has been attained, to what people, during what period, under what conditions.

We have also developed formulas to express all moments as percentages of their maxima, hence making them easily interpretable. (Refs. 19, 32) Thus all the indices vary from 0 to 100 as their range. One can then say such things as:

"Freedom of travel is increased to 70 percent of its maximum by these visa conventions", or "This law makes our economic security 80 percent of its possible maximum", or "Our country showed 15 percent of maximum possible progress on these sixty indices".

The entire sociological theory of social processes can be deductively derived thus from our system. (Ref. 1, ch.9; Ref. 2, ch.9; Ref.5)

How to Observe Values

We take as an indicator of values "what a respondent in a poll says he wants". Thus, a respondent's values are his asserted desires among alternatives in the poll situation.

But how can polls observe the desires that are untold, because they are socially tabooed, or that are mistold, because of social pressure? How variable are the meanings of the same words to different respondents, at different times and places, in different situations and sentence contexts?

We define these problems of validity as the correlation between poll behavior and life behavior. This field is large, and little explored and needs further research.

But it should be noted that polling is itself a major scientific technique for observing the validity of the valuations of a population. As domoscopes, or complete scientific polling, improve their six sub-technics of designing, questioning, sampling, interviewing, tabulating and reporting, they can measure with increasing accuracy the values of a public expressed in verbal statements. x)

Ordinarily, we assume that speech behavior correlates with non-verbal behavior relative to the one desideratum about as much as any two such non-verbal behavior would correlate with each other.

Thus, during the War, working in occupied territories, we developed new technics for measuring falsehoods in polls. We found that in the absence of specific pressures on a question, a population would usually answer truthfully, even if it was suspicious of the poller or non-sympathetic to his government suspicions. (Refs. 11, 12) Our friends-strangers technic compared responses given by the same respondents to a close friend in covert confidential interviews with responses given to strangers in overt interviews in a poll situation. This technic validated poll responses by life responses which are close-

x) We have outlined a set of forty dimensions of excellence of polls by which the quality of any domoscope may be evaluated (Refs. 13, 20), and we have restated the chief principles and technics for improvement of predictions from polls and established a set of twelve rules by which such prediction may be operationally improved. (Refs. 14, 17, 24)

ly comparable in that both were verbal responses to the same stimulus questions.

How to Classify Values

We assume that a suitable classification can improve prediction. The purpose of dividing phenomena into pollable classes and subclasses in successive levels of classifying is to find relevant and homogeneous subclasses. Homogeneous classes here mean classes which correlate highly with the valuing behavior and thus can be used to predict it. Valuing behavior will vary little within a homogeneous class and will have most of its variances between such classes. (Ref. 26)

We further assume that the more universal classes should have priority in research.

This implies studying first the values or desiderata which are greatest when distributed along each of the six major dimensions of our values system:

This means studying first the values which are most:

- a. permanent, or universal in time from cavemen to our posterity
- b. ubiquitous, or universal in space from equator to poles
- c. general, or universal among people of every class and culture
- d. inclusive, or universal to all parts of a system of values
- e. intense, or strong desiring
- f. stable, under varying social conditions

These criteria imply subclassifying human values by the chief social institutions which represent the organized striving of most people for values of most kinds and amounts, which are most desired, at most times and places.

We use a dozen institutional subclasses:

domestic	religious	artistic
scholastic	philanthropic	scientific
economic	hygienic	linguistic
political	recreational	military

Then within each institution, we sub-classify its "type-parts" into the behavior, personnel, material and symbols, or more colloquially into activities, people, things, and language. Each of these type parts of an institution is further subclassified by its major dimension. (Ref. 26)

Sub-classifying is, however, in itself an inadequate technic for bringing order out of the diversity of values. Cross-classifying in matrices is a more inclusive and adequate technic. (Refs. 7, 8, 25) We cross-classify all values by means of a matrix of seventeen axes which provides an axis for tabulating in its cells any variation of any variable.

How to Measure Values

How can things ranging from the most trivial to the most "sacred and eternal", from the valueless to the "infinitely valuable" be measured?

The answer to these questions lies in the technics for measuring the

intensity of desiring (D), a value (V) D has been defined as "how much a person will say, give, or do to get or keep the desideratum, V".

We propose that indices of desiring (D), be expressed in standardized terms. Each index is derived from an objective record of the behavior of persons or things such as a talkie-camera could observe and record. The eight indices of D's we use are: (Refs. 22, 26)

Temporal indices:

1. Giving time, e.g., "I will devote an evening a week for .."
2. Giving effort, in man-hour units, e.g., "I will serve on this committee for..."

Spatial indices:

3. Giving space, e.g., "I will give up my room for .."
4. Giving material, e.g., "I will trade my knife for .."

Populational indices:

5. Giving self-sacrifice, e.g., "I will sit up all night at his bedside".
6. Giving in-group sacrifice, e.g., "I would vote for letting our army be used for .."

Symbolic indices:

7. Feeling, graded in adjective degrees, e.g., "I want it very strongly, moderately, not at all."
8. Giving money, e.g., "I will pay you three dollars, if you will..."

The more indices such as these become scaled and standardized, the more accurately they will measure the desiring.

Our eight standards of valuing would be progressively interlocked into a unified scale of valuing. (Ref. 39)

How to Scale Values (Ref. 22)

To this problem of precision, our dimensional system contributes a technic which synthesizes current ways of dealing with qualities and quantities, classes and variables, as well as with quantities varying in precision from all-or-none through ordinal to cardinal. Precision may be increased by technics dealing with the wording of questions. For example, the five responses "... built up a lot, built up a little, kept same as now, cut down a little, cut down a lot ...", forming a Thurstone scale, have been pretested and selected from many sets of phrases to represent equal units of attitude with minimal ambiguity. This scaling of desiderata, V, and intensities of desiring, D, has been done for thirty seven questions out of the fifty evaluating in our National Security Poll which scales values of national defense in the United States.

Precision in scaling values by known technics can be augmented to the extent that research funds are made available.

How to Correlate Values (Ref. 1, Ch.6, Ref. 2, Ch.8, 12)

How can values that vary with time and place, with people, culture, and the situation, be expected to show any constant uniformities such as scientists search and research for?

This emphasizes the fact that human values, in addition to being variable, occur in large sets, or systems of values, in which every value is conditioned by others.

This complexity cannot be grasped by thought processes limited by folk language.

The major technic for dealing with the relativity of values is again the matrix into which every conditional question fits as one array. The n-matrix can provide an array for every conditioning variable, no matter how large a number of variables may be studied. Then correlation and other appropriate indices computed from the matrix can measure the dependence of each valuation in the whole system. These thousands of correlations define the system, the interdependence of the variables. Thus our dimensional matrix formulas can handle jointly n-dimensions.

How to Predict Values (Ref. 24, 26, 31, 35, 36, 37)

How can such fluctuating things as people's wishes be predicted ?

Our research program may be concerned with the problem of prediction once the indices of desiring (D) and valuing (V) are developed beyond their present coarseness. However, we already have technics for predicting public behavior from a poll, which may include:

1. Estimating in the population, or inferring a parent population's behavior from a sample's behavior.
2. Forecasting in time, or inferring future behavior from past behavior, measuring accelerations, etc. (Ref. 4, 5)
3. Validating in culture, or inferring life behavior from poll behavior.
4. Eventually combining the three steps above would lead to predicting what values are likely to be held with what intensity under given conditions, (e.g., unemployment).

Thus a poll predicting an election estimates, forecasts and assumes validity, because it infers from earlier poll behavior of a sample the later life behavior of the whole electorate. Technics for getting adequate and representative randomized samples and computing the standard errors and confidence levels deal with estimating. Technics of observing trends and fluctuations, over longer past-periods, and by components, deal with forecasting. Technics of correlating the polled responses with overt mass responses, such as voting or buying an article, deal with validating.

Once again, the n-matrix offers a powerful technic to aid prediction. The precision of predicting is fast becoming an economic problem more than a scientific problem. A demoscope can yield almost any desired degree of precision if sufficient funds are provided. The sample can be made as adequate and representative as one has funds to pay for up to the limit of a census checked by a re-census; if the social researcher has funds enough, the scales in a questionnaire can be refined and pretested till they are more reliable than the indices of the phenomena to be predicted.

How to Validate Values

To what extent does the respondent in a poll do as he says he does ?

The validity of the valuing and some other variables should be tested by correlating the valuing behavior as asserted in a poll with the respondent's corresponding acts in life outside the interview. The validity of a poll is the degree of agreement between speech and action, between poll responses and other relevant life responses.

A reliable multiple correlation predicting a population's later behavior from a poll can be used in the crucial verification of many hypotheses.

How to Experiment on Values

All the above system can be submitted to the test of empirical experiments. We have begun this in a dozen experiments upon increasing a social value in "Project Revere" in our Public Opinion Laboratory. (Refs. 30, 31, 35)

An Air Force research contract set us the desideratum "spreading a message in a target population by leaflets dropped from planes". The airmen have dropped billions of leaflets and need to learn more about how many people are reached, in what area, in what time, under specified conditions. One desideratum or value to the Air Force is to get "the maximum number of knowers of a message". To maximize this desired public response, we studied the stimuli or conditions which we could set up and which would be desiderata to the target population causing them to respond by learning the message. In such situations of social control where controllers want to stimulate certain responses in controllees, the stimuli are manipulated by the controllers and are the desiderata or values to the controllees.

For a study of the stimulus factor, we pretested the Weber-Fechner relationship which expects the response to vary with the logarithm of the stimulus, which means that geometric increases in the percentage of leaflets dropped per person will result in an arithmetic increase in the percentage of the population knowing the message. In four matched towns, we dropped leaflets with ratios varying in geometric progression. We found from a census of every household afterwards that the percentage diffusion went up roughly in arithmetic progression as expected by our actance formula above.

In another pretest, a coffee slogan was diffused in a town of 1,000 inhabitants. One sixth of the housewives were told the new slogan by interviewers and were invited to retell it to their friends. A free pound of coffee was promised for every house-wife who might know the slogan. The message spread from person to person till 88 percent knew it on the census of householders two days later. The potency of hearers-per-tellers of each remove was found to wane closely and reliably in a harmonic curve.

The standard for accepting any hypothesis was that (a) the closeness of fit correlation index should exceed .9 between the observed and the model expected data in uncumulated form, (b) and this should be significantly different from zero at the 5 percent confidence level.

The closeness of fit correlation of the uncumulated data to the linear logistic curve which is based on a steady activity rate was .37. Then this linear logistic hypothesis was rejected. The similar closeness of fit correlation of the uncumulated data to the harmonic logistic based on a waning activity rate was .99. Therefore, the harmonic logistic hypothesis was accepted. (Refs. 35, 36, 37).

These controlled experiments are but a foretaste of the possibilities we see in developing experimental sociology including the value system of people, as an increasingly exact science. For these ends, our dimensional re-

dels and demoscopes for empirically testing those models, are powerful means.

How to Deduce New Aspects of Any Value

Can this theory of values be used to deduce new aspects of values, new relations, to hypothesize and test, new implications to improve the predicting of what men value?

One of many evidence that fruitful deducing from it is possible is the derivation of some 24 aspects or dimensions of any value. These aspects as shown in the cells of Table 1 below may be derived by computing the first three statistical moments of an index of each factor in Equation 1. Thus we compute in turn in the rows of Table 1 a zeroth moment, such as a frequency, a first moment, such as a mean amount, a second moment, such as a variance or correlation, etc. These moments which are average powers are derived for each "factor" such as; the valuers, some of their valuing responses, the valued object or stimulus, their timing and spacing. Each cell's moment or power formula is then named by the familiar folk word which best approximates the meaning of that operationally defined index. Thus the frequency with which a value recurs among the occasions when it could recur measures its probability aspect (a proportion of a zeroth moment); the shortness of time until a value is realized measures its "soonest" aspect (a first moment); the steadiness with which it recurs in successive periods can be measured by its variance in time (a second moment), etc.

To read the table of deduced but familiarly named aspects of a value, substitute in turn each cell's name for the last word in the following statement about the "factors-and-powers" aspects or dimensions of our values theory:

Under the conditions that:

- other aspects are equated;
- each aspect is observed between the lower limit of perceptibility and the upper limit of satiety;

then the worth of any value (i.e., the amount of a given kind of response which people will make to it as a stimulus) will tend to vary according as the value is seen by the respondent to be

"affecting: oneself"	:"popular"	:"inclusive"	:"probable"	:"everywhere"	: frequencies, etc. involving zeroth moments (X^0)
"affecting: many people"	:"important"	:"intense or large"	:"Durable" :"permanent" :"time-- honoured"	:"near" :"soon" :"timely" :"actual"	: means, etc., i.e., first moments (X^1)
"affecting: loved ones"	:"habitual" :"useful"	:"equitable" :"congenial"	:"growing" :"dependable"	:"widespread"	: variances and cor- relations, etc., i.e. second moments (X^2)
Valuers (X_p)	: Valuing (X_d)	: Values (X_v)	: Timing (X_t)	: Spacing (X)	: "Factors" Powers (X_s) (X^S)

Table 1 24 aspects or dimensions (X_s^S) of any value deduced as powers of the basic factors (and approximately characterized by the familiar adjectives in quotes in each cell.)

Further aspects of less importance may be deduced from higher powers of the factors. Still further aspects (of lesser standardization) may be deduced from the further conditioning factors. Still more aspects are deducible from using different origin and terminal points (such as distinguish the "durable", the "permanent", the "time-honored", etc., above, which are all within the cell meaning "a long time")

Each of these deduced aspects can be stated as an hypothesized rule of human motivation such as "To enlarge responding, make the stimuli more "congenial" (or "intense" or "probable", etc.)" Each hypothesis can then be empirically and crucially verified and combined with other aspects in a multiple regression equation for purposes of predicting.

How to Combine Values in Tension Systems

Tension is defined as a function of two observed factors. (Ref. 1, 2, 4, 12) We have already operationally defined these two factors: the value or desideratum, V, by statistical indices of what a respondent says he wants; and a desiring, D, by indices of what a person says he will give or do for the value.

Tension measures how much of a value one wants and how intensely he wants it. Thus a population's tension for victory depends both on the magnitude of the victory they want and how strongly they want it.

The ratio D/V of an index of intensity of desiring, D, to an index of the amount of desideratum, V, defines a "tension ratio" or a "valuation". The product $D.V$ of indices of desiring, D, and of a desideratum, V, defines a "tension product". The multiple correlation of observed indices of the "tension ratio" versus the "tension product", in predicting some measured later behavior, will decide empirically whether the "tension ratio" or the "tension product" is most useful and for which sets of conditions.

A valuation may be thought of in various terms, such as a "give/get" ratio, or as the "exchange ratio", or as the "price" or "worth per unit" or "unit cost" of any value. It measures what a person will give in exchange for what he wants to get.

Tensions seldom occur singly; they usually occur in sets that have to be considered jointly. Thus one must deal with a diversity of tensions and try to integrate them into a single decision for a course of conduct. Towards integrating tensions, there are the modern symbolic devices of matrix algebra and other branches of logic and mathematics which deal with sets of variables.

Our system of human tensions (Ref. 12) is expected to apply to such universal tensions as: international tensions culminating in war, interracial tensions breaking out in a riot, industrial tensions reaching the strike point, marital tensions reaching their limit in divorce, intra-personal tensions splitting a personality in insanity.

We assume that war and the other conflicting behaviors are but the breaking point of rising and opposite tensions, or accelerating conflicts of values.

There is a very broad field of research in the problem of human tensions. Our tension system as outlined here will require for fuller application, skill in such disciplines as symbolic logic, matrix algebra, and branches of statistics still uninvented. Our research on tensions will need to

use the calculus of classes, the calculus of relations, and the calculus of sentences from symbolic logic. It will need to handle matrices solving matrix equations of polled data when tabulated by period arrays, by subgroup arrays, by arrays of different desiderata, and by other types of arrays. It will need advanced statistics and probability theory.

A larger application of our tension theory may be made to UNESCO's research on "tensions affecting international understanding". Scientists from many countries have cooperated in this research. But unless a common definition of a tension and a measurable one can be found, their researches will splinter off into fragments with little gain in that cumulation of facts which build social science. Our tension system can provide a unifying conception or formula and techniques for crucially testing the effects of international tensions.

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