ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

CONGRES DE LIEGE

24 août - 1er septembre 1953

LIEGE CONGRESS

24 August - 1 September 1953

Sect. III

Développements récents de

la recherche sociologique

Sect. III

Recent Developments in

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COMMUNICATIONS

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Vol. II

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SOCIAL RESEARCH AT THE NATIONAL
AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO

by

Professor Lucio Mendieta y Nunez,

National Autonomous University

of Mexico.

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The Institute of Social Investigation of the National Autonomous University of Mexico was founded on April 11, 1930, by the then Rector of the University Ignacio Garcia Téllez, with the very praiseworthy objective of providing our highest center of learning with an agency dedicated to investigation and scientific study of the social realities of Mexico. The Institute was organized not with the purpose of engaging in purely abstract speculation but with the object of creating a vigorous, vital, practical agency. From the first, it was the desire of the organizers that the activities of the Institute should be guided by pragmatic thinking, in order that it might formulate adequate programs of action for solving the most important social problems of the country.

For various reasons, too numerous and perhaps too annoying to take up here, it was necessary to undertake a total reorganization of the Institute in 1939. The present writer was charged with this task, and he drew up a well defined plan for this purpose.

Above all, the original objectives of the Institute were respected and maintained: the proper union between scientific study and immediate utility; study and investigation not only for the sake of learning but with the purpose of transforming unfavourable social conditions or of bettering other social conditions which, though they may be considered as acceptable or even favorable, are, nevertheless, susceptible of improvement. The writer had then, and still has, in mind the admirable concepts of the great sociologist, Emilio Durkheim: "The fact that we propose, first of all, to study present-day reality does not mean that we renounce our intentions of improving present conditions. Our research would not be worthwhile if our purpose were purely abstract. If we take care to separate the theoretical from the practical problems, it is not with the purpose of forgetting about the latter; on the contrary, it is with the purpose of being in a better position to solve them. Science can help us to find the direction in which we must aim our efforts, to determine the ideals which we dimly sense amid the confusion. But we can attain our ideals only after having faced reality; or is it possible to proceed in some other way ? Not even the most intemperate idealists can proceed otherwise, for ideals have no foundations if their roots do not penetrate into reality." 1)

"The aims and efforts of Sociology", affirms Posada, "are not exhausted solely upon research on social processes, nor in determining what those processes are. The work of Sociology to be complete must include a program of social action, and it must take into consideration how the social processes which it attempts to investigate and tries to explain can be continued, within the chain of social events or happenings." 2)

"Sociological investigation", says Stuckenberg, "cannot be indifferent to the future of Society". 3)

With the exception of a few "pure" sociologists, modern sociologists agree that Sociology, undoubtedly, has a practical object, although it is true that extreme care should be taken in separating the strictly scientific aspects from those concerned with Sociology's practical application.

The above concepts led us to the formulation of three successive phases in the work of the Institute:

The first phase consists of the theoretical study of social conditions; the adaptation of sociological methods to our social structure; and the drawing up of detailed programs for research on the social conditions or cases previously selected.

In the second phase of the Institute's work, the programs previously formulated are put into action.

The third phase deals with the study and the analysis of the data obtained through research, in order to arrive at conclusions and formulate projects and programs of action.

As may be seen, this program, so openly utilitarian, does not exclude the possibility of scientific theorizing, but, on the contracy, favors it, because such abstract thought is based on the realities of social conditions, on indisputable facts which have been scrupulously gathered and systematically organized.

To put into effect the program whose general outline has been briefly sketched above, the Institute was reorganized into five departments: I. Sociology; II. Social Medicine; III. Social Engineering and Architecture; IV. Labor and Economy; V. Library, Files and Foreign Relations (relations with other institutions in Mexico and other countries).

In order that they may be clearly understood, analyzed and explained, the complexity of social phenomena requires knowledge of various kinds. It is a mistake to believe that because a certain phenomenon is of a social nature, it may be thoroughly investigated and studied by a sociologist. There are social aspects which only the psychiatrist or doctor, the engineer, the lawyer, the economist, the ethnologist or the anthropologist can identify, isolate and evaluate.

However, it is evident that, in the final analysis, it is the sociologist who must undertake the genuinely sociological task of integration, synthesis, interpretation and generalization which will make possible the practical application of the science. But in order that the work of the sociologist may be of value, it must be based upon data which it is impossible to obtain without the proper scientific knowledge and technique, and such knowledge and technique can not belong to a single person, no matter how learned and wise he may be.

With bases upon these concepts, the Institute of Social Investigation, from the date on which it was reorganized, tried to organize the aforementioned departments so that each one might carry on research into our present-day social conditions, each department with its specialized point of view. It was thought that the coordination of the results of those specialized and partial investigations would bring us closer to the truth than if we should proceed unilaterally.

Due to a shortage of funds, it was not possible to organize complete-
ly the five departments referred to above. But we were able to organize the
staff of the Institute with specialists in each of the departments mentioned,
and these specialists, sometimes individually and sometimes with the aid of
teams of assistants provisionally organized as auxiliaries, carried out their
share of the over-all research program with excellent results. Furthermore,
when necessary, the Institute obtained the cooperation of other National Uni-
versity departments, such as the Institutes of Geology, Geography and Biology,
as well as the cooperation of distinguished specialists in various fields,
with the purpose of completing certain aspects of the most important projects
undertaken by the Institute of Social Investigation.

Between 1939 and 1952 (when this report was prepared), guided by the
concepts which have been presented herein, the Institute carried out the fol-
lowing projects:

List of the projects undertaken by the Institute of
Social Investigation of the National Autonomous Uni-
versity of Mexico, from 1939 to 1952.

Among the most serious national problems, without doubt, one of the
most important is the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the population, and,
with the approval of the Honorable Council of the University, the Institute of
Social Investigation selected this problem as the primary theme of its activi-
ties. This social problem is so extremely complex, widespread and serious that
many years and large resources are necessary to study it. Nevertheless, the
Institute undertook the work in 1939, despite its limited financial resources,
and after more than eight years of intense effort it has successfully finished
the following projects:

Ethnographic Map of the Republic of Mexico.

Without doubt, the first step necessary was the carrying on of research
into the ethnographic and ethnological characteristics of the aboriginal
peoples of the country, and in order to do so it was necessary to locate them
geographically, to establish, with some precision, the regions which they in-
habit. With basis on the various censuses of the Mexican Republic and on ethno-
logical, archeological and linguistic studies on the indigenous races by nu-
merous authors, the first ethnographic map of Mexico was drawn up. This map
readily shows, in detail and in over-all aspects, the distribution of the so-
called indigenous groups of the country.

This ethnographic Map of the Republic of Mexico is the only one of its
kind; previously only linguistic maps were known. It was printed in offset,
in large size, and it was distributed among the principal educational centers
of Mexico. Various foreign universities and institutes also have acquired the
Map.

Monographs on the Indigenous Races of Mexico.

At the same time that the Ethnographic Map was being drawn up, two
teams were sent to different regions of the country to conduct rapid surveys
in the areas inhabited by indigenous peoples, and in this manner the Institute
was able to study the 48 indigenous races which inhabit the country at present.

Given the restricted financial resources of the University, these sur-
veys necessarily were sketchy, but they were carried out systematically, in
accordance with carefully-prepared programs and questionnaires. In order to
follow the points of the program and to fill out the questionnaires, the socio-

logical investigators questioned members of each indigenous race as well as the more highly-educated persons who had lived among them for a long time and, therefore, were intimately acquainted with their peculiarities, characteristics and customs.

Direct, on-the-spot observation, though rapid because of the impossibility of prolonging the visit in each region, supplied additional information for the surveys.

With the information thus obtained and with other data to be found in the works of various authors, 48 monographs were written on the indigenous races listed below:

Amuzgos,	Mixtecas,
Coras,	Mexicanos,
Cucapás,	Ojitecas,
Cuicatecas,	Otomíes,
Chatinos,	Pápagos,
Chichimecas Jonaz,	Pimas,
Chichimecas Pames,	Pirindas,
Chinantecas,	Popolocas de Puebla,
Chochos,	Popolocas de Veracruz,
Choles,	Seris,
Chontales de Oaxaca,	Tarahumaras,
Chontales de Tabasco,	Tarascos,
Huaves,	Tepehuanes,
Huaxtecos,	Tepehuas,
Huicholes,	Tlapanecas,
Ixcatecos,	Tojolabales,
Kikapoos,	Totonacas,
Lacandones,	Triquis,
Mames,	Tzeltales,
Mayas,	Tzotziles,
Mayos,	Varogíos,
Mazahuas,	Yaquis,
Mazatecas,	Zapotecos,
Mixes,	Zoques.

These monographs were planned and written with a pragmatic or practical end in view. They endeavor, exclusively, to present as exact a picture as possible of the present economic and cultural conditions of the indigenous groups which form a part of the population of the country, and they should be judged from this point of view.

Each monograph is copiously illustrated with photographs, maps and drawings concerning the subject with which it deals.

Ethnology of Mexico.

With these monographs, it is planned to publish a giant, ten-volume work, which shall be named "Ethnology of Mexico". The 48 monographs were expanded, reedited, supplied with a copious bibliography, and grouped, according to a modern classification, by linguistic families, in order that there might be some method of presentation in the over-all exposition of the ethnic problem of our country. Two volumes have been completed, but their publication is costly not only because of their length, but also because of the great number of maps and photographs, many of which are in color.

This all-inclusive work is the first of its kind, and, whatever its faults may be, it will represent a contribution of exceptional importance to the study of the racial problem of Mexico because it offers a broad, overall picture.

Ethnographic Atlas of the Mexican Republic.

This is a synthesis of the 48 monographs on the indigenous races of Mexico, in condensed form and illustrated with maps of all the states and territories in which are located the zones inhabited by these races as well as with photographs showing their physical types, homes, dress, small industries, etc. The Atlas is a brief text on human geography and a guide to the study of the country's ethnology. The summary of each monograph has appended a bibliography of the most important works which have been written concerning the aboriginal group in question. As a preliminary study, of a sociological nature, on the ethnic problem of Mexico, it provides the over-all work with unity and meaning.

Special Monographs.

Some of the indigenous races to be found within the country, because of their numerical predominance and their possibilities, are more important than others. The Institute of Social Investigation of the National University of Mexico gives special attention to the study of these races. The first of these ethnic groups to be studied was that of the Tarascans, with essentially the same method of research as was used in the case of the other aboriginal races, but in this case it was necessary to organize a team of specialists in various fields, history, geography, ethnology, economy, etc., with the purpose of giving the project greater profundity, in accordance with the aforementioned practical ends which are sought in all the scientific activities of the Institute. The results of the survey effected by this team of specialists were published in a profusely-illustrated volume, which merited high praise in Mexico and in other countries.

With the same research method, the Institute effected a survey of the Zapotecs, another strong indigenous nucleus, which is exceptionally important in the ethnological composition of the Mexican people. The results of this survey were published by the Editorial Department of the National University, in a thick and profusely-illustrated volume.

A similar survey was carried out by the Institute among the Otomies of the Mezquital Valley, in the State of Hidalgo, but the corresponding monograph has not been published yet.

Biotypic Investigation on the Indigenous Races of Mexico.

For the first time in the history of the study of the indigenous races of our country, the Institute of Social Investigation began to study the principal aboriginal races from a biotypic point of view. This kind of investigation was initiated among the Tarascans of the State of Michoacan, by a team of specialists headed by Dr. José Gómez Robleda. A summary of their findings was published in the monograph dealing with this indigenous race, and, in addition, an extensive work, with the title of Tarascan Farmers and Fishermen (Campesinos y Pescadores Tarascos) was published by the Public Education Secretariat, in view of the fact that the University lacked the necessary resources for publishing the work.

This book received favorable reviews in Mexico and in foreign countries.

With the experience obtained from this first effort, the Institute
conducted similar biotypic surveys among the Zapotecs of the State of
Oaxaca and among the Otomies of the Mezquital Valley. These surveys have
been finished and the corresponding results will be published soon.

Survey of Indigenous Housing.

The problem of rural housing in Mexico is of trascendental importan-
ce because it affects the health and the mortality rate of the rural popula-
tion. The Institute of Social Investigation made a preliminary survey in
1939 of the various types of indigenous housing, and this was published in
pamphlet form. Subsequently, this survey was amplified with photographs,
maps and additional information, resulting in the most complete work yet
written on this subject. As the first edition of this letter work is exhaust-
ed, the Institute intends to publish a second edition, when its financial
resources permit.

Ethnographic Exposition of the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

After eight years of research into indigenous life, the Institute of
Social Investigation has gathered the most complete collection known of pho-
tographs of representative types from all the indigenous races which inhabit
the Republic of Mexico as well as of their homes, their dress and small in-
dustries. In addition, the monographs previously mentioned were summarized
in mural paintings, and with all this material an Ethnographic Exposition was
organized and set up in the main salon of the Palace of Fine Arts.

This Exposition aroused great interest in intellectual circles and
among the general public. It was much-visited by persons of all social clas-
ses. The then President of Mexico, General Manuel Avila Camacho, accompanied
by Mrs. Avila Camacho, visited the Exposition, and he pronounced very valuable
concepts, as did other distinguished visitors. The daily newspapers and the
best magazines published in the City of Mexico published forceful reviews of
the Exposition, and the national newsreel "E.M.A.", which is directed by the
learned General Juan F. Azcárate, showed various aspects of the Exposition
in the principal movie houses of the Republic.

Survey of Communal Lands.

The Institute planned a survey, of a social and economic nature, of
the present-day conditions of the communal land units throughout the country,
selecting for the purpose representative units of the various different
types: those located on irrigated lands, on seasonal lands, in cattle-raising
or grazing areas, in forest regions; and units which are worked collectively,
and others which are exploited individually. With the results of the survey,
our purpose was to prepare a comparative study which would adhere strictly to
present-day conditions in communal land areas and which would portray objec-
tively the results of the Agrarian Reform.

The first effort to carry out this ambitious project was made in the
State of Morelos, in the region of the Zacatepec Sugar Mill. Several communal
land units were studied, and a monograph containing the results of the sur-
vey in that area was written, but it was not possible to publish it due to
lack of funds.

Problems of the University: Desertion of Students.

As it has been observed that a large number of students abandon their
studies before finishing their courses, thus creating a serious problem for
the National University, which is forced to expend large sums on a student

body which can not reap the benefits of University to the full due to desert-
ion, the Institute of Social Investigation was charged with effecting a study
of this problem in order to determine its seriousness and its causes and to
seek possible solutions.

Special teams of investigators were charged with a laborious statisti-
cal task in the faulty archives of the University, until it was possible to
determine, with accuracy, that 53 per cent of the National University stu-
dents abandon their classrooms before finishing their courses. A poll was
conducted among a large number of "deserters" or former students with the
purpose of finding out why they abandoned their studies. The former students
were classified by schools and by years, so that a detailed picture of the
problem would be available, and, lastly, the investigators prepared a chart
giving the average grades of National University graduates across a period
of nine years, with the object of showing the quality of the professional
men and women prepared by the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

The result of this survey was summarized in a monograph, illustrated
with graphs, explaining the various aspects of the work done. A general stu-
dy, of a sociological nature, concerning the problems of the University of
Mexico, serves as an introduction to the monograph, which was published by
the Library of Sociological Essays (Biblioteca de Ensayos Sociológicos).

Revista Mexicana de Sociologia.

This magazine was founded in 1939, as a quarterly, with the following
objectives: making known the work of the Institute of Social Investigation;
stimulating sociological research in our country; publicizing the latest
works of the modern sociologists of Europe and of America; promoting closer
relations and interchanges among the principal centers of learning and culture
dedicated to study of the social sciences.

For financial reasons, after the fifth year of publication, the Review
was published every four months instead of every three months. At present
14 volumes have been published and publication of the fifteenth has begun.

The reception given the Mexican Review of Sociology in scientific
circles has been very flattering. Reviewers have praised the magazine highly.
And the Review has among its regular contributors the most distinguished so-
ciologists in the world, and several of the papers which it has published are
cited in modern works on Sociology.

Undoubtedly due to the prominence of its contributors, this is one of
the periodical publications of the National University which have helped most
to invest the University with prestige in Mexico and in other countries.

Sociology Booklets of the Library of Sociological Essays.

With the object of stimulating the output of studies on the social
problems or conditions of greatest interest, either of a general or special
nature, in each country, the Institute founded the Library of Sociological
Essays, which periodically publishes the Sociology Booklets (Cuadernos de So-
ciologia).

To date, the following Booklets have been published:

1. Social Classes (Las Clases Sociales), by Dr. Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez.

2. Political Parties (Los Partidos Politicos), by Dr. Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez.

3. Sociology of the University (Sociologia de la Universidad), by Dr. Roberto Agramonte.

4. Social History of the World (El Mundo Histórico Social), by Dr. Juan Roura Parella.

5. Problems of the University (Problemas de la Universidad), by Dr. Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez and Dr. José Gómez Robleda.

6. Sociological Value of Folklore, and Other Essays (Valor Sociológico del Folklore y Otros Ensayos), by Dr. Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez.

7. Introduction to Social Psychiatry (Introducción a la Psiquiatria Social), by Roger Bastide.

8. Theory of Social Groups (Teoria de los Agrupamientos Sociales), by Dr. Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez.

9. Personality and Its Variations (Tema y Variaciones de la Personalidad), by Dr. Juan Roura Parella.

10. Social Characteristics of South Americans (Caracteres Sud-Americanos), by Roberto Fabregat Cúneo.

11. Principal Forms of Social Integration (Principales Formas de Integración Social), by Dr. L.L. Bernard.

12. Essays on Political Sociology (Ensayos de Sociologia Politica), by Dr. Francisco Ayala.

13. Eugenics in America (La Eugenesia en América), by Dr. Roberto MacLean y Estenós.

In a second series of Booklets with a different format, this same Library has published the following:

14. Democracy and Mysticism (Democracia y Misticismo), by Dr. Djacir Menezes.

15. Social Sciences of the Twentieth Century in Italy (Las Ciencias Sociales del Siglo XX en Italia), by Dr. Massimo Salvadori.

16. The Problems of Guilt and Society (La Problemática de la Culpa y la Sociedad), by Dr. Juan José González Bustamante.

17. The Mental Structure and Vigor of Man (Estructura Mental y Energias del Hombre), by Dr. Pitirim A. Sorokin.

The First National University Census.

The Social-statistical investigation on the desertion of University students brought into focus the necessity for a broader survey, of the same type, to reveal in detail the internal structure of the universities and other centers of higher learning which exist in the Republic of Mexico, and thus to include within a single survey the present conditions and the problems of

university education in our country.

With this purpose, the Institute of Social Investigation, in August, 1949, compiled the First National Census of Higher Learning (Primer Censo Nacional Universitario), the only one of its kind which has been effected to date in Latin America. The Census includes data on the socio-economic conditions of the students and the professors of the National Autonomous University of Mexico and of the various universities and other centers of higher learning in the States of the Republic.

Actually it is more than a census; it is a survey, founded on statistics, of present-day conditions of university education in Mexico. It is not a simple presentation of columns of figures; instead it contains numerous statistical inter-relationships and mathematical correlatives as well as graphs which illustrate each section. The printed work is prefaced by a "Sociological Essay on the University of Mexico".

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1) Emilio Durkheim. La División del Trabajo Social, Madrid, Editorial Jorro, s.d., p. 41.

2) Adolfo Posada. Principios de Sociología, Madrid, Editorial Jorro, 1908, page 377.

3) Adolfo Posada. op.cit., page 381.

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REPORT ON RESEARCH WORK AT

THE EAST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

by

Dr. Audrey Richards,

East African Institute of Social Research,

Makerere College,

Kampala,

Uganda.

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History

The East African Institute of Social Research is at-tached to Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda, the University Col-lege of East Africa. It is one of three Institutes for research in the social sciences which were set up after the second World War on the recommendation of the Colonial Social Science Re-search Council of the Colonial Office and financed from funds voted under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940. All these three Institutes have been attached to colonial univer-sities, the sister Institutes being the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research attached to the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria and the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies in Jamaica.

The East African Institute of Social Research was set up in April 1950 under the directorship of Dr. Audrey Richards. Its first buildings were completed by August 1951 and by the end of 1953 it hopes to have a library and conference room, seven of-fices and ten residential flats. Its staff is now as follows:- Anthropologists and Sociologists - Mr. L.A.Fallers, Mr. P.Gutkind, Mr. H.S. Morris, Mr. A.B. Mukwaya, Mrs. P.R. Reining, Dr. A.W. Southall, Mr. W.P. Tamukede, Mr. J.W. Tyler, Mr. E.H. Winter: Economists and Economic Historians - Mr. J.D. Hampton, Mr. C.C. Wrigley: Linguist - Mr. W.H. Whiteley: Psychologist - Mr. A.J. Laird: Secretaries - Miss J.M. Fortt, Miss G.B. Hunter.

Objects

The objects of the Institute are the following:

(a) The establishment of a centre of East African studies in-cluding a knowledge of the cultures and languages of the East African peoples and their political, legal, economic and social structure. Since the majority of the students studying at Makerere College are Africans, it is natural that the study of Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and Hamitic peoples of East Africa should predominate in the Institute's programme, but a study of the Indian community in East Afri-ca is described below and many of the problems listed in pa-ragraph a (Subjects of research) cannot be understood with-out a simultaneous investigation of the European, Indian and African communities.

The centre is building up a lending library of East African literature, and, in conjunction with the main library of Makerere College, it provides a unique collection of monographs and government reports on East African peoples and cultures. The Institute is also establishing a collection of press-cuttings from the vernacular papers. It is already beginning to act as an information centre for government and other inquiries.

To this centre are attached not only the team of workers appointed and financed by the Institute, but independent research workers such as those financed by the Colonial Social Science Research Council or the Fulbright organization, who are attached for supervision and joint discussions; and the conferences which have been held during the past two years have attracted workers in the social sciences not only from the Social Science Department of the College itself, but government anthropologists and research workers in the social sciences all over Africa. For instance, during this first two-year period, the Institute has been visited by two Carnegie delegations, an economist from Cape Town University, South Africa, a demographer working for the social science department of UNESCO, a political scientist from Rochester University, U.S.A., several economists from England, five Fulbright scholars, ten research workers on Colonial Social Science Research Council grants and one Scarbrough student.

(b)   The organization of comparative studies of particular problems;

(c)   The organization of experiments in research methods;

(d)   The organization of studies of administrative importance on behalf of the Government;

(e)   The training and supervision of field workers in the region, both European and African;

(f)   The publishing of material; the Institute plans to publish the work of East African social scientists in the form of a numbered series of papers as well as books on particular topics.

Subjects of Research

Anthropological and Sociological Research -

(a)   Basic Ethnographic Studies: It was felt that detailed work on special social and economic problems would prove impossible without a background knowledge of the culture and social structure of the tribe or people concerned. It is for this reason that the Institute started its work by a series of anthropological studies in type areas. These were partly selected from among the tribal groups recommended for study in reports made on Kenya by Professor I. Schapera and on Tanganyika and Uganda by Dr. W.H. Stanner in 1947 and 1948, and partly grouped in order to form detailed comparative studies of groups inhabiting a particular region. Under the latter heading come the series of studies on the Inter-Lacustrian Bantu listed below. The tribes studied either by Institute Fellows or by associated workers are as follows:-

Kenya   Boran – Mr. P.T.W. Baxter, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work in field to be completed in the spring of 1953

Kikuyu – Dr. Jeanne Fisher, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, field work completed in June 1952. Dr. Fisher was doing a study of the position of women among the Kikuyu

Teita – Mr. A.Harris and Mrs. G.Harris,C.S.S.R.C. scholars, field-work completed in August 1952

Turkana – Dr. Philip Gulliver, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work completed in summer 1951. "Preliminary Survey of the Turkana" published in the Cape Town University series, further work in the press

Tanganyika   Barabaig – Mr. G.Wilson, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, field work completed in October 1952

Ha – Mr. J.H. Scherer, Dutch Government Scholar, field work to be completed in February 1953

Haya – Mrs. P. Reining, E.A.I.S.R., field work to be completed in April 1953

Zinza – Mr. J.W. Tyler, E.A.I.S.R., field work completed in August 1952

Uganda   Acholi – Mr. F. Girling, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, field work completed in Mid-1951. "The Traditional Social and Political Order of the Acholi of Uganda" in the press

Alur – Dr. A.W.Southall, E.A.I.S.R., field work completed in mid-1951. "Political Development amongst the Alur" in the press

Baamba – Mr. E.H. Winter, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, field work completed in June 1952. Mr. Winter has now joined the staff of the E.A.I.S.R.

Jie and Karamojong – Dr. P. Gulliver (Cf. Turkana)

Lugbara – Mr. J. Middleton, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, field work completed June 1952

Nyoro – Mr. J. Beattie, Scarbrough grant, field work in process

Soga – Mr. L.A.Fallers, E.A.I.S.R., field work completed, July 1952

Toro – Mr. B.K.Taylor, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, field work completed May 1952

(b)   <u>Comparative Research on African cultures</u>: One of the
principal aims of the Institute is the organization of compara-
tive studies on particular problems, whether sociological, eco-
nomic or psychological. These studies have been, so far, mainly
in the anthropological field. The problems selected are first of
all discussed in conferences which have been held every six months
and a common outline has been agreed upon, each worker undertaking
to collect data on the lines approved in his or her own area. It
is intended that the results should be published in common volumes,
each with its own editor who will discuss the basic concepts be-
hind the whole investigation. Problems so far selected for this
type of comparative work are - (i) the political organizations of
African peoples as they are reacting to present-day demands and
economic changes: (ii) land tenure in different type areas:
(iii) clan and kinship organization. Other studies will follow.

(c)   <u>Urban studies</u>: One of the first studies undertaken by
the Institute was an investigation of the township of Jinja
(Uganda), a town in which very rapid industrial development is
already taking place. It consisted of a sample survey of the
European, Indian and African inhabitants of Jinja township and a
census of European population, followed by an intensive study of
race relations in industry, of women in three contrasted communi-
ties showing different stages of urbanization of African women.
The survey was made by Mr. and Mrs. C. Sofer. The report is com-
pleted and in process of publication and special studies are in
preparation.

           An economic and social survey of Kampala is to be start-
ed in January 1953. It will be conducted by two sociologists,
Dr. A.W. Southall and Mr. P. Gutkind and an economist, Mr. J.D.
Hampton. It will include a social survey of six sample communi-
ties within Kampala municipality and a study in sample industries
and other industrial undertakings with special reference to out-
put, labour turnover, incentives to work, etc.

(d)   <u>Study of Immigrant Labour in Uganda</u>: This investigation
was carried out at the request of the Government of Uganda and was
completed in May 1952. Seven village surveys were made to study
the methods of settlement in Uganda as well as a sample analysis
of immigrants passing through two transit camps at the borders of
Uganda. A history of the movement from 1900 to the present day
was made by Mr. P.G. Powesland, an analysis of statistics of im-
migration from Ruanda-Urundi by Mr. and Mrs. Sofer, a geographi-
cal study of the distribution of immigrants in Buganda according
to the 1931 and 1948 Censuses by Miss J.M. Fortt and special stu-
dies of Alur and Lugbara immigrants and of some legal cases af-
fecting immigrants by Dr. A.W. Southall, Mr. J. Middleton and Mr.
A.B. Mukwaya respectively. The Director of the Institute edited
the report of this project which is now with the printers.

(e)   <u>Social surveys with special reference to fertility,
infant and child mortality and stability of marriage</u>: At the
request of UNESCO the Institute has carried out two parallel
studies of fertility in areas of low fertility revealed by the
1948 census. These two areas were Bukoba (Tanganyika) and
Buganda (Uganda). Both surveys included the collection of ma-
ternity histories as well as an analysis of household composition,

stability of marriage, education, average income, clan and lineage distribution.

In the case of the Bukoba survey a medical examination of 100 % of the village population was made by the East African Medical Survey. The work was completed in October 1952.

(f)   Study of the Indian Community in Uganda: Mr. H.S. Morris started in November on a study of the history of the Indian immigration into Uganda and of the present day social structure of the Indian community. The work is starting in Kampala in connection with the Kampala survey described above.

Linguistic Studies

From 1950 to 1952 Mr. E.M.K. Mulira carried out linguistic studies in Luganda resulting in the production of a simple grammar and an article on tones in Luganda. In August 1952 Mr. W.H. Whiteley was appointed to the staff and accepted the position of secretary to the East African Interterritorial Languages Committee. Besides organizing research in Swahili and examining mss. for the press, Mr. Whiteley has prepared a monograph on Iraqw and is making a study of the Kuria.

Economics and Economic History

The appointment of an economist and an economic historian has been delayed as it was felt that detailed economic studies should follow the background anthropological investigations described above. In June 1952 Mr. C.C. Wrigley, an economic historian was appointed. He is engaged in a study of the history and present-day development of the coffee industry in Buganda and will deal with problems of peasant production in general. He is working in close contact with anthropologists working in Buganda and Buhaya, another coffee growing area.

Mr. J.D. Hampton, an economist with experience in industrial welfare, has been recently appointed to take part in the Kampala survey on the industrial side. It is hoped that a senior economist will be appointed some time in 1953.

Psychology

Mr. A.J.Laird took up his duties in April 1952. He is engaged on a comparative study of attitudes and personality structure belonging to three tribal groups - Ganda, Luo and Kikuyu - among students at Makerere College. Mr. Laird hopes to continue this work by taking sample groups of less educated members of these three tribes.

Conference of the Institute

The Institute has made a practice of holding six-monthly conferences, at which its field research workers come together, read papers and discuss their work. The first of these was held in January 1951 and was attended by 25 workers including Dr.

J. J. Maquet, head of the research centre of I.R.S.A.C. at
Astrida. General progress reports were discussed. The second
conference took place in Astrida at the kind invitation of
I.R.S.A.C. This conference was attended by 10 I.R.S.A.C. dele-
gates and 18 E.A.I.S.R. delegates. Papers were read on political
and clan organization, the philosophical ideas and poetry of the
Banyaruanda, the economic system of Ruanda-Urundi and immigrant
labour travelling from Ruanda-Urundi to Uganda. The third confe-
rence was held in January 1952. Plans were made for the compara-
tive study of political systems in the tribal areas studied, and
clan, kinship and village organization were discussed in detail.

        The fourth conference in June 1952 was the first
joint conference between colonial administrators and anthropolo-
gists to be held in East Africa. It was attended by 14 administra-
tors and 14 anthropologists and the papers were organized so that
a District Commissioner and an anthropologist working in the same
area should each read papers at the same session. A fifth confe-
rence is planned for February 1953 to be a joint meeting again be-
tween members of I.R.S.A.C. and E.A.I.S.R., to be held in Kampala.
The subjects to be discussed will include urban surveys under
East African conditions, comparative studies of values systems and
philosophies of East African peoples, land tenure, political orga-
nization, economic surveys and preliminary accounts of new ethno-
graphic studies.

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UNE NOUVELLE METHODE EN SCIENCES HUMAINES.

L'ETUDE DES ACTES NOTARIES

par

M. Jean Paul POISSON

Paris

UNE NOUVELLE METHODE EN SCIENCES HUMAINES:

L'ETUDE DES ACTES NOTARIES

par

M. Jean Paul POISSON

Paris

Dans la quête de faits scientifiquement observables qui est l'une des dominantes de la sociologie contemporaine, l'attention a été attirée ces dernières années sur un domaine qui semble devoir être d'une particulière fécondité, celui de l'étude des actes notariés. Ceux-ci n'avaient guère intéressé jusqu'à présent que l'historien, soit d'histoire générale soit plus spécialement d'histoire du droit, qui y cherchait des documents d'archives pour éclairer tel ou tel point particulier concernant les époques révolues. Or, il est apparu que, même et surtout pour la période contemporaine, l'étude des actes notariés pouvait être d'un particulier intérêt pour les sciences humaines, notamment la sociologie juridique, la démographie, les sciences économiques, la psychologie sociale. Nous voudrions le signaler brièvement ici, renvoyant pour les développements aux articles et études cités.

L'intérêt particulier que présentent les actes notariés pour les sciences humaines provient du grand nombre de renseignements qui sont contenus dans chaque acte, plusieurs dizaines dans certains cas, sur les contractants (leurs âge, sexe, origine, fortune, famille, alliances, etc.) et les biens en faisant l'objet (description, origine, valeur, durée, taux d'intérêt, etc.) facilement exploitables au moyen de machines à cartes perforées; du très grand nombre de ces actes qui même, dans certains cas, touchent la totalité de la matière à étudier (c'est ainsi qu'en France toutes les mutations immobilières de quelque nature que ce soit se traduisent par un acte notarié), ce qui permet notamment des études statistiques particulièrement significatives, de la grande durée des séries pouvant être étudiées (la plupart des archives notariales remontent à plusieurs siècles et ne comprennent en fait pas d'interruption jusqu'à ce jour); de l'aire particulièrement étendue où peuvent être étudiés les actes notariés (l'Europe continentale, sauf les pays nordiques, ainsi que ses sphères d'influence en Afrique et en Asie; toute l'Amérique latine; le Canada français et même certains états des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, tels la Louisiane), ce qui peut conduire à des comparaisons et des confrontations extrêmement fécondes.

Jusqu'à présent l'intérêt de l'étude sociologique des actes notariés a été montré notamment en ce qui concerne les sciences économiques (pour l'étude des taux d'intérêt, de leur évolution; de l'estimation de la valeur réelle de la monnaie (1); et pour l'étude concrète, statique et dynamique, de la propriété immobilière (2); en ce qui concerne la sociologie juridique (3); la démographie (4), la psychologie sociale (5) et la sociologie de la famille (1, 6 et 7). S'agissant d'un domaine encore extrêmement neuf, l'objet des travaux susvisés a surtout été d'attirer l'intérêt sur lui et de préciser les premiers linéaments d'une méthode efficace. Le seul point sur lequel ce stade préparatoire

ait été dépassé, celui de la sociologie de la famille, a déjà permis de remettre en question une théorie qui paraissait pourtant bien établie, celle d'une évolution récente et profonde qui aurait pratiquement affranchi l'épouse dans le mariage; l'étude sociologique des actes notariés, portant tant sur les régimes matrimoniaux, en particulier par l'analyse statistique des contrats de mariage, que sur le comportement de l'épouse dans d'autres actes, semble montrer combien faible reste cette évolution de la situation de la femme dans la famille moderne.

En conclusion, il paraît possible de dire que l'étude sociologique des actes notariés, encore à ses premiers balbutiements, peut devenir tant par son immense richesse de documentation scientifiquement analysable que par sa vaste extention dans l'espace et dans le temps, et à la condition que se forment les équipes nécessaires à son exploitation, un nouveau domaine d'une particulière fécondité pour le développement des sciences humaines.

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Sect. III.
Developpements récents de·
la recherche sociologique.

Sect. III.
Recent Developments in
Sociological Research.

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RADIO–MUSIC

by

Dr. Alphons Silbermann
Australian Institute of Sociology.

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RADIO-MUSIC

(Summary of the research conducted for the Centre
d'Etudes Radiophoniques of the Radiodiffusion et
Télévision Française, Paris)

by

Dr. Alphons Silbermann
Australian Institute of Sociology.

In June, 1951, we were charged by the Centre d'Etudes
Radiophoniques of the Radiodiffusion et Télévision Française (RTF)
to conduct a research group with the purpose of enquiring into
the sociological aspects of Radio-Music so as to arrive at practi-
cal results which would assist the RTF to elaborate and improve
upon their musical programmes, and to devise projects for the fu-
ture. The Centre d'Etudes propounded a number of desiderata for
research and indagation, which we framed in the appended working-
plan:

Production

i.   Radio as patron (Maecenas)
ii. Aesthetic value of reproduction
iii. Works of art and musical illustration

Consumption

i.   Radio-Music as agent of entertainment or as agent of amuse-
     ment.
ii. Penetration into villages and hamlets of the musical cul-
     ture of big cities.
iii. Evolution of the disparities in regional and national mu-
     sical preferences.
iv. Radio as guide to the uninitiated into a new world.
v.   Efficiency of musical education by Radio.
vi. Homogeneity of groups as augmented or diminished by simi-
     lar or differing stimuli.
vii. Influence of Radio on musical knowledge.
viii. Position of "popular" music on the Radio.

In our research we employed the principles of applied So-
ciology of Music, as expounded in our "Essai d'une Sociologie musi-
cale appliquée" (Presses Universitaires de France), and abstained
from the use of statistics as far as the emotive qualities of
Music were involved.

We repudiated the consideration of Radio as an "art" - an
opinion frequently encountered, especially among French writers -
and, examining Radio as an institution, we probed firstly into the
structural conditions implicit in the existence of an institution
in the strictly sociological sense. From this examination, we
drew the conclusion that Radio is a socio-cultural institution,
which, so far as music is concerned, has three specific and simul-

taneous functions which may be defined as: (a) its function in
relation to the group which we briefly designate "musicians";
(b) its function in relation to society as a whole; (c) its func-
tion in relation to music per se, which runs parallel to, and
unifies, functions (a) and (b):

Function in re-
lation to "Music"

{

Functions in relation to "Musicians"

Composer - .Interpreter -   Educator etc.

↓   ↓   ↓

Functions in relations to "Society"

Is has been found that with every radio organisation,
these three functions are consistently and perpetually intermming-
led, usually delegated to one and the same person. Such treat-
ment leads to a propensity for most confused and precarious mal-
administration. We therefore divided each function most meticu-
lously, first finding and circumscribing the functions of the so-
cio-cultural institution in relation to the "musicians". The ten-
dency of the institution to identify itself with these functions
has led us to the conclusion that Radio is: (a) Maecenas;
(b) composer; (c) musical educator;(d) musicologist,(e)impresario,(f)program-
compiler; (g) tonetechnician; (h) musical penetrator; and (i) in-
terpreter.

Concerning the functions of the socio-cultural institu-
tion "Radio" in relation to music and society, these could be
dealt with together, and were dissected into functions appearing
as (a) organised culture; (b) taste control; (c) functionaries
of music; (d) direct musical education, and (e) optative musical
education.

After the clarification of the outer (external) character
of the divers functions, we devoted our research to the degree of
the inner strength possessed by these particularised functions.
We observed the reactions toward them of society (listener groups).
We called this collective function "distance" (for brief referen-
ce), and learned that one of the principal reasons for the failure
of Radio-Music lies in its failure to employ the right means of
overcoming this "distance", which is no longer hampered by the
lack of the dimension of visibility, but can be surmounted by
audible means, which we itemised and submitted in detail.

In this scale of reference, we devoted ourselves to re-
search into the composite problem of listener groups, and we dis-
covered that they do not correspond with the national character
of the French population, and that therefore a desirable cultural
homogeneity cannot be reached by the formation of organised liste-
ner groups such as, for instance, exist in the United States of
America and in Great Britain.

Proceeding from the assumption that culture (in this con-
notation, music) cannot be measured in its reactions, we dispensed
with the familiar methods which, for purposes of identification,
group the listeners according to age, sex, education, habitation

etc. We concentrated upon the discovery of a possible grouping
which would be putatively independent of emotive qualities. For
this purpose, we conducted detailed field research in concert
halls, dance halls, familial groups etc., and found that, quite
independently of emotional, rythmical, economic, social, politi-
cal or other well-known group characteristics, there exist group
formations which centre around the congenital sonority of the in-
dividual human ear. Preference for a certain tone level always
springs from the tone level of the individual listener's own voice.
We call these groups "Sonority Groups", and we established them
following upon demographical findings, thereby excluding only mu-
sicians and "snobs".

A detailed door-to-door system of interviewing proved to
us that the primary (one might almost say, the instinctive) reac-
tion to Radio Music comes from the tone level, and is firstly de-
termined and subsequently directed by the sonority of the listener.

An analysis of many months' programmes of Radio Music re-
vealed the fact that radio stations may, for several days at a
stretch, transmit only music in the middle range, or, conversely,
they may for a given period occasionally send only music in a low
range, etc. The adverse reactions of listeners were always pro-
duced primarily by the unsatisfactory distribution of sonority
over the air.

The comparison of the cultural trend of the programmes of
the RTF with the cultural trend of France in general, over a cer-
tain period, led us to the conclusion that it is essential for any
radio organisation to establish what we termed "Culture Charts".
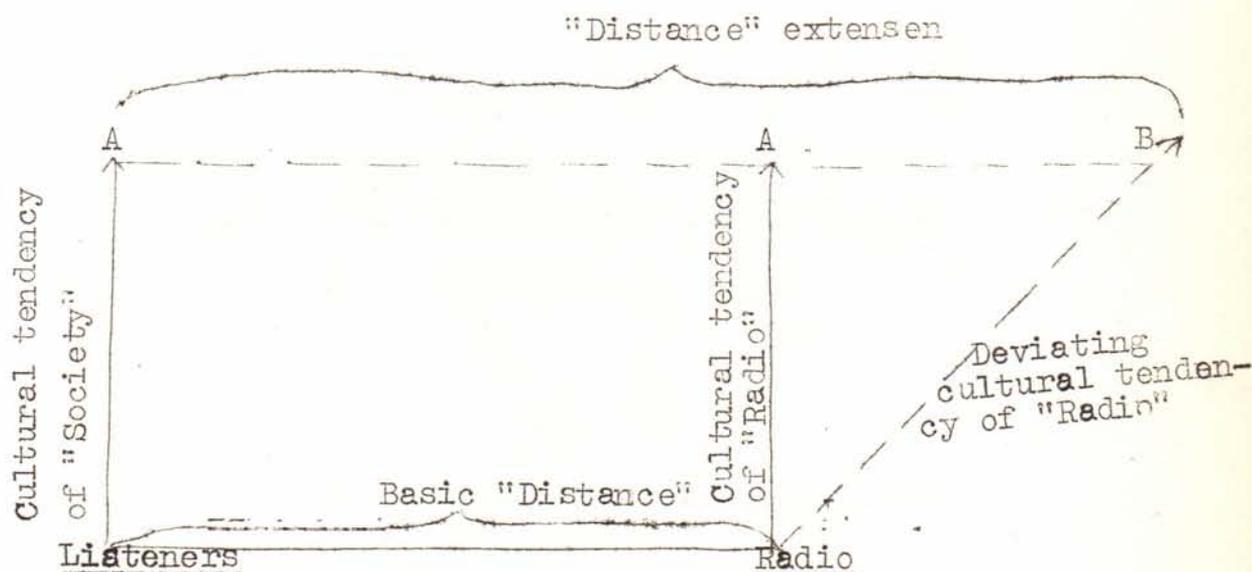
These would indicate at first glance any deviation of the
socio-cultural tendency of the institution from the general socio-
cultural tendency of the society of the particular country in
which the institution operates.

Through this cultural observation, the institution not
only remains in intimate contact with the cultural trend, but can
also use its institutional force in a manner commensurate with the
direction and adjustments of trends which are deemed to be unsuit-
able for the evolution of musical culture.

Based on these principles, the research contains a large number of practical proposals for the achievement of (a) Radio adherence; (b) prevention of taste control, and (c) creation of desirable cultural homogeneity.

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Report on Aims, Methods and Present State of a
Community Study of the UNESCO-Institute for

Social Sciences, Cologne.

by
Dr. G. Wurzbacher

Unesco Institute for Social Sciences
Cologne

Report on Aims, Methods and Present State of a Community Study of
the UNESCO-Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne.

by

Dr. G. Wurzbacher

Unesco Institute for Social Sciences

Cologne

A. Aims:

The Governing Board of the Institute laid down the following research
programme which may be generally defined as:

"Changes in the structure of community life, seen from the point
of view of the participation of the citizen."

The research was to be carried out by means of comparative community
studies.

B. Methods:

1. Choice of the locality:

The programme was initiated with a study of a rural community near
Cologne, of approximately 5000 inhabitants. The population is distri-
buted over 48 localities, each with a population ranging from 30 to
500 inhabitants. The social structure of these localities or "Nachbar-
schaften" - as they designate themselves - also varies. The community
was divided up according to "community types" derived from the experi-
ence of German rural sociology and tried out in about 3000 communities
in Southwest-Germany.

Typ A: predominantly industrial, commercial and administrative
community

Typ B: predominantly worker's residential community

Typ C: predominantly mixed residential and peasant community

Typ D: predominantly crofters' community

Typ E: predominantly farming community.

In the community selected Types A to D are completely, and Type E parti
ally represented.

As this study was at the same time to serve as pilot study for subse-
quent investigations it was thought useful to select a community which
made it possible to include as many forms of social organisation, dif-
ferentiation and integration typical of a German rural community in the
process of being transformed from a pre-industrial to an industrial
form.

The community which we finally selected seemed with its manifold types of localities the best safeguard that the various social forms would be represented. The study was therefore carried out in a "normal" and certainly not in an extreme type of locality.

2. Choice of fields of research:

Those fields were selected for study - and in view of the limited staff some selection was unavoidable - which seemed to have most bearing on the social integration of the individual and on the total stratification of social groups in a rural community.

a. family and relatives

b. neighbourhood - acquaintanceship - friendship

c. religious   )

d. political   )
) groups
e. occupational)

f. leisure   )

g. groups of social stratification

The investigation was at the same time divided into two stages: The first stage was to examine the integration of the population into these social groups and institutions according to their differential form and impact. The point of this study was to examine the effect of these groups and institutions on the total population, little being as yet known about this. Once this initial stage of the investigation was completed and the necessary knowledge gained it was thought possible to launch an examination of the structure and function of the groups and institutions themselves.

The problems to be examined might for example take the following form: To what extent are they suited to meet the wishes and requirements of the individual, on the one hand and of society on the other? What are their integrating and what their disintegrating effects on the rural community? What are the factors on which their structure and function depend?

The first part of the investigation, viz. the study of the integration of the population in the above named social groups and institutions was undertaken between August 1952 and March 1953. The second part, a critical examination of the structure and function of these groups and Institutions judged from their effect on the population is at present under way.

3. Methods used in the first part of the investigation.

a. A random sample of 220 persons (6.3%) was drawn. An interviewer-guide with open questions was constructed and served as a basis for the interviews. As far as possible repeated contact was made and the interview held as intensively as possible, so as to enable the inter-viewer to act as participant observer.

b. The research team stayed three months in the community, lived with the families in the village and took an active part in all social functions of the community. Every attempt was made to establish contact with key persons.

c. The completed questionnaires formed a basis of monographes and at the same time the answers were coded and transferred to hollerith-cards. For each separate field of study a scale of intensities of integration was set up by the analyst responsible for the field, on the basis of certain questions, which seemed to be of particular relevance and all individuals were classified according to this scale.

d. Each analyst had his own separate set of hollerith-cards on which he entered the coded answers pertinent to his field of study, as well as the grade of integration of all the other fields. This enabled him to analyse and to correlate his own material with the material (condensed in grades of integration) of the other analysts. The possibility was thereby given to examine the social integration in each field as a factor and function of the integration of other fields.

This method tried to do justice to the fact that all social activity springs from the totality of the individual and from his social background. A factorial analysis of social activity must take account of this totality of social action. At the same time the analyst must keep in mind the danger of dividing the study into too many formally separate fields.

C. Results:

The analysis of the material which is still under process has already brought to light the most interesting interactions between the various fields of study, for the individual as well as for the total community. It is seen with increasing clearness that a "community" is not merely an administrative unit but also a social group, the structure and integration of which depends on the interaction of all the different groups and institutions of which we could only study the most outstanding ones. A complete and integrated picture of the community will only appear in the second part of the investigation when the groups and institutions as such have been studied.

We shall be in a better position to give a detailed report at the conference of the International Sociological Association in August and have therefore desisted from including at this stage what would only be an account of incomplete and partical results.

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Développements récents de
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TRAVAUX DE SOCIOLOGIE ENTREPRIS
PAR LE CENTRE "ECONOMIE ET HUMANISME"

CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE

LIEGE (24 AOUT - 1er SEPTEMBRE 1953)

TRAVAUX DE SOCIOLOGIE ENTREPRIS
PAR LE CENTRE "ECONOMIE ET HUMANISME"

————————

Le centre "Economie et Humanisme", fondé en 1940, a entrepris depuis sa fondation, un certain nombre de recherches sociologiques.

L'un des buts primordiaux du centre étant la coordination entre les diverses sciences sociales, il est difficile d'y séparer nettement les études proprement économiques et les études proprement sociologiques.

Les phases de la recherche ont été les suivantes, la seconde et la troisième devant être considérées comme encore en cours.

PHASE I (de 1940 à 1949)   Formulation des hypothèses
                                            et recherches méthodologiques

a) Formulation et vérification de l'hypothèse générale de travail: postulats, possibilités et lignes maîtresses d'une économie humaine.

b) Expérimentation d'une méthode originale d'analyse des faits sociaux (sondage par zones homogènes et par types, utilisation de diagrammes en coordonnés polaires, silhouettes).

c) Etude des mécanismes économiques.

Distribution des populations en couches sociales.

Comment les mécanismes économiques supposent ou créent les couches sociales.

Etude des couches sociales et de leur niveau complexe d'existence (budgets, logements, alimentation, culture, etc.).

Etude des idéologies dominantes (doctrines économiques, théories sociales, philosophiques) par couches sociales.

Premier essai de tri du valable et du non-valable dans ces idéologies.

PHASE II (depuis 1946)

a) L'utilisation des territoires (les structures géo-économico-politiques).

Les structures économiques des grandes nations.

La structure d'ensemble de l'économie mondiale.

La structure des niveaux de consommation et de développement pour 97 pays dans les 10 zones du monde.

b) Perfectionnement de la méthode d'analyse en vue de l'étude des niveaux de consommation et de développement.

Etude de la structure des besoins collectifs au plan local, régional, national et international.

c) Doctrine et technique de l'aménagement des territoires.

Les conditions du développement.

La théorie du besoin et vers la théorie d'une économie des besoins.

Recherche des conditions et perspectives d'une civilisation du développement.

PHASE III (depuis 1950)   Besoins spirituels et
                                         Sociologie Religieuse

a) L'analyse typologique des paroisses catholiques.

b) L'analyse des forces christianisantes et déchristianisantes et de leurs interactions ou relations.

c) L'analyse des niveaux de christianisation et des processus d'évolution religieuse collective.

d) La recherche des relations ou des interdépendances entre niveaux matériels et niveaux spirituels d'existence.

Les études concrètes ayant été réalisées sont les suivantes:

1. ANALYSES D'UNITES TERRITORIALES

a) Outils mis au point:

- Guide pratique de l'enquête sociale
        tome I   : Manuel de l'enquêteur
        tome II . L'enquête rurale
        tome III: L'enquête urbaine

aux Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1952.

- Diagnostic rapide d'une localité rurale
        édité au Brésil (analyse en cours dans les Etats de
        Sao-Paulo et du Parana), en cours d'édition en France.

b) Analyses réalisées

1942. Enquête sur quelques communes de l'Ardèche (structure rurale et structure des exploitations) par L.J. LEBRET.

1943. Etude du complexe portuaire de Sète, par J. LABASSE.
Eléments publiés dans "Economie et Humanisme" n° 12.

1944. Analyse démographique de la ville d'Apt (Vaucluse) par R. LOEW et J. WALDMANN.

1944. 1945. Monographie de Pouilly en Auxois, par le Dr CERN.
Eléments publiés dans "Economie et Humanisme" n° 28.

1944. 1946. Coups de sonde pour expérimenter le diagramme.
Equilibre primaire d'une commune, par L.J. LEBRET.

1944. 1947. Monographie de Moirans (Isère) par R. DELPRAT.

1945.   Monographie de Simandre (Ain) par A. BIROU.

1946.   Analyse de la population de l'Arbresle et étude de ses
         migrations (Rhône) par Melle M. MICHOUD.

1947.   Analyse de l'équipement sanitaire du Canton de Saint-Nicolas
         de Redon (Loire-Inférieure) par J. GAUDUCHEAU.

1947.   Etude démographique du Haut-Rhin par L. KAMMERER. Eléments
         publiés dans la revue Economie et Humanisme n° 39.

1947.   Analyse de la structure cantonale du département de la Loire
         (projet d'une nouvelle délimitation des cantons)
         par Th. SUAVET et J. PIREAU.
         Eléments publiés dans la revue Economie et Humanisme n° 39.

1947.   Analyse de la structure démographique du département de la
         Côte d'Or, et comparaison avec les autres départements
         français, par G. Th. GUILBAUD.

1947.   Enquête sur Saint-Fons (Rhône) (premier contact global)
         par J. KOPF.

1947.   Enquête sur les Riceys (Aube) (premier contact global) par
         J. KOPF.

1948.   Enquête sur Flavigny (Côte d'Or) (premier contact global)
         par J. KOPF.

1948.   Sondages sur le Champsaur, par L.J. LEBRET.

1948.49. Etude démographique du département des Bouches-du-Rhône
         par Ch. RUFFELI et P. GERVAISEAU.

1948.49. Enquête sur Montceau-les-Mines (premier contact global)
         par J. KOPF.

1949.   Enquête sur la région de Saint-Céré (Lot) par A. BIROU.

1949.   Etude critique des recensements de la ville de Marseille
         pour les années 1926, 1931, 1936 par Ch. TUFFELI.

1949.   Etude démographique et agricole du Canton rural de Couhé-
         Vérac (Vienne) par P. VIAU.

1949.   Analyse de l'équipement sanitaire des cantons de Saint-Etienne
         de Montluc et du Pellerin, par J. GAUDUCHEAU.

1949.   Etude démographique du département de la Moselle au 30 juin
         1949, par G. TINCELIN.

1949.   Etude comparative de trois îlots urbains à Saint-Etienne
         par J. CELLIER.

1950.   Enquête sur Auxon (Aube) par A. BIROU.

1950.   Enquête sur l'équipement sanitaire de la Marne par Jacques
         GAUDUCHEAU et J. CELLIER.

1951.1952. Etude de délimitation, en fonction des relations écono-
         miques, des unités territoriales de base du Sud-Est de la
         France. Cette étude est terminée dans sa première phase.
         Elle doit être reprise en liaison avec le Comité d'aménagement
         de la Région de Lyon, récemment créé.

1951.1952. Etude de délimitation, en fonction des relations écono-
            miques, des unités territoriales de base pour 4 départements
            bretons.

1952.   Contribution à une enquête pour la délimitation des unités
            territoriales de base et la préparation de l'aménagement des
            Bassins du Parana et de l'Uruguay (parties brésiliennes).

1952.   Etudes pour le Comité d'aménagement et d'équipement de la
            Moselle.

1952.   Etude de Montceau-les-Mines et sa région. Cette étude d'un
            bassin minier dont l'épuisement pose de graves problèmes d'ordre
            économique et humain s'insère dans un travail de longue haleine
            dont une première étape est maintenant terminée.

1952.   Etude du Morvan.

1952.   Etude du Jura Bernois.

1952.   Etude de la Région de Sessèyl par P. VIAU.

1952.   Premier contact global avec l'Afrique occidentale française
            réalisé au cours d'un bref séjour par L.J. LEBRET.

2. ANALYSES PAR GENRE DE VIE ET DES COUCHES SOCIALES

        a) Outils mis au point

            Des outils concernant ces questions sont contenus dans
            les ouvrages mentionnés au 1°. A noter en plus:

            Outil d'analyse sur les niveaux complexes d'existence
            par zones homogènes et couches sociales. Cet outil est
            actuellement en expérimentation à la Martinique.

        c) Enquêtes réalisées

1941.   Enquête sur les conditions de vie des ouvriers à Marseille
            par H.D. BARRUEL.

1941.1942. Enquête sur les persistances communautaires dans le midi
            et le Sud-Est de la France.

1942.1944. Coups de sonde pour comparaison des personnes, par
            L.J. LEBRET, R. LOEW, M. ALLEGRE.

1943.   Enquête sur les budgets familiaux ouvriers à Lyon (en liaison
            avec le M.P.F.)

1944.45.   Etude sur l'enfance déficiente, malheureuse et en danger moral
            à Marseille par A. de MONTMIRAIL.

1945.   Analyse sociologique d'un bloc de trente-quatre foyers pro-
            létariens à Marseille;
            Eléments publiés sous le titre "Déchéance humaine et taudis"
            dans la revue Economie et Humanisme n°24.

1945.   Sondages pour analyse de l'habitat à Lyon par R. DELPRAT et
            A. CHARROUD; Marseille, par R. LEVY et R. LOEW; Saint-
            Etienne par A. CORON et F. RIBOUD; Nantes, par J. USER et
            M. MICHOUD, effectués pour le compte du M.R.U.

1945.   Etude de l'habitat dans le quartier de Vaise (Lyon) par
            R. FANTAPIE.

1945.   Sondage poussé (1/7 des logements) pour l'analyse de
           l'habitat à Marseille, par R. LEVY.

1946.   Monographie de la Cité Jeanne d'Arc à Saint-Etienne (enquête
           habitat). Publication d'un extrait du dossier par la SAGMA.

1946.   Monographie d'une famille vosgienne, par A. MAURICE.
           Publication dans la revue Economie et Humanisme n° 28, 29, 33.

1946.   Sondage sur l'habitat à Sospel par Ph. GALLOY.

1946.   Sondages sur le surpeuplement et la vétusté des logements du
           quartier de Suquet à Cannes, par Ph. GALLOY.

1946.   Sondages pour détection des logements insuffisants à Metz,
           par H. CHATEAU.

1946.   Enquête sur les budgets familiaux ouvriers dans le sud-est,
           le nord-est de la France.

1946.   Enquête sur l'habitat à Vienne (Isère) par J. RIVOLLIER.

1946.1950. Enquête sur l'habitat rural, par G. ALLO puis le C.N.E.R.
           (collecte permanente, exploitation périodique par zones).

1946.1948. Enquête sur les budgets et l'habitat des étudiants de
           Grenoble, par Mme PERROT.

1946.1947. Enquête sur la corrélation taudis-alcoolisme à Saint-
           Etienne, par Th. SUAVET. Enquête effectuée pour le compte
           de l'I.N.E.D.

1947.   Analyse des logements du personnel de la Société Saint-
           Gobain à Saint-Bel (Rhône) par J. BARTHE.

1947.   Enquête sur les loyers dans une quinzaine de villes de France
           par X. STRAUSS.

1947.   Sondage préliminaire à une analyse de l'habitat à São Paulo
           (Brésil) par L.J. LEBRET (dossier exploité par Melle Maryse
           MICHOUD).
           Eléments publiés dans la revue Economie et Humanisme -
           Le Diagnostic n°1. Edition brésilienne du compte-rendu.

1947.   Analyses sociologiques en milieu étudiant des grandes écoles
           de Paris. Polytechnique: Vocations à l'X et milieu d'origine
           H.E.C. : Sondages d'opinion. - Ecole des Sciences Politiques:
           Etude de sociologie religieuse.

1947.   Enquête sur les conditions de vie à la prison des Baumettes
           (Marseille) par Th. JARRAUD DE VERAC.

1947.   Etude de l'habitat des familles nombreuses de Melun, par
           Mlle BERARD.

1947.1950. Enquête sur l'alimentation en milieu rural par le
           C.N.E.R. (exploitation par l'I.N.H.).

1947.   Enquête sur la mobilité des familles rurales, par G. ALO.
           Eléments publiés dans la revue Economie et Humanisme n° 39.

1947.   Coups de sonde sur les transports et durées des trajets des
           travailleurs parisiens.

1947.1950. Enquête sur les enfants et adolescents inadaptés de la
            région de Montpellier (500 cas) par le Pf LAFON et M. MICHOUD.
            Eléments publiés dans Sauvegarde numéro mars-avril 1948.

1948.   Enquête sur les causes de la délinquence à La Cabucelle
            (Marseille) par Mlle M. AUSSET.

1949.   Enquête sur les besoins en bâtiments scolaires de la ville de
            Grenoble (Isère) par Mme PERROT.
            Eléments publiés dans "Le diagnostic économique et social"
            Economie et Humanisme, n° 19.

1949.   Enquête sur la condition des enfants abandonnés dans la ville
            de Sao Paulo (Brésil) par J. LE DUIGOU.
            Eléments publiés dans Serviço Social n° 52 mars-juin 1949
            Sao Paulo. Porque menores abandonados e potquem?

1949.   Enquête sur les niveaux de vie des mineurs de Saint-Etienne
            (Loire), (alimentation, budget, habitat), par Jean RENARD
            et G. TINCELIN, effectuée par l'I.N.H. et l'I.N.S.E.E.

1949.   Sondage d'opinion parmi les étudiants de l'Université de
            Sao-Paulo (Brésil) Par B. DE SANTA CRUZ.

1949.   Sondages sur les budgets familiaux ouvriers en Moselle par
            Mme Dr CLAVAUX.

1949.   Coups de sonde sur les genres de vie dans la région de Saint-
            Malo - Dinan par L.J. LEBRET.

1949.1950. Enquête sur les internés de la Maison d'Arrêt de X.
            par M. GUILLUY.

1950.   Coups de sonde sur l'habitat et le genre de vie à Stockholm
            et à Copenhague, par L.J. LEBRET.
            Eléments publiés dans la revue Le diagnostic économique et
            social, Economie et Humanisme n° 13.

1950.   Enquête sur l'habitat urbain prolétarien (la Téja) à Monte-
            vidéo, par P. TERRA et C. TOSAR.

1950.   Enquête sur l'habitat rural à Pueblo-Rodriguez (village de
            l'Uruguay), par P. TERRA et G. TOSAR.

1950.   Enquête sur l'habitat et le niveau de vie en Suisse Romande
            par L.J. LEBRET, publiée dans le Diagnostic économique et
            social n° 23.

1951.   Enquête sur la situation et les besoins de la population en
            21 communes dispersées dans l'Est et le Midi de la France par
            un groupe de travailleuses sociales.

1951.   Enquête sur les vieillards de la ville de Grenoble, par
            Mme M. PERROT.

1952.   Analyse de l'habitat ouvrier de Chaville (Seine-et-Oise).
            Etude parue dans "Connaître une Population", Cahier D'Eco-
            nomie et Humanisme.

1952.   Enquête sur l'habitat à Montpellier ayant fait l'objet d'une
            thèse soutenue par Mlle Marck devant l'Université de Mont-
            pellier et s'inspirant de la méthode mise au point par
            Economie et Humanisme.

1952. Etude des niveaux de vie et des phases de développement écono-
miques dans le Monde. Première investigation dont on trouvera
un aperçu dans le cahier d'Economie et Humanisme intitulé
"Niveaux de vie, Productivité et Phases de civilisation".

1952.1953. Enquête comparative sur les niveaux de vie et le logement
des populations ouvrières dans la Ruhr et en Moselle,
par le CIEDEHL.

1952.53. Etude sur l'habitat dans la ville D'Artigas (Uruguay) par
P. TERRA.

1953. Enquête sur la situation et les besoins des populations dans
100 municipes des Etats du Parana et de Sao Paulo, (Brésil)
par Economia e Humanismo, sous la direction de L.J. LEBRET
et de B. DE SANTA CRUZ.

3. ANALYSES PAR ACTIVITES SOCIALES

    a) outils d'analyse

        Des outils concernant ces questions sont contenus dans
les ouvrages mentionnés au 1°. A noter en plus:

        Diagramme d'analyse d'une entreprise. Un modèle de
diagramme circulaire "Economie et Humanisme" spécialement
conçu pour l'analyse d'entreprises de taille moyenne a
été récemment élaboré et est maintenant utilisé par
l'Inspection d'un organisme national de financement.

    b) Analyses réalisées.

1940. Enquête sur les besoins des pêcheurs méditerranéens en filets
et engins de pêche, par L.J. LEBRET.
Cette enquête a permis la constitution et le fonctionnement
du Comité de Distribution des filets et engins de pêche.

1940.1943. Enquête sur la structure de la pêche méditerranéenne et ses
besoins par L.J. LEBRET et Mireille AUSSET.

1944.1945. Enquête sur l'autoconsommation des exploitations agricoles
(étude de 200 exploitations), par P. RAULT.

1945. Enquête sur l'origine des mineurs de la Loire, par Th. SUAVET.
Eléments publiés dans la revue Economie et Humanisme n° 36.

1946. Enquête sur les cheminots de Bourgogne et Franche-Comté par
G.-Th. GUILBAUD.

1946. Etude sur la structure de l'artisanat dans l'Yonne par
G. DE VILLELE.
Méthode d'analyse exposée dans la revue Economie et Humanisme
n° 21.

1946.1950. Enquête sur la structure des exploitations agricoles,
par G. ALLO, Paul RAULT puis le C.N.E.R.

1947. Analyse de la structure humaine des usines de Saint-Fons
(Rhône) (étude des travailleurs âgés), par R. CAILLOT.

1947. Enquête sur les coopératives de consommation et leur place
dans la distribution de Lyon par P. GERVAISEAU et R. CAILLOT.

1947.1948. Enquête sur l'autoconsommation dans les exploitations
agricoles, par G. ALLO et P. RAULT.

1948.   Enquête sur l'adaptation professionnelle à Vienne (Isère)
par le Dr. P. LESTERLIN. Eléments publiés dans Economie et
Humanisme n° 39.

1948.1950. Analyse du temps de travail des hommes, du temps de tra-
vail des femmes en agriculture, par le C.N.E.R.

1948.1950. Enquête sur l'apprentissage à Rennes, par P. GALLIOT.

1949.   Enquête sur la distribution à Romans-Bourg-duPéage (Drôme)
par M. MICHOUD, J. GARDELLE et A. BIROU.

1949.   Etude sur les conséquences de la mécanisation sur la struc-
ture des professions, par B. WILMET.

Eléments publiés dans la revue Economie et Humanisme, Idées
et Forces n° 5.

1949.1950. Enquête sur la distribution à Grenoble, par Mme PERROT
et Mlle MICHOUD.

1952.   Exploitation d'une enquête sur la productivité en France
effectuée par le C.I.E.R.P. par Economie et Humanisme, sous
la direction de G. CELESTIN.

1952.   Etude des structures agraires en Scandinavie. Enquête à fin
de culture spécialisée effectuée l'été 1952 au cours d'un
voyage d'études par Th. ALLO et P. VIAU.

4. ANALYSES EN SOCIOLOGIE RELIGIEUSE

    a) Outils d'enquête

       Collection de sociologie religieuse comprenant:

       - outil I   - Diagramme typologique de Paroisse Catholique
                      et lexique explicatif.
       - outil II   - Analyse des Groupes (groupe spontané, asso-
                      ciation, section de mouvement, etc.).
       - outil III - Diagramme comparatif des forces vivantes.
       - outil IV   - Chronologie comparative de l'évolution
                      économique et sociale, de la pratique re-
                      ligieuse et des options politiques.
       - outil V   - Tableau pour l'analyse de l'imprégnation
                      chrétienne d'une population et des ambiances
                      de vie.
       - outil VI   - Niveau humain d'une population.
       - outil VII - Processus d'évolution du comportement
                      religieux.

    b) Analyses réalisées

1943.   Enquête sur trois paroisses bretonnes, par L.J. LEBRET.

1945.   Enquête sur l'équipement paroissial des diocèses de St-Brieuc
Rennes, Chambéry

1946.   Etude de sociologie religieuse sur les paroisses de Béziers
          par R. DUBOIS.

1949.   Enquête sur les paroisses du diocèse d'Aix par P. GERVAISEAU.

1951.   Enquête sur la situation et la vitalité religieuse dans les
          Monts du Lyonnais, par P. FORGEOIS et F. MALLEY.

1951.1952. Coups de sonde dans la région de Lyon (France), en Espagne,
            en Italie, au Brésil, à Trinidad, à la Martinique, à Chicago
            et Montréal.

1952.1953. Enquête sur une paroisse de Montévidéo (Uruguay) par
            P. TERRA.

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

CONGRES DE LIEGE

24 août - 1er septembre 1953

LIEGE CONGRESS

24 August - 1 September 1953

Sect. III

Développements récents de

la recherche sociologique

Sect. III

Recent Developments in

Sociological Research

ETUDES COMPARATIVES EN ETHNOLOGIE SOCIALE ET APPLICATIONS

(Enquêtes croisées multiples dans les unités résidentielles)

par

P. CHOMBART de LAUWE

Groupe d'ethnologie social
Centre d'Etudes Sociologique

Paris

ETUDES COMPARATIVES EN ETHNOLOGIE SOCIALE ET APPLICATIONS

(Enquêtes croisées multiples dans les unités résidentielles)

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1. Introduction historique

Le sélection d'unités résidentielles (villages et quartiers urbains) nous a paru indispensable pour mener des recherches comparatives et pour faire des études expérimentales sur le terrain. Nous avons donné à ces recherches le nom d'ethnologie sociale pour marquer notre souci de regrouper tout un ensemble de recherches à l'intérieur des mêmes cadres choisis comme unités. Le travail fait appel à des représentants de diverses disciplines réunis en équipes de travail, souvent en liaison avec des praticiens (urbanistes, médecins, etc ...).

L'équipe de départ s'était intéressée principalement (depuis 1949) à l'écologie et à la morphologie sociale de l'agglomération parisienne. Les premiers travaux, préparatoires à des recherches sur les comportements dans le cadre ainsi défini et découpé, ont été publiés en deux volumes en 1952 (1). Ils ont permis de situer 5 quartiers de l'intérieur de Paris et de la banlieue, retenus comme terrains d'enquêtes pour les recherches plus approfondies. Par la suite, deux quartiers de villes de province ont été ajoutés pour permettre des comparaisons avec ceux de l'agglomération parisienne. Nous disposons donc actuellement de 7 quartiers urbains pour nos recherches. Nous envisageons d'en ajouter plusieurs d'autres types et situés dans d'autres régions, et de prendre également des villages pour établir de nouvelles comparaisons.

Parallèlément aux études écologiques, nous avons mené toute une série d'enquêtes par interviews et questionnaires sur des populations restreintes déterminés par choix raisonné. Les principales ont porté sur les comportements des ménages ouvriers et des ménages de la bourgeoisie et des classes moyennes, sur les attitudes des parents envers l'enfant (2), la stratification sociale et les attitudes de classes (3) etc ...

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(1) Cf. la liste des travaux du Groupe d'ethnologie sociale donnée en appendice.

(2) En liaison avec la "World Federation for Mental Health", et l'Institut de biologie sociale de l'Hopital Henri Roussel et le Laboratoire de psycho-biologie de l'enfant.

(3) Voir rapport au présent Congrès dans la section Stratification et Mobilité sociale.

Ces diverses études, en particulier les études d'écologie, ont provoqué des demandes nouvelles par diverse services officiels en particulier les Services d'urbanisme. Cela nous a permis de mettre en place de dispositif plus perfectionné des 7 quartiers sur lequel nous travaillons actuellement.

2. La phase des monographies comparatives: écologie, morphologie et analyses locales

Pour mener à bien les nouvelles études, une première série de travaux a été entreprise dans chaque quartier par un responsable local ou une équipe. Un plan des thèmes à étudier a été établi au départ, tout en laissant de très grandes possibilités d'adaptation pour chaque cas particulier. Il en est résulté un groupe de 7 monographies donnant des analysés locales très précieuses, permettant certaines comparaisons de structures sociales, de faits écologiques, de pratiques et attitudes, et surtout donnant la possibilité d'élaborer pour l'avenir des hypothèses de travail basées sur des observations solides, et non élaborées en chambre.

3. Les questionnaires et les interviews

Tout en poursuivant les études écologiques et les études sur les structures, nous avons dans un certain nombre des quartiers des ménages choisis cette fois strictement au hasard, pour leur faire passer des questionnaires et les soumettre à des interviews. Les questionnaires ont été établis en fonction des premières enquêtes par choix raisonné. Leur petit nombre (de 50 à 100 par quartier) est compensé par le contrôle des conditions dans lesquelles ils sont répondus, contrôle rendu possible par les études monographique.

4. Les enquêtes spécialisées par sujets

Nous aboutissons avec les deux types de recherche précédents à des enquêtes locales particulières à chaque quartier que nous appelerons "verticales" (A, B, C, D, ...) et des enquêtes par questionnaires oraux qui sont les mêmes dans tous les quartiers, et que nous appelerons "horizontales" (1, 2, 3, 4, ...).

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1						
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3						
4						
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- Pratiques alimentaires

- Attitudes envers l'enfant

- Loisirs,

     etc ...

Les hypothèses élaborées en fonction de la phase des études monographiques verticales et d'élaborations théoriques en fonction des travaux d'autres chercheurs, trouvent une première vérification dans la phase des études horizontales. Elles pourraient être totalement vérifiées dans des études portant sur des échantillons plus vastes pour l'ensemble de la France.

Les listes des enquêtes en cours et des travaux publiés ou en préparation présentées en annexe, donneront une idée plus précise de l'orientation des recherches.

Annexes :

    1.   Liste des enquêtes en cours ou en préparation.

    2.   Liste des travaux du groupe d'ethnologie sociale.

ENQUETES TERMINEES ET EN COURS

N° d'ordre	Intitulé	Responsable	Pour le compte de:
1	Comportement des ménages et budgets alimentaires (I)	Chombart	C.N.R.S. et Institut national d'hygiène
2	Attitudes envers les enfants	Chombart	Fédération mondiale pour la santé mentale et Laboratoire de psycho-biologie de l'enfant.
3	Attitudes et classes sociales (I)	Chombart	C.N.R.S.
4	Comportement des ménages (II) 4.1 - Montreuil 4.2 - XIIè arr. 4.3 - Boulogne-Bill. 4.4 - Petit-Clamart 4.5 - XVIè arr. 4.6 - Petit-Quevilly 4.7 - Le Chambon-Feug.	Chombart Couvreur	C.N.R.S.
5	Enfance en milieu anormal	Leroux	G.E.S.
6	Origine sociale et comportement d'un groupe de prisonniers de droit commun	L. Massé	G.E.S.
7	Ecologie des maladies mentales dans la région parisienne	G. Massé	Faculté de Médecine
8	Sociologie des unités résidentielles 8.1 - Montreuil 8.2 - XIIè arr. 8.3 - Boulogne Billancourt 8.4 - Petit-Clamart 8.5 - XVIè arr. 8.6 - Petit-Quevilly 8.7 - La Chambon-Feugerolles	Couvreur	Ministère de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme

N° d'ordre	Intitulé	Responsable	Pour le compte de:
9	Psycho-sociologie du vieillard retiré	Jeanjean	G.E.S.
10	L'évasion de la société adulte dans les organisations de jeunesse	Dampierre Couvreur	G.E.S.
11	Sociologie de l'habitat et de l'habitation	Chombart Courveur	G.E.S.
12	Travaux de sociologie électorale dans l'agglomération parisienne	Antoine Couvreur	G.E.S.

C.N.R.S. - Centre d'études sociologiques
GROUPE d'ETHNOLOGIE SOCIALE

TRAVAUX DU GROUPE d'ETHNOLOGIE SOCIALE

1. Travaux publiés

- P. CHOMBART de LAUWE, S. ANTOINE, L. COUVREUR, J. GAUTHIER et divers, direction de l'expression graphique: Jacques BERTIN, Paris et l'agglomération parisienne: l'espace social dans une grande cité (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1952) 2 vol., XI-262 pp. et 110 pp., photographies aériennes, planches, horstextes. Bibliographie.

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2. Un quartier-village du XIIème arrondissement, par Louis Couvreur.

3. Une H.B.M. de Boulogne-Billancourt, type de faux quartier, par M. Dupire.

4. Un quartier-lotissement de la banlieue lointaine: Petit Clamart, par P. Chombart de Lauwe et Paul Vieille.

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

CONGRES DE LIEGE	LIEGE CONGRESS
24 aout - 1er septembre 1953	24 August - 1 September 1953

Sect. III.	Sect. III.
Développements récents de la recherche sociologique.	Recent Developments in Sociological Research.

REPORT ON THE UNESCO STUDY "ATTITUDES OF

THE GERMAN YOUTH TOWARD AUTHORITY"

by

Knut Pipping, Ph.D.

Åbo, Finland.

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Abstract

The study was initiated by UNESCO in 1949 and the report was completed in 1952. A sample of 444 young people, 18 to 22 years, of both sexes, were interviewed with open-end questions and an attitude scale. The central theme was their relationships to their parents and their attitudes toward their upbringing; but questions were also asked about their attitudes toward their employer, job, school, teachers, schoolfellows, friends, leisure-time activities, church, politics, and officials.

The answers seem to show that the father is generally perceived as being more authoritarian than the mother. He and his acts are less criticized. The girls, who are kept more strictly than the boys, are more likely to stress restrictions, and also to approve of them. The theory that a stern father makes authoritarian children was not found to be generally valid.

The study whose main features I shall present now, was initiated by the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences in the autumn of 1949, as a part of the Department's large "Tensions Project". The topic "Attitudes of the German youth toward authority" was chosen by a committee, consisting of Professors Einar Tegen, Stockholm, Rudolf Sieverts, Hamburg, and René König, Cologne/Zürich. The committee also drew up the broad methodological outlines for the study. In December, 1949, I was asked to take charge of the project, and I came to Germany in January 1950, where I eventually found two assistants, Dr. Abshagen and Dr. Brauneck.

During the time now at my disposal, I intend to speak at some length about the methods we used, because I think that they were, in a way, rather unorthodox, and because - as you will see - knowledge of our methods is essential when judging the validity of our results.

Originally the intention of the Steering Committee was to do an interview survey of a representative sample of the entire West German youth aged 18 to 22, inclusively. Due to the nature of the problem, it was deemed necessary to employ some intensive interview technique, as simple interview methods were not likely to yield reliable answers about deeper lying attitudes. Moreover, it was felt that a study based on relatively superficial questions - of the yes-no or multiple-choice type - would look reliable neither to the German academic world nor to the general public in Germany.

When we began our work, we were not convinced about the validity of all theories and hypotheses set forth in Horkheimer and Adorno's _Autorität und Familie_ and Adorno and his associates'

The Authoritarian Personality. We had the impression that too little was yet known about the psychology of authority; so, instead of setting up a limited number of explicitly defined hypotheses to be tested, we decided to design our study as an exploratory one, whose main objective was to find out which factors play a role in the formation of authority attitudes of young people. Thus the area of investigation became rather broad, as it was necessary to include questions about every authority figure which a young person is likely to encounter.

Because we wanted to learn new facts about the youngsters' relationships to authority, we had to formulate our questions in a way which was likely to elicit unforeseen data. Thus we could not well use scale items only, as they are apt to test previously formulated hypotheses. Moreover, our intention to interview youth of all degrees of intelligence and education, forbade the exclusive use of attitude scales, as it is evident that a certain level of education is necessary before an interviewee can give meaningful answers to scale items of the usual kind.

During the winter, spring and summer of 1950 we experimented with various forms of questionnaires and attitude scales, and by the end of July we had developed a questionnaire which seemed appropriate. It consisted of 138 open-ended questions, most of which were followed by neutral probes to elicit detailed information. The questionnaire contained the following major sections: personal data, choice of vocation, satisfaction with employer and job, attitudes toward school, teacher and school-fellows, characteristics of the parents, details about upbringing, attitudes toward siblings, plans to leave home, leisure-time activities, attitudes towards friends of the same and opposite sex, marriage, membership in organizations, attitudes toward religion, politics and public officials. In addition to this questionnaire an attitude scale of fourteen items was developed, to be completed after the interview proper.

While pretesting our questionnaire it became evident that it was of utmost importance to obtain a very good rapport with the interviewees, if we wanted reliable answers, especially to the questions about parents and upbringing. Thus it was not always feasible to follow the scheme too strictly; in some cases it proved necessary to change the order in which the questions were presented, or to alter the wording according to the interviewee's level of intelligence. It was also evident that taking notes during the interview might prove harmful to the maintenance of rapport. Thus we allowed our interviewers - i.e. Dr. Abshagen, Dr. Brauneck and two experienced social workers - to conduct the interviews according to the situation at hand. In most cases, however, the questions could be put in the form and order in which they occurred in the questionnaire; and we noticed not seldom that the interviewees by themselves took up the themes in this order. Generally no notes, except for those on the face-sheet, were taken down during the interview, but filled in when the session was ended. The validity of this practice, which may seem doubtful to some, we tested before we went into the field, by comparing the notes which two interviewers took during the same interview. The correlation was +1. Unfortunately, we had no wire-recorder with which to compare the notes.

These interviews required from one to three hours to complete, depending upon the vivacity and intelligence of the interviewees, and another two hours to write down. Thus one inter-

viewer could hardly manage more than three interviews a day. As
our funds were restricted, we could not afford to take more than
five hundred such interviews, which upset the original plan to
interview a sample of the entire West German youth. To get at
least some generality for our findings, we decided to establish
three experiment groups, one in Northern, one in Central and one
in Southern Germany. We formed three areas, containing one large
city, one small town, and two rural counties, from which we drew
probability samples of the youth population. From each city or
town we took fifty, from each county twenty-four interviewees,
which makes 148 from each area or 444 in all. The places chosen
were: the cities Hanover, Würzburg and Freiburg i.B., the towns
Lüneburg, Schweinfurt and Konstanz, and the counties Rotenburg,
Soltau, Kitzingen, Hofheim, Bühl and Stockach. A comparison of
some characteristics of the sample with the population parameters
shows a high degree of similarity. Thus, even if our sample was
not representative in the true statistical meaning of the word, it
was at least characteristic.

        The interviewers got a list of the prospective interview-
ees' names, went to their homes and made an appointment for an
interview during one of the next days, usually in some school
nearby. The percentage of refusals was reasonably low, about
10 per cent, but the number of false addresses about 30 per cent.
In such cases the interviewers took substitutes from a substitute
list, which had been compiled according to the same principles
as the regular one.

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        The very great amount of data which were thus accumulated
in the interview returns made the coding and analysis rather cum-
bersome. Consequently, we were not able to do all the analysis
which we wanted to carry out, within the time at our disposal.
In the following I shall summarize our main findings.

        When designing our code, we did not primarily want to
classify our data by previously established categories, but to
code as many details as possible, and afterwards order these data
in such categories which seemed to emerge out of them. Our aim
was first and foremost to get a picture of what categories played
a part in the interviewees' conception of their authority figures.

        Since the parents undoubtedly are the most important autho-
rity figures, much attention was paid to the interviewees' de-
scription of their parents. By asking the interviewees to charac-
terize their parents, we obtained fairly extensive descriptions
of them as their children saw them. All simple Character traits
of the parents were coded, and later grouped into nine main ca-
tegories, which we called "personality factors", each of which
consists of one positive and one negative pole. They are:
Dominance: Strictness and Lenience, Temperament: Sedateness and
Liveliness, Self-discipline: Self-control and Laxity, Emotion-
ality: Warmth and Coldness, Achievement: Success and Failure,
Horizon: Narrowmindedness and Broadmindedness, Endowment: Talent
and Untalent, Nervous condition: Irritability and Quietness,
Justness: Fairness and Unfairness.

        By comparing the absolute and relative frequencies of
these factors, as assigned to the parents by different interviewee
groups, we could obtain a picture of how these groups saw their
parents, to which traits they paid most attention, and how they

evaluated them. We may assume, that if somebody stresses e.g.
the fairness or success of his father, he also by and large ge-
nerally judges his father by the standards of fairness and suc-
cess. But when comparing the parent portrayals as given by two
interviewee groups, we encounter one serious difficulty, namely
the lack of a common yardstick. It seems as if most interview-
ees, in their parent portrayals, should have compared father
with mother, so that they called their father strict even if he,
in reality was rather lenient, but stricter than the mother. This
becomes fairly obvious when we compute contingency coefficients
for the traits of father and mother; two thirds are negative.

Taking the replies of boys and girls together, we find
that they more often ascribe the following traits to the father
than to the mother: Talents, Quietness, Success, Fairness,
Broadmindedness, Sedateness, Self-Control, Strictness and Warmth,
and more often to mother than to father: Untalent, Failure,
Liveliness, Unfairness, Narrowmindedness, Irritability, Lenience,
Laxity, and Coldness. Analyzing the boys' and girls' parent por-
trayals we find that both boys and girls give a more detailed de-
scription of their fathers than of their mothers, except for
Emotionality and Dominance. It is also noteworthy, that boys more
often mention the Emotionality of the mother, the girls the Emo-
tionality of the father.

In a similar fashion we coded the practices and attitudes
which the interviewees' parents had displayed when bringing up
their children. The categories of training practices are in de-
scending order of frequency: liberal methods, authoritarian
methods, moral and conventional restrictions, restrictions of
rights, training for independence, freedom in human relations,
privileges, and material restrictions. It is noteworthy that
the girls more often than the boys mention restrictions, and also
more often approve of them.

The attitudes of the parents were grouped into the fol-
lowing categories (in descending order of frequency): systematic
upbringing, authoritarian attitudes, affection, external educa-
tion, liberal attitudes, lack of affection, unsystematic upbring-
ing, internal education. These attitudes were coded separately
for each parent. The analysis shows that the father generally
is seen as the more authoritarian parent, whose systematic up-
bringing, however, is generally approved. Authoritarian attitu-
des in the mother are more often resented, and her emotionality
may be disliked by some boys. Generally, the mother is more cri-
ticized than the father, which may be due to the fact that he is
too much of an authority figure to be criticized, or to the fact
that the children come in closer contact with the mother and thus
become more aware of her weaknesses.

All details about attitudes toward job, employer, friends,
church, politics etc. we put together into thirty-one categories
which seemed to bear upon the problem of authority, and then we
compared some interviewee groups with respect to these categories.
Our main findings may be summarized as follows: Among the boys,
strivings for dominance and independence often result in con-
flicts with authority; the girls are more interested in human
and emotional relationships, and identify themselves more easily
and strongly with moral and conventional rules. If we compare
catholic with protestant boys, the former show more outer sub-
mission under authority, but more inner independence. The latter
are more prone to internalize moral principles, but they also
show more strivings for dominance and more conflict proneness.

The catholic girls, who are very strictly brought up, show
strong emotional ties, and are, at least externally, very de-
pendent. In comparison, the protestant girls are very active,
dominant and energetic; they seem to be very independent, criti-
cal toward themselves and the rest of the world, but they suffer
from feelings of inferiority and show few signs of emotionality.

        For lack of funds we could not carry our analysis
further. Much could still be extracted from our raw data, and
our results are by no means final. Nevertheless we believe that
the theory that stern parents make authoritarian children cannot
be maintained in that simple form. There are too many still un-
known factors at work to allow the establishment of a simple
theory of the psychology of authority.

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THE SOCIOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF THE DUTCH REFORMED
CHURCH

by

Prof. Dr. W. Banning,
University of Leiden

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REFORMED CHURCH

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Sociology as an established science is still young in Holland. This science, at least as we understand it today, was at first sociography, that is a description of various aspects of social life, in a certain district, a village in drained marshes, of certain institutions (such as corporations), a group of people in the light of their historical background. This sociography has been the subject of careful study of the Amsterdam school under the leadership of Prof. Steinmetz sinche the end of the 19th century till the first world war. Sociology as a science studying society in general and the processes involved therein (integration, disintegration, war, revolution), its texture and characteristic institutions has developed particulary after the first world war and is now a subject taught at every university. In general one should clearly differentiate sociology as a descriptive science and social philosophy or normative sociology, although sociological research does include investigations as to norms and their backgrounds. The specific Sociology relating to Church matters (by which we mean: a. Sociology of the Churches as such, of the
        denominations and dectrines;
        b. Sociology in general in so far as the Church
        is involved) only came in the foreground first when a chair was created at the Theological faculty at Leiden and second by establishing a Sociological Institute for the benefit of "Kerk en Wereld". This institution has its object to stimulate and to guide the work of re-christianization of the Dutch people and it was felt that that end could not be attained without a Sociological Institute of its own as the causes of de-christianization and increasing anti-church like attitude are society itself and its conflicts. In fact, the Institute "Kerk en Wereld" is an academy where young men and women are being trained for evangelical work among various classes of the population (such as young people, countrymen, labourers). When a decision must be made where available men and women can best be of service, sociological investigations are essential.

When at the end of 1945 the Sociological Institute began its activities, the only assets were one man, an empty house, a mission and plenty of good will and devotion. Now, after five years work definite cases can plainly illustrate the kind of services sociological

investigations have rendered to a live church fully
realizing its apostolic vocation. Before dealing
with these investigations I would like to describe
generally the outlines of our work. We are convinced
that the era of industrialism is not only new in world
history, but that by its very nature, it presents quite
new problems to the churches. Never before has any
type of civilization been so much effected by the
machine, technology and natural science, never before
have moral life, philosophy, moral judgements,
emotional life, been so strongly influenced by techno-
logy. In the present time we find the c r i s i s of
industrialism, a statement not due to vague reports or
mental anguish. The main symptoms are: First: while
modern science has discovered forces hitherto unknown
and now available for mankind, there still remain
instruments to be found by which these forces can be
controlled and be lead into proper channels. Second:
while these forces might serve men in a way never
before dreamt of, they also appear to lead to self
destruction. Third: the peoples of our modern world
are so permeated with feelings of distrust, hate,
revenge, fear, that the simplest human relations are
continually being threatened.

From the leading circles of industrialism -
technical as well as political - the pressing demand
arises for a world of spiritual authority to which the
released powers can be subjected in such a way that
they do not lead mankind to destruction but be a bles-
sing. This is an appeal of modern society to the Church.
On the other hand the Church has every unducement to
examen the industrial era in respect of the ruling
tendenses, the effects on mankind, conception of life,
the moral and religious views which it calls up,
consciously or unconsciously. Owing to its very nature
Christianity has somewhat strained relations to
e v e r y kind of society but ours is particularly
leading to de-christianization. A sociological analysis
is therefore necessary for the Church.

With all this in view the Sociological Institute
of "Kerk en Wereld" has made special researches. Of
those of outstanding interest, I might name in the first
place the enquiry into the mode of life and mental
attitude of young people since the war. In the years
1945-1946 it was important for the Church, which owing
to its attitude during the military occupation had
acquired the special attention of our people, to know
exactly what the Dutch younger generation thought about
the great problems of life and not to rely on vague or
unverified impressions. This inquiry was instituted by
means of questionnaires in which they were free to
insert their replies without influences from outside.
The results are compiled in a book "Lives and views of
our youth".

In the second place I would like to mention the extensive enquiry called "Pastoral Sociography". It is our aim to collect in the whole of our country all sociological, statistical and historical details which clergymen and others engaged in church work require to take their bearings in town or village and to understand the local inhabitants. Some scattered details are available but they were never collected or compiled systematically. Besides the sociological and social-psychological views have never been applied to the whole Dutch territory, and the views of the Church never carried any weight. What we aim at is that from this enquiry with the cooperation of large numbers of Church ministers and others, a handbook of "Pastoral Sociography" should be compiled, so that all these details, systematically ordered and reviewed, should be available. We are convinced that the publication of such details will often disclose painful facts particularly as regards districts where the Church has lost touch to a large extent. Surely the first step to remedy an evil is to recognise it and its causes and a compilation of sociographical material may be most useful. In the third place we may mention an investigation of the effects of industrialization on the religous and spiritual lives of the working classes. This inquiry, valuable as it is because one may generally assume that industrialization suggests slackening of religous life, is now of particular interest in Holland since this country is forced to industrialize on a large scale and that quickly for the sake of the economic welfare and future of Holland. The inquiry applies to old as well as to newly developed industrial centres and we trust that it will help the Church to fulfil her new or neglected duties in the districts where industrialization is likely to be introduced first.

In the fourth place we mention, that at the request of the Government seven scientific institutions are carrying out an extensive inquiry into the mental conditions of youth in general and to this the Sociological Institute renders every assistance. Obviously, the results of this inquiry are the property of the Government but no doubt the general public will have the benefit of it in due course for, in order to take the necessary steps, very close cooperation of various public bodies and of the churches will be essential.

Furthermore attention may be drawn to practical studies carried out at the request of the "Union of Dutch Clergymen". In order to be informed efficiently about the financial position of the pastors in the Dutch Reformed Church, all Church councils were asked for particulars as regards debts for study, induction etc. which these pastors may have incurred. In this way a better notion could be formed of the trying situation in which many Clergymen and their families find themselves.

The subject of an important inquiry, if only to a limited extent, was that of the social standing of the

Church Ministers of the big cities. Although the
results were as expected, - most of the Ministers
belong to the lower middle classes, very few to the
working classes, - yet the inquiry demonstrates once
again the nature of the foundation upon which the
Church rests as far as the Clergy is concerned.

A few investigations of minor importance
may be mentioned. The pupils who have finished their
studies at the academy of "Kerk en Wereld" are general-
ly directed to those parts of the country which are
most estranged from the Church. Quite often it is
desirable to make sociological inquiries about the
type of the local population there, the effects of
past labour conflicts, political tendences etc., so
that the youth-worker or evangelist shall get a better
understanding of his new place. Some places present
problems of their own, for instance Zandvoort, a
seaside place on the North Sea where all the worldly
show and pleasures entirely dominate a large part of
the population and particularly the adolescent, and
where the Church is in great danger of losing touch
with them. A sociological inquiry about persons of
16-25 years of age threw some light upon the matter.

After enumerating some of the outstanding
investigations, we now propose to go into the subjects
of background and purpose of the work. Since some
scores of years expressions such as "lost groups"
have often been used, that is, the groups that have
lost all touch with the Church or even with religion,
although many are still associated in a formal way.
One finds them among intellectuals, labourers, new
middle classes and in some parts of the country also
landworkers. The question first put by sociologists
(in 1933 a thesis was published by Dr. J.P. Kruyt
dealing with de-christianization in Holland) began to
alarm the Church workers. What are the social
incentives at the back of this process which may be
summed up in the word de-christianization? The
symptoms are not only apparent in Holland but in the
whole of Europe. Is this an inevitable process to be
acquiesced in or can the Church be new methods face
the new situation? Acting along these lines can
hardly be called a constructive policy. A positive
way of looking at it is the principle that takes
shape more and more in the propagation of the gospel,
that people should be approached in their own environ-
ment, that is in their daily lives, their families, in
the social group to which they belong, the part they
play in the labour market. The sociological investiga-
tions always aim at understanding people from their
social points of view and with that in mind to explain
their ways of thinking and acting, their conflicts
and problems. On the strength of the development of
sociology as a science, we venture to predict that it
will be able to assist the Church not only in case of

difficulties but also in finding ways of overcoming them.
We are convinced that the vital questions at issue for
the larger part of the population nowadays are rather
on a social-ethical, than on a philosophical or dogmatic
plane.   Social ethics, for a long time a somewhat
neglected subject of theology, can only profit by what
sociology, with its practical analysis of social life,
has to offer.

What has been said about the purpose of the
Sociological Institute is by no means a brand-new point
of view.   In former days also church people were aware
of the problems of social life.   Yet one can readily
understand that during the last 25 years new ways and
means were looked for.   Two world wars, a period of
unemployment since 1929 and its effects have demonstrated
that society is in a state of radical reform or even in
a profound crisis.   The Dutch Reformed Church has published
two reports, viz. "Church and Labourers" and "Church and
Farmers" in which the desire was expressed to institute
scientific sociological investigations in the service of
the Church.   Experts are convinced that sociology cannot
do more than make a small contribution towards the solution
of problems and has to confine itself to an analysis of
symptoms and likely tendences, and it is then up to the
Church to draw moral and religious conclusions.   However
small the work of sociology may be, it is indispensable for
the Church in its present position.

After having set forth what the actual work of the
Sociological Institute consists of, I like to lose myself
for a while in hopes and conjectures, in other words to
outline future work more or less systematically and to mention
definite sections of the work and tasks.   To start with, I
would like to name the study of social-economic, cultural
and religious life, of the character and mentality of the
Dutch nation as a whole, and also its regional and social
communities.   In all this we fully realize that our Dutch
society is only a part of a whole which is in a radical
process of transformation, a complete metamorphosis.   With
this in view, the following objects of inquiry come up for
discussion:

1.   The demographic composition of our people: birth, mortality,
migration, in particular the surplus of births as regards
the different classes and stations of life, groups of
professions, regional groups and church denominations.

2.   The economic structure which is indespensable to an
understanding of social symptoms: various groups of professions
with their regional differences in particular between town
and country and the differences in standards of living and
mentality resulting therefrom (remuneration of labour,
working time and pace, enjoyment of work, assets, money
saving and leisure). Further the differences in mentality
of employers and employed and the changes therein and the

problems concerning works manager and participation of his workmen.

3. The social structure: the classes and stations of life of our people, their importance and significance, their morals and their characters.

4. The religious structure not only geographical-statistical (Church administration) but also religious-psychological and religious-sociological, the differences in denominations, style, local customs, mentality.

5. The cultural structure, in particular, unions, clubs, associations with their ramifications - also political parties, their views in connection with sub. 2, 3, 4, their leisure: cinemas, theatres, the press, sport.

6. The psychological structure: national character, localisms and non-regional characters of groups as mentioned before.

7. Special problems: unemployment, the aged, the small farmers, the non-evident unemployment of farmers' sons without farms of their own, the arrears in devastated areas, the Nazi-colloborators, social work as one way towards alleviation of these hardships.

8. Actual social problems: after effects of the war (sexual deterioration, work-shyness, unauthorised strikes, youth criminality, dislocation of family life). As a special application:

9. The demographical, social and political structure of various Church denominations, and

10. The groups of workmen, intellectuals and farmers standing aloof from the Church and changes in the attitude of the young people.

However necessary an analysis of the situation in Holland may be to appreciate fully the task of the Dutch Churches, it is not sufficient. Comparison with similar situations abroad will be essential in order to get a clearer understanding of our own troubles. General sociology, social-psychology and group-sociology will give us the necessary assistance in discussing the following points:

11. General problems of modern society: problems relating to war, annexations, colonies, races, older generations versus youth, causes and effects of unemployment, technique, the sociological side of the birth question, emancipation of women and the life of the masses in the big cities.

12. For closer study, though more of an academic nature sociological and social-philosophical problems

are extremely important, such as individual and
community, community and society, leadership, the
importance of the process of secularisation, sociology
of religion, cultural sociology and sociology of
science.

        The Sociological Institute publishes its own
periodical four times a year in which space has been
allotted for all sorts of investigations but in a more
condensed form than the extensive reports. I do not
consider it necessary to give an enumeration of all
articles published. The authors have dealt with
sociological and religious aspects of villages and
districts as well as with problems of specific parishes
such as Sloten, now part of Amsterdam, youth in typical
areas, problems connected with industrialism etc. One
of the contributors has given an explainatory survey of
sociographic literature in Holland drawing special
attention to those passages likely to interest the Church
and the Church workers.

        One may ask: for whose benefit were these
sociological investigations made? First of all for the
Church as a whole and for every parish. The Institute
has a serving and informative task and is prepared
wherever possible, to be of service to any parish or in
combination with other parishes. The Institute also hopes
to be able to assist clergymen, youth leaders and
evangelists who are mainly concerned with people not in
touch with the Church and all social Church workers, male
and female. Furthermore we mention students at the
universities, at the Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church,
at the Academy of "Kerk en Wereld". The library of the
Institute is specially placed at their disposal. The
Director and his assistants are always gladly prepared to
assist and guide students desiring to study social
problems. Finally, the Institute wishes to serve all
Church people by enlightening articles in the Church press,
and own publications and by lecturing in parishes and
addressing Church workers on social lines.

        To finish up I would like to say a few words about
the difficulties we encounter in our social work in the
service of the Church. Unlike the work done in study or
library, sociological investigations always cost a lot of
money and workers in new districts should be prepared not
only to spend much time and be very patient, but also to
face much disillusionment. Besides, society as a complex
of human strength and efforts not only requires a trained
eye but also a sympathising and loving heart. The
sociologist is usually concerned with people having social
troubles, feeling threatened in some way or other and
fighting moral battles. All this he should understand and
appreciate scientifically as well as from the human point
of view, so this work should never be degraded to pattern
work. To be quite honest we have to state that the Church-
sociology has to face special difficulties in so much as
the Church people as well as the clergy are not yet
convinced of the advantage of sociological views so that
some opposition has to be overcome. This can best be
achieved by letting the work done speak for itself.

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LE TON AFFECTIF ET LES MECANISMES SOCIAUX

par

Robert PAGÈS

Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques

Paris

niveau de vie semble un couverture
du ton affectif , des niveaux de bonheurs

LE TON AFFECTIF ET LES MECANISMES SOCIAUX

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Plaisir et souffrance, intégrés dans le ton affectif caracté-
ristique des individus et des groupes et mutuellement perçus, nous
paraissent jouer un rôle important dans les mécanismes réglant les rap-
ports des individus et des groupes.

I. - LA MOTIVATION AFFECTIVE ET LA PERCEPTION D'AUTRUI.

L'ambiguïté du concept durkheimien de contrainte pour l'expli-
cation des conduites sociales est depuis longtemps apparue. En revanche,
la notion de motivation joue un rôle croissant dans les travaux récents
de psychologie sociale. L'ouvrage de Krech et Crutchfield qui lui con-
sacre une bonne part de sa section théorique est typique à cet égard.
Mais il est typique aussi de voir que les notions théoriques utilisées
par ces auteurs sont sorties tout armées de la psychologie individuelle
et de certaines de ses tendances.

Le point de vue exposé ici (trop sommairement pour admettre
une justification de quelque rigueur) consiste à considérer que la théo-
rie de la motivation en général et de la motivation sociale en particu-
lier souffre de deux carences principales:

1) Tout d'abord, depuis que Lewin notamment l'a systématisée,
s'est répandue non sans se déformer une théorie de la motivation
qui donne un rôle central à la notion d'équilibre et de déséquilibre par
la médiation d'une sorte d'homéostasie. Cette notion peut constituer
souvent une approximation suffisante, mais elle tend parfois à éliminer
l'aspect que Freud résumait dans le "principe du plaisir" et cela de
façon quelque peu parallèle à ce qui se passe dans la théorie de l'appren-
tissage à propos de la "loi de l'effet". C'est si vrai que le traité de
Psychologie sociale cité plus haut ne fait jamais intervenir le mot même
de "plaisir" dans les discussions sur la motivation et ne mentionne le
malaise que très secondairement. Or, c'est là un aspect, peut-il sembler,
de la négligence des mécanismes perceptifs que signalait Guillaume dans
son ouvrage sur "La formation des habitudes". En effet, s'il est vrai
que le plaisir est un sujet peu édifiant et au surplus difficile à explo-
rer notamment chez les animaux, plaisir et souffrance n'en constituent
pas moins, comme tout secteur de la sensibilité, un système de signaux
réglant les conduites. Il est caractéristique justement de voir un spé-
cialiste des motivations alimentaires chez les animaux, P.Th. Young, sou-
ligner chez eux le "rôle des processus hédoniques" dans l'organisation du
comportement" (Psychol. R., 1952, 59, 249-62). L'auteur montre, par une
série d'expériences précises, qu'il n'y a ni parallélisme exact ni coïn-
cidence temporelle entre le déséquilibre cu l'équilibre au niveau des
tissus d'une part, et les conduites d'autre part. En revanche, le manque

à choisir spontanément des rations favorables malgré les carences correspon-
dantes jusqu'à ce que, semble-t-il, leur effet bénéfique soit ressenti, la
persistance à choisir alors ces rations malgré la disparation des carences,
le fait que des rats déficients en magnésium évitent des rations contenant
du magnésium, lequel se trouve avoir un caractère déprimant, la capacité du
plaisir préliminaire de motiver les activités sexuelles, - tous ces faits
paraissent témoigner de ceci: faire abstraction du rôle des signaux affec-
tifs dans le mécanisme de la motivation, et a fortiori chez l'homme, c'est
là une naïveté et une inexactitude que la psychosociologie doit se garder
d'emprunter à certaines tendances psychologiques. Les toxicomanies à di-
vers degrés, générales dans les sociétés humaines, devraient d'ailleurs nous
éclairer éclairer à cet égard.

Il a fallu ce retour à l'examen de la théorie de la motivation pour
comprendre qu'un autre aspect perceptif de la motivation, derectement social
celui-là, soit également négligé par les théories usuelles. En effet, les
signaux affectifs ne sont pas motivants ou régulateurs de motivations exclu-
sivement pour celui qui les ressent, mais aussi pour celui qui en perçoit
l'expression chez autrui. Cela nous semble un fait d'observation digne d'être
étudié avec plus de rigueur que le plaisir, ressenti et exprimé dans une
conduite et une situation, est susceptible de renouveler ou d'induire la con-
duite et la mise en situation non seulement chez le sujet mais aussi chez
l'observateur. Il y aurait là un facteur majeur d'imitation dont l'étude
pourrait rendre à cette notion décriée un renouveau d'intérêt. (Il est curieux
de constater que là encore le concept d'imitation est pratiquement mis au rebut
dans le traité cité plus haut.)

II. - LE TON AFFECTIF REEL ET LE TON AFFECTIF JOUE.

On trouve de temps en temps dans les sondages d'opinion publique
des résultats du type suivant:

En Australie, 52 % des gens se déclarent "très heureux", 41 % "assez
heureux", 3 % "pas très heureux". En France, 11 % seulement "très heureux",
52 % "assez heureux", 33 % "pas très heureux".

En France, les électeurs du Mouvement Républicain Populaire se di-
sent beaucoup moins souvent malheureux que les électeurs communistes.
(Sondages, respectivement 1949, page 58, et 1948, page 223.)

Ces résultats ont bien quelque rapport avec les affects ressentis
par les enquêtés, mais en quel sens?

Nous postulerons qu'une composante de ces réponses en termes de
"bonheur" est le ton affectif. Par quoi nous proposerons de désigner une
résultante cumulative des affects antérieurement éprouvés par le sujet (va-
riable avec l'hérédité et l'évolution personnelle) et fonctionnant comme
cadre de référence dans l'anticipation et la perception des affects éprouvés
à chaque instant. Il s'agit donc d'un appareil de systématisation permanente
des affects. Ici encore les observations courantes nous permettent de sup-
poser que le ton affectif tend à jouer, par rapport à des systèmes de motiva-
tions concernant des systèmes de situations, le même rôle régulateur que les
affects momentanés jouent à l'égard des motivations et des situations à peti-
te échelle. Du point de vue des conduites globales que sont la migration,
l'activité militante ou l'arrivisme en rapport avec des régions complexes de
l'espace social telles qu'un pays étranger, un syndicat ou un rang social,
le ton affectif aurait le rôle d'un informateur plus ou moins fidèle sur le
rendement de ces conduites pour l'individu.

Nous appliquerons également à ce concept global le schéma proposé plus haut concernant le rôle de la perception du ton affectif d'autrui dans la détermination des conduites de celui qui en observe l'expression. Nous sommes donc amenés à parler du ton affectif perçu comme d'une chose évidemment différente éventuellement du ton affectif senti.

Or, si le ton affectif est, disions-nous, l'une des composantes du bonheur déclaré aux sondeurs d'opinion, il n'est pas sûr que ce soit la seule. On sait que les déclarations verbales directes de ce type ne sauraient être prises au pied de la lettre quant à leur correspondance avec les conduites ou les sentiments. Si cela est vrai, une méthode d'exploration indirecte, fût-elle verbale, doit nous conduire à des résultats différents de ceux que donne l'exploration directe. On peut supposer que cette dernière subit plus que l'autre une socialisation par ajustement à des normes relatives aux rôles attendus de soi par autrui. C'est ce que vise à mettre en évidence une expérience poursuivie, après quelques observations préliminaires, dans le cadre de recherches d'ensemble sur le ton affectif.

Il s'agissait de porter sur une même échelle pour les rendre comparables les déclarations directes du type ci-dessus et des déclarations indirectes, obtenues de l'interrogé et nécessitant un calcul pour en tirer la signification globale sur l'échelle. Dans le premier cas on demandait à l'enquêté de se coter sur une échelle à 7 points de "très heureux" à "très malheureux", d'après ses souvenirs du mois écoulé; dans le second et sur la même échelle, on demandait à l'interrogé de porter à chaque échelon le nombre de jours du mois écoulé qui lui paraissait y correspondre. On appelle b la première autocotation, b_m le médian, sur l'échelle de la distribution des jours remémorés échelon par échelon.

La réponse "ça va" est de loin la plus fréquente à la question "comment allez-vous?" Il y a là notamment une convention de politesse qui nous met en présence de ce que pour abréger nous appellerons un jeu (de rôle) thymique. Un autre facteur agit probablement qui tend à enfouir plus profondément les souvenirs désagréables : de nombreuses expériences l'ont montré, plus ou moins en rapport avec la théorie freudienne de l'oubli. On a donc fait l'hypothèse que b, cotation directe, serait supérieur à b_m, cotation indirecte, présumée plus dégagée à la fois du jeu thymique et de l'oubli superficiel.

Pour évites de quantifier arbitrairement une échelle purement ordinale on a préféré ne pas tenir compte des différents échelons et vérifier seulement par une épreuve de chi-carré si b était plus souvent supérieur à b_m. Malgré l'exploitation prudente de l'information, due à cette technique, l'hypothèse a été très significativement vérifiée sur l'ensemble de 304 cas tirés de trois enquêtes différentes. Les résultats sont analysés dans la table 1.

On notera que sur 304 sujets 195, soit près des 2/3, présentent des différences b - b_m non nulles (c'est-à-dire d'un échelon au minimum) et que 51 % des différences, soit plus de 80 % des différences non nulles, sont positives. Encore qu'on ait ici un groupe de villageois, un group de "primaires" d'origine majoritairement ouvrière et un groupe de "secondaires" d'origine majoritairement classe dirigeante, il n'est pas apparu de différences significatives entre les groupes. Ce résultat serait évidemment à reprendre plus systématiquement.

On notera encore que sur 134 élèves-instituteurs de Douai, garçons et filles, 81,3 % croient qu'on les trouve plutôt gais. Il est vrai que 75 % d'entre eux se déclarent plutôt heureux (1), la différence des

_____

(1) - on a inclus dans le "plutôt heureux" 50 % des neutres.

deux pourcentages n'étant pas significative. Mais la conscience d'une
présentation thymique positive est comme on le voit nettement établie, du
moins pour ce groupe de jeunes gens.

Des entretiens ont montré qu'en outre de cadres probablement in-
conscients, des normes conscientes régissent parfois le jeu thymique. Ainsi
d'un villageois (bourrelier): il avoue se déclarer heureux en public: "Je
mens, qu'est-ce que vous voulez que je fasse autrement... les gens s'en
fichent royalement, les petites histoires personnelles: il vaut mieux cacher
son truc". Mais il y a inversement le lycéen qui pense que de se dire mal-
heureux, "ça fait bien".

D'autre part, quelques expériences de cotations mutuelles du bon-
heur à l'intérieur de groupes, pratiquées également à Douai, ont suggéré
directement la faiblesse des corrélations entre le bonheur déclaré et le
bonheur apparent pour les autres.

Ce qui nous importe, du point de vue de la théorie de la motiva-
tion exposée plus haut, c'est précisément la nécessité de discrimination
conceptuelle que les observations confirment. Si la conduite propre (prise
au sens molaire) est en partie réglée par le ton affectif propre, elle est
mais tel qu'il est perçu. D'autre part, la conscience de la présentation
thymique propre, illusions comprises, régit le jeu thymique des individus.

Du point de vue méthodologique, il importe de rendre toutes ces
notions opérationelles et aussi métriques que possible. Les efforts en ce
sens ne peuvent être exposés ici mais bien quelques perspectives d'utili-
sation sociologique des concepts.

III. - SCHEMAS HYPOTHETIQUES DE MECANISMES SOCIAUX.

Il suit que ce n'est pas la distribution sociale ou géographique
réelle du ton affectif qui joue le rôle direct de signalisation extérieure
des sources de satisfaction, ce sont les distributions du ton affectif perçu
(ou du ton affectif supposé, par extrapolation, notamment, d'expériences
propres).

La notion nouvelle à introduire à ce niveau c'est que le ton affec-
tif n'est pas un phénomène proprement individuel en ce double sens:

a) qu'il se constitue à travers des interactions et communications entre
individus, et
b) qu'il se constitue en ambiances, perceptibles par exemple au nouveau
venu.

Le ton affectif perçu l'est également comme phénomène de groupe
dans de nombreux cas (ton affectif social apparent); d'autre part, il est
perçu à travers des percepts façonnés en groupe et souvent transmis sous
forme de clichés. Il y a un cliché de la tristesse nordique et de la gaieté
méridionale qui semble fonctionner... à l'intérieur de chaque pays, (peut-
être même en Suède), en liaison avec un système d'oppositions Nord-Midi.

Le jeu thymique est de même élaboré en groupes à travers des sor-
tes de rituels liés à des idéologies ou à des mythes (pessimisme et opti-
misme, vallées de larmes et paradis terrestres).

Exposons finalement un modèle abstrait et fort sommaire dans le-
quel ces différents facteurs sont mis en action, en rapport notamment avec
les déplacements sociaux "verticaux" ou "horizontaux" et les conflits inter-
groupes.

Soit A un groupe défavorisé. B un groupe favorisé, avec les tons affectifs adéquats, quelle que soit d'ailleurs la nature des ressources écologiques et sociales qui privent A et satisfont B: nous symboliserons les situations correspondantes par S_a, S_b.

Supposons A et B en "vue" l'un de l'autre, eux-mêmes et leurs situations. La perception de B doit pousser A à tenter de reproduire S_b, soit par attrait direct de S_b, soit, à défaut ou complémentairement, à la vue de la satisfaction de B. Cette reproduction de situation peut se rechercher plus ou moins rationellement, soit par une imitation sans empiètement sur la région de B, soit R_b (s'agissant d'ailleurs de régions en un sens topologique abstrait), soit par un rapprochement à l'égard de B qui peut se manifester seulement par une sorte de mise en vedette de B: le phénomène serait ici en quelque sorte sociométrique au sens de Moreno et l'on a des raisons précises de penser que les gens réputés heureux sont attrayants en ce sens, (sans pouvoir encore prouver qu'ils le sont comme tels).

Mais ce rapprochement peut donner lieu à des empiètements ou à des menaces d'empiètement sur R_b. Dans ce dernier cas, il y a deux hypothèses: ou bien, du point de vue de B, R_b n'est pas saturée de population, et dans ce cas B peut, sans compromettre S_b, laisser libre accès à A; en particulier il n'a aucune raison qui le porte à réduire la motivation de A en direction de R_b, par exemple en dissimulant ses ressources et la satisfaction qu'il en tire. Il peut même désirer attirer A, par exemple en tant que main-d'oeuvre, et faire de l'euphorie publicitaire.

Mais si B trouve que R_b est saturée, et que S_b serait menacée par toute "immigration", et peut-être même par toute imitation qui risquerait de devenir compétitive, la situation est différente. Limitons-nous au cas où seule l'immigration en R_b est indésirable pour B. Dans ce cas, deux hypothèses concernant les barrières, de quelque nature qu'elles soient, entre A et B (frontières sociales ou géographiques, par exemple): ou bien elles sont fortes et dans ce cas, B n'a pas de raison de renoncer à l'apparence d'un ton affectif élevé; il peut au contraire y trouver une source d'élévation de son ton affectif par contraste perceptif. Mais si les barrières sont basses, alors le jeu thymique collectif peut s'élaborer et même s'institutionnaliser de façon à montrer une situation malheureuse. Le symbole en serait Tartuffe - malgré les prétextes de piété, - criant à la cantonnade: "Laurent, serrez ma haire avec ma discipline!" Ainsi se protège-t-on de la jalousie vengeresse des dieux et des hommes, par une dysthymie ostentatoire, par exemple celle qu'on rencontre en rapport avec des superstitions concernant le "mauvais oeil". Inversement, les techniques de la publicité ne nous ont pas attendus pour faire consciemment de l'image réjouie d'un expert universel, de préférence attrayant, le signal des sources de satisfaction onéreuse.

Une des hypothèses les plus immédiates suggérées par le modèle serait le caractère apparenté et aisément substituable de la sympathie imitative de A pour B et de la lutte éliminatrice de A contre B. Cette ambivalence, souvent observée, trouverait ici une explication.

Encore que le présent modèle soit destiné à des usages aussi bien microsociologiques que macrosociologiques il est probable que de nombreux ajustements devront être opérés aux différents niveaux. Notam-

ment des effets de la distance sur la perception mutuelle peuvent se pré-
sumer.

Ce n'est là d'ailleurs qu'une "théorie spécifique" au sens de
Merton, destinée uniquement à favoriser la dérivation d'hypothèses de re-
cherche sur certains mécanismes des conduites et des mouvements sociaux.

Paris, le 15 Juin 1953.

Robert PAGÈS.

Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques et
Laboratoire de Psychologie sociale
de la Faculté des Lettres de Paris.

TABLE 1

Probabilité aléatoire de chi-carré pour les dif-
férences entre autocotation directe et indirecte.

N° du groupe	N	χ^2	$P(\chi^2)$	Lieu et Date	Population
1	59	12,1	< .0007 > 0005	Douai 1951	Elèves-maîtresses de l'Ecole Normale, 4è année et Formation professionnelle. Forte proportion d'origine ouvrièr.
2	41	9,14	002	"	id: classe de seconde
3	43	14,44	0001	"	Elèves-maîtres de l'E.N. 4è année.
4	34	3,24	072	Paris 1952	Lycée Janson de Sailly (garçons) 3 classes de Philosophie et une de Mathématiques Elémentaires.
5	35	7,6	007 005	"	"
6	32	13,8	< 0002 > 0001	"	"
7	35	17,64	< 00001	"	"
8	25	1,454	23	Village de Touraine, dit "Bourg-B".	Habitants de commune rurale à tous âges et sexes, principalement du bourg, étudiés dans le cadre d'une enquête en cours, ethnographique, biologique et psycho-sociologique.
	304 Total				

Note: Les chi-carrés pour les groupes 4 et 8 ne sont pas signicatifs. Mais les proportions qu'ils caractérisent ne sont pas significativement différentes des autres. Les chi-carrés étant additifs, les résultats d'ensemble sont hautement significatifs.

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CONGRES DE LIEGE

24 aôut - ler septembre 1953

LIEGE CONGRESS

24 August - 1 September, 1953

Sect. III

Sect. III

Développements récents de

la recherche sociologique

Recent Developments

in Sociological Research

Recent Sociological Research in Denmark

A review presented by the Danish Sociological Society

Recent Sociological Research in Denmark.

A review presented by the Danish Sociological Society.

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1. Introduction.

The place of sociology has until recently been
very humble in Danish academic life as well as in popular
interest in Denmark. Only in 1937 the first Danish chair
of sociology was erected at the University of Århus and
Dr. Theodor Geiger was appointed to the chair. After his
untimely death in 1952 the professorship has not been
filled.

A chair of sociology was erected at the University
of Copenhagen in 1951, but has not as yet been permanently
filled. During the vacancy teaching has been entrusted to
Dr. Kaare Svalastoga of Norway as a visiting professor.

Theodor Geiger succeeded in establishing an
Institute of Social Research in connection with the Århus
chair of sociology. Working with a very small staff and
with an inadequate budget professor Geiger succeeded in
promoting a series of valuable projects, particularly in
the field of social mobility and social stratification.
His death was a very hard blow to Danish sociology, Geiger
being not only a pioneer, but having also gained general
acceptance.

Professor Geiger was the founder in 1951 and the
first president of the Danish Sociological Society.

Less than a year after the death of Geiger Denmark
lost another outstanding social scientist, professor Svend
Ranulf. Ranulf was since 1939 professor of philosophy at
the University of Århus, but his interest was to a large
extent directed towards sociology, particularly the
sociology of social norms and of political propaganda.

A Sociological Institute has recently been
established in connection with the chair of sociology at
the University of Copenhagen. The Institute publishes its
findings in the bulletin "Sociologiske meddelelser".

A considerable proportion of social research and
related sciences have since the war been undertaken or
sponsored by Government Departments, in particular the
Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

The Social Science Adviser to that Ministry, since
1941 Mr. Henning Friis, is in charge of research considered

necessary for planning of legislative and administra-
tive measures in the field of social welfare. Staff
is generally appointed on ad hoc-basis and includes
sociologists, psychiatrists, psychologists and social
workers.

2. Recent Research by the Institute of Social Research at the University of Århus.

The Danish Intelligentsia from the Reformation to the
Present Time. By Theodor Geiger. Published as "Den
danske intelligens fra reformationen til nutiden" in
ACTA JUTLANDICA XX,1, Århus 1949. (English summary).

The subject matter of the investigation is
the origin of the Danish intelligentsia - defined as
the producers of cultural values - during the period
1500-1900. The material utilized is the personal data
of 8787 prominent men and women drawn from "Dansk
Biografisk Leksikon". The members of the intelligentsia
have been classified according to time of birth, place
of birth, field of cultural activity, social status of
parents and sex, and the findings are interpreted with
reference to contemporary cultural and historical
developments.

Social Origin of the Academically Trained. By Theodor
Geiger in collaboration with Torben Agersnap.
Published as "De danske studenters sociale oprindelse"
i NORDISKE STUDIER I SOCIOLOGI, 2. Copenhagen 1950.
(German summary).

The study is centred around two principal
aims: 1) to determine the extent to which the academic-
ally trained are recruited from non-academical social
strata when not only the occupation of the students'
fathers but also the occupations of their grandfathers
are taken into account, and 2) to isolate the
(hypothetical) social strata which function as inter-
mediaries (fathers) between non-academical grandfathers
and the student generation.

The analysis is based upon questionnaires
returned by 7902 students in institutions of higher
education.

Social Mobility in a Danish Middletown. By Theodor
Geiger. Published as "Soziale Umschichtungen in einer
Dänischen Mittelstadt" in ACTA JUTLANDICA, 1 (p.4).
Århus 1951.

The study is concerned with the occupational
mobility between generations in Århus, Jutland, and
based on data from the municipal census of 1948.

The material comprises the 39.722 men of 15 years
and over that answered census questions asking for
occupation of self, father, and - when the respon-
dent was married - father-in-law.

Listening Habits of the Danish Radio Audience. By
Theodor Geiger in collaboration with Torben Agersnap.
Preliminary results published in "Kortfattet rapport
vedrørende radioundersøgelsens resultater". Copenhagen
1950.

        The inquiry, which was requested and financed
by the State Radio, was directed chiefly towards
ascertaining the extent to which listeners tune in to
the programme items broadcast. Besides information
was sought on the daily time-table of listeners to
make possible an evaluation of programme scheduling.
The data were collected through mailed questionnaires
(from a sample representative of the whole country)
and sample interviewing in Århus and Varde (representative
of major and minor towns respectively) and a number of
rural districts.

Internal Migration in Denmark. By Torben Agersnap.
Published as "Studier over indre vandringer i Danmark"
in ACTA JUTLANDICA, XXIV (p.5). Århus 1952.

        The study contains a summary description of
population trends and regional mobility in Denmark 1850-
1950 and an analysis of the causes and possible effects of
internal migration. It is based on data drawn from the
national censuses 1850-1950, municipal censuses in
Copenhagen, Århus, and Aalborg, population registers, and
a sample inquiry conducted in rural districts surrounding
Randers.

3. Recent Research on Social Conditions in Denmark, under-
    taken or sponsored by public authorities.

Social Conditions of Large Families in Copenhagen.

        The basic documentation comprises statistical data
on income, housing, and social welfare of 10.000 families
with 3 or more children. Interviews have been conducted
with a sample of 1400 families. The results have been
published by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in
1946. (Undersøgelse af københavnske børnerige familiers
forhold med særligt henblik på deres boligforhold).

Social Conditions of Large Families in Århus.

        As material are applied the census forms used at
the general housing census in 1950. The investigation
covers all 2700 families with three or more children at

Århus. Published by the Municipality of Århus ("Børne-
riges boligforhold", Statistical Quarterly of the
Municipality of Århus, No. 3, July 1952).

The Danish Youth Inquiries.

The Danish Youth Commission was appointed by the
government on October 1945, its terms of reference
including a study of all significant problems relating
to the youth of Denmark as well as recommendations on
amendments of existing legislation and other measures
designed to improve conditions for young people.

The shortage of dependable statistical material
concerning youth conditions made it necessary for the
Commission to initiate a series of statistical inquiries,
which covered the following field:

1. Conditions in general of young persons
   aged 15-24, 1946. (The Youth Survey).

2. Activities of youth organizations, 1945-46.
   (The Organization Inquiry).

3. Social background and condition of young
   persons attending secondary schools
   (gymnasiums), 1946. (The Gymnasium Inquiry).

4. Social background and conditions of university
   students, 1947.   (The Student Inquiry).

5. Equipment and utilisation of village halls, 1947.
   (The Village Hall Inquiry).

The investigations were directed by the Social
Science Adviser to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs,
Mr. Henning Friis.

The Youth Survey was held in November-December 1946.
It covered a sample of 9000 young persons in the age group
15-24 years and was conducted by the interview method. Its
results have been published under the title Danish Youth
(Copenhagen 1951). An English summary of the findings is
attached.

The results of the Gymnasium Inquiry have been
published in the report: Opportunities of Young Persons
for Higher Education, I. The Gymnasium, pp. 85-112,
(Copenhagen 1949), while the Student Inquiry has been
published in Statistical Reports of the Government
Statistical Department (Statistiske Meddelelser, 1951,
series 4, volume 144, issue 4). The Village Hall Inquiry
is reviewed in the report: Leisure Time Facilities in
Rural Districts, pp. 17-21, (Copenhagen 1951). The
results of the Organization Inquiry has been published

in the report on Youth and Leisure, (Copenhagen 1952).

The Gymnasium- and the Student Inquiries are
based on questionnaires filled out by nearly all
secondary school pupils and university students.
Ab. 8.000 local branches of youth associations have
filled out the club inquiry questionnaire. Local
authorities have provided the data to the Village Hall
Inquiry.

Follow-up Study of Pupils from Classes for Mentally Retarded Children.

A folow-up investigation into the social
development of a group of low intelligence in Copen-
hagen during the years 1907-14, undertaken by Holger
Rasmussen and Karl O. Christiansen. With reference
to criminality, the investigation covers a material
of 593 male and 319 female pupils of schools for mentally
retarded children and, as control groups, 436 male and
243 female normal school pupils from the same districts
of Copenhagen. Practically all of the persons investigat-
ed had grown up in the poorest districts of Copenhagen.
The results are published in "Hjälpskolan", 1946. (Uppsala).

The Government Youth Commission has carried out a
similar investigation of school schildren having attended
special classes for mentally retarded children at Odense
in the years 1923-1937. This investigation is published
in the report of the Youth Commission entitled "Den til-
pasningsvanskelige ungdom", (Copenhagen 1952).

A Study of the Behaviour Problems of 200 Maladjusted Children and Juveniles Under the Guardianship of the Child Welfare Boards.

The study was undertaken by the Danish Government
Youth Commission in 1948-49 under the direction of the
psychiatrist, Dr. Helge Kjems, assisted by social workers.
It is based on a sample of cases from different types of
communities. Emphasis has been placed on the psychological
significance of environmental factors, and a special attemp
is made to elucidate the emotional factors of family life,
and the educational atmosphere of the home.

Information is sought as to the time of the first
appearance of the symptoms, particularly in relation to
the time when the public intervened. It is attempted to
shed light on the need for special mental-hygienic measures
in child welfare with particular reference to the need for
establishment of child guidance clinics and homes for the
treatment of particularly difficult children.

The final report has been published as an eppendix
to the report: Maladjusted Youth. (Copenhagen 1952).

Social and Economic Conditions of Widows and Single
Mothers in Copenhagen.

This study was undertaken in 1946 by the National
Council of Danish Women and the Statistical Office of the
city of Copenhagen under a grant from the Ministry of
Labour and Social Affairs. Five hundred widows were
interviewed by social workers. The results have been
published by the National Council of Danish Women in 1948.

The survey is being followed up by an inquiry into
the social and economic situation of single mothers, which
will be published in 1953.

Social and Economic Conditions of Single Mothers in Århus.

On the basis of the 1946 census, the municipality of
Århus has made an investigation of the conditions of single
mothers at Århus. A sample of widows, divorced, separated
and unmarried mothers have been interviewed on their economic,
marital and other conditions. The investigation has been
published in the Statistical Quarterly of the Municipality
of Århus. (Vol. 8, No. 1, January 1952).

A Study of the Women Who Have Requested a Legal Abortion.

The study which was initiated in 1947 is undertaken
for the Maternity Aid Institution of Copenhagen by the
psychiatrist, Dr. Henrik Hoffmeyer, assisted by social
workers. The material includes about 500 cases in which
legal abortion has been either undertaken or denied. The
aim of the study is to investigate the effects of the
Danish abortion legislation, and the legal possibilities
for assisting mothers before and after childbirth. It is,
furthermore, the intention through case studies to under-
take a sociological and psychological analysis of the
abortion clientele as a basis for evaluation of the
abortion problem in general.

Publication of the results is expected to take place
in 1953-54.

At the same time a statistical follow-up investigation
has been taking place with respect to the course of pregnancy
for these women who have been denied a legal abortion during
the years 1945-1950. The results of this inquiry into the
social background of all women applied for assistance (inclu-
ding applications for induced abortion) during the fiscal
years 1949-50. The material includes 15.000 women; some of
the results has been published in the annual report from the
Maternity Aid Institution, 1950-51.

A Follow-up Study on the Blind.

        The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs has
organized an intensive follow-up study investigation
of a number of persons who have previously been subjected
to public care for the blind with a view to ascertaining
how they have got along since. The investigation takes
place by means of interviews with the persons concerned,
coupled with information on the part of the public bodies
with which they have been in contact. Particular importance
has been attached to the type of their employment, and
whether the training they have received, while under public
care, has been of benefit to them in their occupation.
Further, whether they have been able to earn sufficiently
for managing without public support. Besides, information
has been collected as to how they are getting along in
daily life in and outside the home, their housing conditions,
contact with other people, and their leisure-time activities.

        A report on the findings will be published in 1954.

The Causes of Poverty.

        The most comprehensive project instituted under the
auspices of the Ministry of Social Affairs is a study of
the individual circumstances of persons receiving public
assistance in Denmark. The study is directed by Dr. Erik
Warburg, professor of the Medical Faculty at the University
of Copenhagen, and the Social Science Adviser of the
Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Mr. Henning Friis.

        The material consists of a mixed urban and rural
sample of 1200 persons who have received public assistance
for eight months or more in the period 1944-45.

        The aim of the investigation has been to study the
individual causes of need, and on this basis to point out
methods for the counteraction of poverty.

        Studies on the same subject by Lazarsfeld, Angell,
Bakke, Komorovsky and Ginsberg have mostly dealt with
families during the depression under conditions of general
mass unemployment and have especially studied the effects
of unemployment, whereas the Danish study is concerned with
people who during a prosperity period are still unemployed,
and with the question: "Why have these people not been
absorbed by the labour market?"

        The procedure of the study has been the following:
The public welfare boards in the local districts have in
each case given information about the amount disbursed as
public assistance to the individuals year by year from
1933, and about their general estimation of the person in
question. Furnished with these and other data, the social
worker then had an interview with the client.

Cases which are found to include medical problems are subjected to medical and psychiatric examination. A physician makes a general medical investigation, and a psychiatrist analyses the case study undertaken by the social worker, and interviews the client. In a number of cases a supplementary investigation is undertaken by a psychologist.

The social workers make recommendations concerning the need for further social welfare activities, viz. extended employment services, placement of children in nurseries etc., and the medical specialists make recommendations with regard to the necessary medical arrangements for the clients.

It is intended to have the final report published in 1954.

A Study of the Workhouse-clientele.

This study is undertaken by the Government Committee on Reforms of Workhouses and is directed by the psychiatrist, Dr. Georg K. Stürup assisted by psychologists and social workers. The project includes intensive case studies of 300 cases (approx. 1/4 of the average daily clientele of the workhouses) and a less detailed study of 300 other cases.

The study aims to trace the causes which have led the inmates to the workhouse; and to find out if among the present inmates there are persons, who as insane, feeble-minded or psychopaths need more specialized care than can be provided in workhouses.

The study is expected to be published in 1953.

Inquiry into the Various Aspects of German Troops' Sexual Relations with Danish Subjects. By Dr. Grethe Hartmann. (Copenhagen 1946).

This study, published under the name "The Girls They Left Behind" was undertaken under a grant from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The investigation included a sample of 200 girls chosen from among the women reported to the Danish police as having transmitted veneral diseases to German soldier. The aim of the study was to investigate the factors underlying the fraternization of Danish girls with German soldier.

<u>Male Traitors in Denmark during the German Occupation.</u>
<u>By Karl O. Christiansen, published by the Government</u>
<u>Prison Administration. (Copenhagen 1950). (English summary).</u>

The material includes 5107 men traitors or well
over one-third of the total number of convicted persons.
The purpose was to make a description of the criminal acts
of male traitors and a socio-psychological account of
their environmental conditions from birth till the time
of their last offence, as well as an evaluation of their
physical and mental status, in so far as the latter has
had appreciable impacts on their previous career.

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Sect. III.
Développements recents de la
recherche sociologique

Sect. III.
Recent Developments in
Sociological Research

REPORT ON SOME EXPERIENCES IN SOCIAL RESEARCH
TECHNIQUES IN SWITZERLAND AND GERMANY

by

Professor René Kønig
University of Cologne

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It has often been pointed out that, owing to special con-
ditions in this field, there is a general lack of experience in
empirical research methods in social sciences in the German
speaking countries of Europe. This holds true for Germany,
Switzerland, and Austria, though some important steps were taken
in the latter country about twenty years ago, when Marie Jahoda
and Hans Zeisl completed their study on unemployment in Marienthal;
but since they were forced to leave the country a few years later,
this very promising start came to an end very soon. Then years
passed without remarkable events in social sciences, while the
public interest shifted to happenings of another kind, which
were not properly suitable for the furtherance of social sciences
and sciences in general.

It was not until the end of World War II that things be-
gan to change. But though it is true that much work has been
done in this field after 1945, insofar as several research pro-
grams have been put into action and successfully accomplished,
there is still not agreement with regard to the general meaning
of empirical research work and its relation to sociological theory.
This implies, of course, a serious handicap not only for empirical
research but for sociological theory alike. Every effort to ini-
tiate more general consideration of their mutual relations tends
to become more or less inconsistent, while personal preferences or
the contingencies of a particular program take the place of a
comprehensive survey of the variety of existing methods and ap-
proaches. Furthermore teaching suffers likewise, since there is
no accepted way of agreement between theoretical needs, scientific
methods, and research techniques. Thus, the present situation
moves within a vicious circle, the general sociological theory
being confined to an old conceptual framework that has not been
checked for decades, and empirical research work, if there is any,
trying to proceed "off-hand" without any appropriate theoretical
guidance. As a matter of fact, the relation between both instan-
ces grows into an almost complete separation and a mutual indif-
ference, with the result that there is no space left for what
Robert K. Merton has called "the theories of the middle range"
between all-embracing theories on one side, and the minor working
hypotheses of the work-a-day research on the other. (Cfr. R.K.
Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe (Ill.) 1951,
p.5-10) This, translated into European terminology, brings
about the deplorable and altogether annoying socalled antithesis
of "sociography" and "sociology", which is rather misleading since
it may induce the naive observer to believe that there is a de-
scription which could dispense with a conceptual framework, or a
conceptual framework unrelated to any experience. I strongly
feel that this antithesis is more or less fruitless, the only ex-
pedient being the acknowledgement of a fundamental correlation
between both terms so that the antithesis becomes transformed into
a real complementary relation. I also feel that this claim comes
very near to Merton's theory of the middle range.

Another difficulty arises with the question of ascertaining whether or not the different research methods, elaborated mainly in Anglo-Saxon countries, may work with a population of a different character. Here the paramount objection could be formulated in the following way: those methods may work with "them", but they surely do not work with "us". In contrast to the approach of the average research worker, a kind of an irrational "comprehension" is advocated which is supposed to go directly and deeper into the "essence" of things, while rational research methods are denounced as contending themselves with the outward shape of things. Here again I feel that this valuation is rather unfortunate and much more likely to prevent the progress of knowledge than to further it. However, since this valuation corresponds at the same time to an intrinsic in-group-out-group tension, and thus becomes a legitimate topic of sociology of knowledge, we must overcome explicitly the above mentioned contrast by plainly neutralizing the emphases involved, and by cutting them down to a logically more meaningful problem. Although such an attitude could and would be most fruitful in artistic creation, in science at least we simply cannot stay with the alternative between meaningfulness on one side and a commonplace on the other. We have to come to the real problem. And this problem is to know whether or not there is a common subject when we speak e.g. of "family" or "social classes", or if there is only an "essence" hidden behind a series of incoherent phenomena, which can be called by numerous names except the terms of "family" of "social classes" which would apply exclusively to the hidden essence. But now, since science is public, we have to arrive at a commonly recognized subject which can be defined by rational sentences, even if this definition should restrict itself to being nothing but an "operational definition". An operational definition upon which we can agree within a certain limit is still more than a meaningful intuition which, by its own nature, cannot be subject to any "public" control. In order to avoid to a certain extent those far-reaching consequences, and to embark upon the way of the middle range theories mentioned above, we have tried with several groups of students within the last few years, in Switzerland and in Germany alike, to attack the problem by simply setting to work. This paper is meant to be a report on our experiences. It may be that they can be useful to other research workers, it may also be that they provoke opposition. But the following discussion will have to limit itself to the question of ascertaining whether or not a given method is applicable to a given topic under given circumstances, and whether or not our knowledge has been successfully advanced in the application of this method.

It is, for the time being, impossible to present a comprehensive survey of methodology in social research work, since nearly everything is still in an experimental stage. But, on the other hand, it may be useful to present some points which have been brought to light during our personal experiences in the last few years, even if they do not present a closed system. I feel sure that others will fill the gaps between the different stations of our way. Thus, I will have to limit myself to three main topics without, however, pretending to an exhaustive picture: (1) the problems of interviewing, (2) of sampling, and (3) of community surveying, and their respective applicability in Switzerland and Germany. I sincerely hope that the forthcoming discussion will help to broaden my own views in this field, and also contribute to the public control of our limited experiences.

The first method on trial has been the interviewing technique in its different forms. We did know, of course, that interviewing is only one way out of an enormous variety of methods. But as things are, we had to tackle this problem first, since it has proved to be the most controversial, and since the public discussion of this topic in central European countries after 1945 has actually been biased by so many prejudices, misunderstandings, and mistaken beliefs as well, that we could not expect to get tangible results unless we attacked the problem right in the center. Likewise we started a series of handbooks on research methods in sociology with a volume on interviewing. (Cfr. R. König, editor, _Praktische Sozialforschung: Das Interview (Formen, Technik, Auswertung)_. Zurich and Dortmund 1952). Other volumes on observational methods, quantitative analysis and the like are in preparation, but first we had to prepare some practicable tools in order to start the discussion on a rational basis. On this occasion I tried myself to stress three main rules for the application of interviewing techniques, mainly for the construction of questionnaires, interview schedules, and interview guides. Before (1) going into the preparation of an interview action we have to determine what we want to find out. Thus, the preliminary action is of a more or less theoretical character. The stage of conversion into a concrete research design follows the precise definition of the topic of a planned research project and the formulation of the main hypotheses. Then (2) we have to delimit the range of our research plan, i.e. to come to an agreement as to how far we want to follow up a given problem. Since in the social sciences everything is connected with everything, this question may be of paramount importance for the efficiency of our research design. Again we will find ourselves confronted with the alternative of meaningfulness on one side, and a more or less complete lack of control on the other, if we extend our ambitions to too far-reaching consequences. However, it seems to me that a scrupulous restriction on the theories of the middle range may be most promising, though there is no need to be too reserved, since usually we can base ourselves upon a great many of previous research work done in our field. Anyway, the (3) next rule may prove to be imperative, and push aside all considerations of the kind we mentioned above, and that is the question of the available financial means for a given research program. Since, in central Europe, the problem of financing social research work is still a very precarious one, that third rule has grown into a nightmare for most European research workers.

Once those matters have been settled, and once we have reached an agreement that a certain problem cannot be dealt with unless we proceed by interviewing, the question arises as to whether or not a central European population will react in the same way towards interviewing as another population actually does. This, of course, is a problem on its own, since we do know that the efficiency of interviewing is dependent on a series of suppositions, mainly on the general attitude of public opinion towards interviewing. Although this is nothing but a result of opinions, it has nevertheless very factual consequences when we consider that people are actually influenced by their opinions, and will probably try to keep their reactions in accordance with these attitudes. Now, when we try to get a more precise picture of those opinions which could further or endanger the reliability and validity of data collected by interviewing techniques, we shall be

confronted with the most incoherent and contradictory patterns.
On one side we can be sure to meet with a favorable attitude
where democracy enjoys a large publicity, i.e. where problems of
public interest are discussed through the most different mediums
of mass communication. This holds, of course, for a country
like Switzerland. On the other side, experience has demonstrated
that the average Swiss citizen is rather well inclined to take
part in a public discussion, to send letters "to the editor" of
an important newspaper, but he would not be so well disposed to
answer to the question how he voted e.g. in the last election.
This, to him, is a private matter, and thus it could happen that
he would refuse to answer a question like this sometimes even in
a rather resentful way. Thus, we come to the following statement,
that the inclination to be interviewed varies with the different
conceptions of privacy, and since privacy is much more restrictive
in Europe than e.g. in the United States, we may conclude that
in this respect the general attitude toward interviewing will
probably be less favorable in Europe. This, of course, is for
the time being nothing but an hypothesis that requires further
checking. As a matter of fact, we have already done some experi-
mentation in this field and we are planning for the near future
more detailed research in order to find out about the limits of
this private sphere and about the special topics influenced by
this rather affective reserve.

With regard to Germany, we may say that the situation in
this respect is much more complicated because it is burdened by a
lot of historical ballast. Since the method of being questioned
has proved to be a very dangerous tool in undermining democracy
and the most work-a-day human relations, people may remember the
Nazi methods of questioning and be on the look-out whenever they
meet an interviewer. As a matter of fact, we have found while
studying consistency or inconsistency of the interviewees in a
long interview, that the power of recollection of the average man
was really amazing. Everybody seems to be on his guard when an-
swering a series of questions, in such a manner that the result
be unequivocal. Thus, several kinds of control questions, unfor-
tunately enough, become rather inefficient. The question arises
to know if, under these circumstances, an interview is still a
tool for obtaining dependable answers, or if the interviewee does
not just "invent" a series of meaningful answers "for the occa-
sion". This puzzle cannot be resolved unless we try to go deeper
into the problem of "validity". Considering this to be a question
of paramount importance, we are actually planning in Cologne an
experimental study on validity. In doing so we have to take into
consideration that the post-war policy in this field has not been
so favorable either, the fact of being questioned by different
(Allied or German) authorities having produced an air of "snoop-
ing". This again is a fact without regard to the question if the
imputation of the interviewees is true or not. Lately, the tre-
mendous selling success of Ernst von Salomon's novel The Question-
naire has indicated that strong resentments of this kind are still
alive in some strata of the German population. The question is
to know where, i.e. in which strata precisely, this resentment is
to be encountered and what its numerical importance is. It is
quite obvious that a study confined to these strata will give
more or less distorted results. As a matter of fact, we have
found out in our Cologne study, "Interview on Interviewing", that
the upper income classes and the upper educational levels are in
a general way suspicious of interviewing, while the lower classes

in respect to income and education are much more inclined to co-
operate. This in itself demonstrates a significant difference
between a central European and an American population (Cfr. Erwin
K. Scheuch, Ein Interview über das Interview, Køln 1953, manu-
script, will be published shortly.) Another question is to know
if the resentment is limited to the upper strata which are - as
a guess - partly composed by the "elites" of the Ancien Régime
of Nazis, and by people who have been in rather close contact with
Nazism, or if it carries over to other strata. Other strong im-
pediments are blunders of the following kind: the fact that re-
levant data of the 1950 Census have been given out to the revenue
office; that it has been used to check and to countercheck the
findings of a small community survey by asking some people to
give their opinion on other people's replies after telling them
their names; that very well known university professors have pub-
licly opposed research procedures by interviewing, etc. If we
take into consideration the important sponsorship effect of uni-
versities in Germany (as it also has been demonstrated by the Co-
logne study), we can easily understand that statements of this
kind simply must turn into a heavy mortgage on future enquiries
using interview techniques.

        So far we have insisted exclusively on the different handi-
caps able to disturb a planned action in interviewing. However,
there is on the other side still a noteworthy number of encourag-
ing successes. Though it seems that the average Swiss citizen
would not answer to a personal interview we have had the satisfac-
tion in a research project at the University of Zurich, that near-
ly 77 % of the contacted people (325 cases) answered to a mailed
questionnaire. This study raises a twofold question: first con-
cerning the application of a mailed questionnaire, and secondly
the problem of non-respondents. (Cfr. Rinaldo Andina, Die Stellung
des Akademikers in Gesellschaft unter Beruf. Eine Erhebung unter
den Doktoranden der Philosophischen Fakultät I an der Universität
Zurich, Zurich 1951). Being aware of (1) the risks of a mailed
questionnaire, we proceeded with two questionnaires, a short one
and a rather comprehensive one. As a matter of fact, the huge ma-
jority (80 % of the respondents) took to the comprehensive quest-
ionnaire, while some interviewees joined long letters to the fil-
led in questionnaire in order to give more detailed explanations
I feel that this fact may be taken as an apology of the mailed
questionnaire. On the other side, we have to admit that the po-
pulation involved was of a very special type, viz. all the Ph.D.
of the Philosophical Faculty I (historical-philological section)
in a period covering eleven years (1937- 47). We could reasonab-
ly assume that this population would be rather interested in our
problem (the life success of a Ph.D.), since this matter had been
thoroughly discussed for years and years in newspapers, students'
journals, etc. before the survey started. This accounts partly
for the success of our mailed questionnaire. But as we went into
an examination of the non-respondents, we found out that this
group was again composed of successes and failures alike, so that
the obvious guess that only successes were inclined to answer
proved to some extent to be wrong. Furthermore, a short time
ago, we were able to check this assumption as we worked on a si-
milar study with the reverse scope, i.e. to find out about the
life story of the "failures" in academic life. Actually we are,
at the University of Cologne, in the middle of a study whose main
scope is to find out some data about those students who left the
university without taking an examination. (Cfr. Margret Tönnes-

mann. Die gescheiterten Studenten an zwei Fakultäten der Universität Köln, not yet finished). Before commencing the interviewing, we had first to locate those students, and to acquire their present addresses. Thus we sent out a short mail questionnaire in order to secure some information as to whether or not they had completely abandoned university studies, or if they had simply transferred to another university. Here again 63 % replied.

The meaning of these findings may be tentatively formulated in the following way: a mail questionnaire has a good chance of being efficient, provided that the population involved is of a high educational level, rather interested in the topic dealt with in the questionnaire, and furthermore, with regard to certain criteria, rather homogeneous (the latter point being related to the representativeness of the incoming answers). These conditions are obviously met by a students' population. When we now look upon the above conclusions from a general point of view, we may state that the working conditions of a mailed questionnaire are obviously the same, under certain circumstances, in the United States and also in central Europe, provided that the routine rules are observed. It would, of course, be completely nonsensical if we wanted to approach a very complex population by the means of a mail questionnaire, since we would obtain an entirely distorted result owing to the fact that just one part of the population is usually inclined to answer a mail questionnaire. This elementary mistake, by the way, was again committed a short time ago by a very reputable central European radio station. In order to find out how the consumers felt about a highly sophisticated night program, they sent a mail questionnaire to the subscribers. The findings were amazing enough to be quoted here as a warning to future enterprises of the same kind. No informed person will have any doubt that the majority of the respondents were almost enthusiastic about this program, and thus the direction felt very flattered with the findings of this survey. Unfortunately, nobody had any suspicion as to whether in this particular case, the feelings of the non-respondents could be much more significant than the feelings of the respondents, who of course, presented only a small and furthermore a highly interested selection of all the subscribers.

This brings us to our next question, (2) the meaning of non-response in interviewing. This, as it were, is a rather thorny problem, and we do not intend to give a general appreciation of all its particular aspects. Again, I will have to rely upon our own experiences. In any survey, be it on the basis of a mail questionnaire or a personal interview, the non-respondents deserve our special attention. Regardless of the fact that this problem is closely connected with the representativeness of sample selection, a problem which shall be discussed later on, we want first to deal exclusively with this question under the aspect of a possible indication of general resentment against interviewing techniques. By the way, may we point to the fact that this problem has been highly neglected, in theory and in practice as well, with the result that we will not be able to give more than a few hints. We can anticipate, however, that in central Europe as in the United States, regardless of the many deeply rooted prejudices against interviewing, the general attitude is still rather in favor of interviewing as a legitimate tool of social research. As a rule, the number of refusals is not much higher in different countries. But we have to keep in mind that

the conditioning of these refusals may be different. We have
also to be on the alert that most surveys in Europe, and especial-
ly in Germany, are conducted by means of a quota control sample,
where the problem of refusal tends to disappear, owing to the
fact that the interviewer will try to get a replacement for every
refusal as long as the quota of the refusals stays within a
usually experienced limit. The proper problem of refusal with its
peculiarity only arises with a random sample, where at all events
a rather high quota of refusals can cause a complete breakdown
of the sample. Now, if we call to mind the findings of the above
mentioned Cologne study, we may obtain some hints in this direc-
tion by the fact that the higher income and educational levels
proved to be much more suspicious of interviewing techniques.
When looking into the different motivations for a refusal in this
study, we could easily find out that nearly one third of all the
refusals could be traced back to a more or less political resent-
ment. We were able to check this guess, since we found in our
area sample a residential neighbourhood where the refusals were
especially high. When we tried to determine the causes of this
reserve, we learned that this neighbourhood was inhabited mainly
by former Nazi Party employees. This fact is in itself of the
utmost importance, as the author of the study points out, since
we are quite unable to give precise information concerning the
statistical data of this group. As a matter of fact, this group
is much more characterized by the fact of its common attitude
than in objective items. Another significant hint may be that
professional workers with a university education show an overpro-
portional tendency to refusals. The conditioning, in this case,
may go back to the tradition of social sciences in Germany in ge-
neral. Now, we could easily do away with this kind of refusal,
if we had not to take into consideration the strong sponsorship
effect of university education in Germany which could, in the long
run, through the channels of higher education in general and dif-
ferent means of mass communication, create a much more hostile
attitude in the general population than actually exists. Follow-
ing our own experience, I can only confess that I have been rather
often amazed by the resentful reaction of academic teachers against
interviewing techniques. If this reaction were based on a suf-
ficient knowledge of the techniques involved, we just had to take
up the argument. But, as a matter of fact, the rule seems to be
that the strength of resentment increases with the lack of know-
ledge – even with university people.

        In this respect we would like to stress that the present
situation, eight years after the end of hostilities, seems to be
in some ways worse than immediately after the war. A recent stu-
dy submitted in Cologne provides a report on the experiences dur-
ing four important surveys in Germany, during the period from
April 1945 to August 1949. The general trend of this study seems
to show a much greater unaffectedness in the general attitude to-
wards interviewing techniques than we might find to-day, almost
in certain strata or groups of the whole population. (Cfr. Max
Ralis, Über einige Erfahrungen aus der Praxis der Sozialforschung,
Kommunikationsverhalten, dissertation Cologne 1953, manuscript.)
This fact, though not too encouraging in itself, may be of some
use. We have only to consider that a change in teaching and a
general change in the predominant style of social sciences may
not only create a new basis for academic discussion but also for
public discussion. And here I would like to make the statement
that the almost enthusiastic co-operation of the students may

prove, one day, to be more efficient than the resistance of the
unswerving followers of the ancient rule. On the other side, I
myself had the opportunity, together with my colleague Prof. H.
Schelsky, to give an introductory sketch in interviewing tech-
niques over the Hamburg Radio station. Though the broadcast-
ing lasted 90 minutes, we received an unusually high number of
very interesting letters, most of them asking for a repetition
of the program.

        Of course, we have to keep in mind that all the above
mentioned experiences have been made in Cologne, and it might
well be that in other cities the findings would be different.
On the other side, I feel that the fact of being interviewed,
in itself, may prove to be of some importance for the creation
of a favorable attitude towards interviewing in the future. Thus,
it has been pointed out in a re-interview study, described by
Max Ralis, that people reacted in a rather positive way during
the second wave, four weeks after the first one, stressing the
trustworthiness and kindness of the interviewers, on the clear-
ness of the questions, etc. During the field work stage of our
Cologne study, we also had a rather illuminating occurence. One
day, we received a letter from a lady interviewee who was wor-
ried about the purpose of our study, since it seemed that there
was a communist program underway for gathering signatures for
one of their numerous peace petitions. The lady, in her letter,
pointed out that she had liked our interviewer, and that she was
now wondering whether or not he could have been connected in
some way with this communist program. It is more than a suppo-
sition when I assume that she would have been rather disappoint-
ed, if I had had to confess that our study was of a political na-
ture. Here I must mention that our questionnaire and our inter-
view were rather difficult and provoking, since we wanted to
find out how people would react towards interviewing even under
the stress of a very embarassing questionnaire. But this lady
did not mind the tenor of our interview, she just troubled her-
self about the possible political background of the study.

        Another problem on trial is the sampling technique,
which is very closely connected with interviewing techniques.
Indeed, the thesis has been advocated that sampling and inter-
viewing are nothing but two sides of a complex research process,
the "survey research". I would be rather inclined to accept
this view, above all because it helps to destroy a widespread
misunderstanding as to the nature of social research work in ge-
neral. In central Europe, the view is frequently supported, by
friends and opponents of empirical research work alike, that em-
pirical research in social sciences is mainly engaged in opini-
on analysis or "polling". Now, when we accept the view of the
preeminence of survey research over the particular techniques
of interviewing and/or sampling, we simultaneously concede that
polling is nothing but one aspect of survey research, and may
even not be a very important one. The main stress is obviously
laid on the broader meaning of surveying which includes behavior
patterns and opinions, ideas, feelings, reactions, wishes, pro-
jective ambitions. This, to me, seems to be a decision of ut-
most importance, since it shows again that empirical research
work and sociological theory cannot be separated. Every attempt
of surveying, whatever it may be, implies theoretical assump-
tions on the respective importance of the different material

stimuli of behavior on one side, and the opinions, ideas, feel-
ings, etc. on the other.

I personally feel that many aspects of contemporary re-
search work in social sciences in Germany are essentially cor-
related to this fundamental misunderstanding. Thus, e.g. the
predominance of "large samples" in many research projects. The
large samples has originated mainly in opinion studies, and also
in marketing research, where it may permit inferences about na-
tion-wide opinion trends concerning some topics of general inter-
est. But there is an almost general agreement that these infer-
ences, by their own nature, cannot be very penetrating. As a mat-
ter of fact, they usually limit themselves to delineate the re-
spective weight of opinion trends without giving any relevant
information with regard to the intrinsic character of these opi-
nions. On the other side, the social scientist, while resort-
ing to a particular research project, is, as a rule, interested
in getting more detailed and thoroughgoing information than can
be procured by a large sample. Thus, he will generally prefer
a small sample. However, the respective importance of the large
and the small sample has not yet been recognized in Germany,
either in theory or in practice, and the insistence on using
large samples may be an illuminating hint on one of the still ex-
isting miscomprehensions in this field.

Another difficulty, closely connected with this first one,
is the question of knowing which particular kind of sampling
techniques should be used in a given research project, and under
which given circumstances of a general kind. Of course, the
type of sample to be used depends on many circumstances, e.g. fi-
nancial means, the existence or non-existence of lists or statis-
tics of the population involved, etc. But here again, we may be
allowed to make some deductions from the fact of which kind of
sample is mostly used. As a matter of fact, even in purely sci-
entific research projects, we shall find that there is a strong
tendency to use the quota control sample. Now, if we consider
that, in Europe as in the United States, the quota control sample
is mainly used by the opinion research and marketing institutes,
we have another hint that survey research, in this respect, fol-
lows likewise the uses of polling without considering if this
procedure is legitimate or not. Without entering the discussion
whether or not the quota control sample could be efficient for
the particular purposes of polling, we only want to stress the
point that, at least in scientific research, the quota control
sample is quite useless, and will never give us reliable infor-
mation. This holds even if the interviewer control is very care-
fully performed, the main reason being that there is no possibili-
ty of calculating the standard error and to know to what extent
the results are purely accidental or founded on actual differen-
ces in the universe. On the basis of these considerations we
decided, in our Cologne study, to chose a probability sample
combined with an area sample, even though its execution may be
much more difficult in every respect than a quota control sample.
This holds mainly for large and rather complex universes, while
in limited universes, e.g. a students' population, randomization
is easily feasible since the units are usually well known and
recorded in well organized lists.

The average definition of a probability sample points
to the claim that every unit in the universe should have the
same chance of being selected as every other unit (Cfr. Mildred
Parten, Surveys, Polls, and Samples. New York,1950, p.219).
This formulation appears simple so that we should "go easy" on
its meaning. But it happens that the most serious difficulties
arise with the question of how to guarantee and to secure that
every unit really has an equal chance to be selected. In other
words, randomization of a universe is not randomlike at all but
proceeds in a thoroughly planned way. Here I feel in complete
agreement with Paul K.Hatt's and William Goode's formulation,
that a random sample "is not random but is carefully planned".
Now, in order to eliminate a probability sample of those factors
which may prevent every unit from actually getting the same chan-
ce of being selected, we need a proper strategy of sampling beyond
the mathematical theory of sampling. This strategy presupposes
sometimes rather complicated detours and circumstancial consid-
erations of a more sociological kind, and it may happen that they
prove to be of a most theoretical character. Here again we can
see to what extent it is impossible to separate empirical research
and theory. The application of empirical research techniques in
itself presupposes very often theoretical considerations while,
on the other side, these considerations have to be checked
through experience. I would like to make the statement that the
problem of strategy in probability samples is still highly neglec-
ted in German research projects, it could even be said that the
problem as such has not yet been seen. (Cfr. R. König, Sample,
in: Wörterbuch der Soziologie, edit. by Fr.Bülow, forthcoming
fall 1953).

This situation becomes still more complicated owing to a
sometimes strong impediment to understanding, a question of lan-
guage. In German, there is a tendency to translate the English
term of sampling with "Stichprobenerhebung". Now, "Stichprobe"
would have to be translated into English with the term "acciden-
tal sample" or "off-hand sample". This, of course, is only a
particular kind of sampling, which, by the way, we are rather
often bound to use, especially in pilot studies, under varied cir-
cumstances. But nonetheless I feel that a precise distinction
between these different techniques of sampling may be of the ut-
most importance, especially with regard to the above mentioned
strategy of sampling. The reason is very comprehensible, since
the accidental sample, even when proceeding along mathematical
lines, essentially excludes every sort of strategical planning.
A workable sample design, however, simply cannot dispense with a
proper strategy of sampling. Beyond that we want to stress that,
of course, not all the samples which call themselves "Stichpro-
benerhebung" are of the purely accidental kind, and do actually
dispose of a well defined sample design. But nevertheless, the
wording may, in other cases, be rather misleading, and this is
the main reason why I insisted at some length on this special
problem. This is also the reason why I have emphasized, on seve-
ral occasions, the importance of not translating the term "sample"
into German but of taking over the English form in order to
avoid the occurrence of unrelated problems which contribute ex-
clusively to confuse the situation. (Cfr. R.König, editor, Prak-
tische Sozialforschung: Das Interview, Zurich and Dortmund 1952,
p. 33/34). May we point out that, in French, this difficulty
does not arise since the word "échantillonage" is, in this re-
spect, rather neutral and an almost verbatim translation without

any implications which could deviate from the original mean-
ing of the term as used in social research work. Beyond that,
the term sampling and its techniques are, of course, employed
in other sciences as well, but since the situation in those
sciences is entirely different from the situation in sociolo-
gy, the problem I have pointed out in the foregoing explana-
tions may not arise to the same extent as in sociology, or per-
haps not at all. When applying sampling techniques in social
sciences, one should always keep in mind this very important
difference - the sociologist and the statistician as well -
in order to avoid mistakes which could only contribute to com-
promise the technique on the whole.

The method which, under the present circumstances, fits
best to German and Swiss traditions in the field of social re-
search is, of course, the "community survey", as may be shown
by the Darmstadt study, the German "Middletown". But even if
this holds true in many cases, we have to overcome many difficul-
ties too, which may sometimes inhibit very seriously a rational
action in this field. These difficulties increase occasionally
to alarming dimensions owing to the particular traditions in
this field. As far as I can see, based on my own experiences,
there are mainly two complex reasons which may interfere with
the summons of scientific research, viz. the tradition of the
science of Folklore (especially in Germany) and likewise tradi-
tional political ideas (especially in Switzerland) which try to
keep community life impenetrable to scientific analysis. The
latter reason, deeply rooted in history, could be looked upon
as a parallel to those prejudices which disturb the interviewing
techniques in Germany. And this again fits into a more general
central European pattern, in my mind essentially connected with
the post-war situation, that people simply do not want to look
into the mirror of science, or are at least rather afraid to do
so, be it that they try to disguise themselves in view of the
claims of a most general political re-orientation and of the
shifting weights in Europe, be it that they are simply afraid
by the expected, and more or less anticipated, insights of scien-
tific research. This, of course, brings forth the problem of
the responsibility of the social scientist which shall be dealt
with in another section of this Congress. Incidentally, I feel
that it might be important to make clear that this problem arises
already with the presuppositions of knowledge, and not only with
their practical applications. Thus, I would like to state that,
in central Europe at least, we suffer much more from a lack of
incentive to know about the present situation in all its details,
than from an insufficiency of knowledge in the field of social
sciences. There is a kind of inhibition, voluntary or not, which
occasionally prevents every scientific action. In a most general
way, the quest for security has superseded the quest for cer-
tainty.

Beyond that we have to take into consideration (1) the tra-
dition of Folklore, mainly in Germany, which stands in the way
of planned action in community surveying. The German idea of
"folk society", in contrast to the Swiss, English, French, and
Italian concepts in this field, is still connected with the ro-
mantic prejudices of a "growing organism" which conceals its
structures behind an unfathomable essence of a metaphysical cha-
racter. The only way to communicate with, and to participate in

this essence would be the mysterious "comprehension", already
mentioned above, combined with a positive refusal to accept a
rational scientific approach since the subject of knowledge is
supposed to be in itself of an intrinsic irrational character,
and therefore prohibiting sociological dissection. All behavi-
or patterns and institutional devices are thought to "grow" out
of this essence, and thus to preserve their original irrational
character. Add to this that, with the intercession of the cate-
gory of "growth", one is necessarily referred to the different
"stages" of growing, which , for their part, are hidden in the
"past", then we will easily understand that this approach, in
itself, will prevent in a most crucial way every attempt to ana-
lyse "contemporary"folk society where it still exists. Thus,
the science of Folklore offers the most decisive resistance
against the methods of community survey.

       May we point out that, in this respect, the origin of Swiss
Folklore is entirely different from the German tradition, insofar
as it does not accept the antithesis between "creative" folk so-
ciety on one side, and rational or "progressive" society on the
other. Here the fundamental idea is that the progressive socie-
ty, at all ages, brings about all creative innovations while folk
society chooses between the different stimuli, takes over what
fits into its structures, and party transforms the innovations
into a traditional "cultural pattern". (Cfr. Richard Weiss,
Schweizerische Volkskunde, Zurich 1946). In this respect, Swiss
Folklore has proved to be able, and willing, to approach analysis
of contemporary folk society in the proper sense. And this, in
itself, presents most important problems since, given the particu-
lar circumstances of life in a mountaineous country, the clash
between traditional folk society and progessive society grows
sometimes to almost amazing acuteness, since we have on one side
one of the most advanced industrial systems and on the other side,
simultaneously, in Central Switzerland, i.e. in the mountain zone
in general, one of the most traditionally minded populations of
Europe. Irrespective of this special problem, one could say that,
in Switzerland, the science of Folklore has actually performed im-
portant contributions in community surveying. The difficulty,
in this field, is not of the "essential" nature as in Germany
but much more of a methodological character, since Swiss Folklore
does not present new methods of its own aside from descriptions
and collections of data through "informants" and "experts" who
are supposed to "know" about the folk customs and beliefs
(teachers, ministers, etc.). Now, as everybody knows, the main
problem is not to get experts of this kind who give, in their
mind, reliable answers; the problem is rather to ascertain if the
"experts" are able to have an unbiased view of the problems in-
volved. Before collecting data with the help of informants and
experts of this kind, we ought to inquire very thoroughly if
they inform us (1) about the present situation, or (2) about
their wishes as to how they want the present situation to be,
or moreover about (3) their remembrance of the situation in a
certain field ten, twenty, thirty or even more years ago. Here,
as a rule, no critical discrimination is made, so that it may
be stated that, although in certain cases factual knowledge is
actually furthered by the science of Folklore in Switzerland,
in other cases, owing to the fact of more or less complete lack
of information about the informants, and their attitude toward
contemporary life, the results may be rather distorted, mainly

in terms of the sentimentalities of the "good old times".

Here the other factor, already mentioned above, makes itself conspicuous, viz. (2) the tradition of certain political ideas, and ideals. Since, in sociology, the problems of folk society mainly arise with the relation of town and country life, we have to take into consideration that this factual differentiation may sometimes be also a political problem, beyond the research for factual knowledge. As a matter of fact, in Switzerland, a kind of "ideological peasantry" came into existence under the stress of industrial evolution, the concentration of labourers, and labour unions in the big cities. We underline the ideological character of this trend of opinion, since it is not mainly promoted by peasants but also by the representatives of many other occupations, who feel rather inclined to protest in some way against industrial revolution by advocating opinions completely inadequate to their actual social situation. This trend of opinions, if it wants to survive, has e.g. to insist on the unadulterated character of folk society in country life. On the other hand, with the contemporary evolution of industry in Switzerland, a remarkable deconcentration of industry has happened during the last forty years (mainly connected with a nearly complete electrification of Swiss industry, with its special character of a highly specialized industry which is more or less independent of railway connections since transportation may be secured by trucks, etc.), with the result that a great part of the non-urban areas of the "Mittelland" has been industrialized throughout this period. We once tried to summarize the sociological implications of this series of facts by the statement that, in Switzerland, the problem of urbanization has partly become independent from the big cities. As a matter of fact, country life, too, has become highly industrialized, mainly in the great plain reaching from the lake of Constance to the lake of Geneva between the Alps and the Jura. But now it is to be said that, regardless of this evolution, people hold fast to the ideals of peasant life even though its ideological character has become quite obvious. This, of course, would not do any harm if this gap between actual life and ideological orientation were of a more theoretical nature; but it very often prevents, on the other hand, an adaptation and adjustment to new conditions of life since ideology and occupation do not fit together. Also it might be said that in the average community there is a fundamental misunderstanding as to the reasons for many facets of maladjustment which are attributed to a wrong orientation of ideas, i.e. criticized in a moralistic way, instead of looking deeper into the causation of this situation, and the mechanism of social processes resulting from it. May we call attention to the fact that one part of the problem, its economic side, is dealt with in a rather rational way, while people are evasive exclusively with regard to the social and cultural consequences of the given situation. This again is an immediate consequence of the ideological orientation of public discussion in this matter.

No wonder, then, that the technique of community survey has to overcome the greatest difficulties, and an almost general resistance in public opinion, although the science of Folklore, in Switzerland, has made some important steps in this direction. Because of this reason we undertook several studies of this

kind, mainly a study of a suburb of Zurich which had been in-
corporated in 1934 (Cfr. Hansjürg Beck, Der Kulturzusammen-
stoss zwischen Stadt und Land in einer Vorortgemeinde, Zürich
1952) and another one on a village community, isolated from
every urban influence, though it has been intensely industrial-
ized about twenty years ago (Cfr. Hans Weiss, Soziale Auswirk-
ungen der Industrialisierung in einer schweizerischen Dorfge-
meinde,, field work completed, report will be finished this
fall). In a third study, we tried to find out how country
people, immigrating into Zurich, reacted towards their new sur-
roundings (Cfr. Peter Atteslander. Die Einwanderer in die Stadt
Zurich. Diss. Zurich 1952, manuscript, will be published short-
ly). Though this latter study is closely connected with the
two other ones, it points out new problems which belong to
urban sociology.

During these studies, too, we were able to make some expe-
riences in interviewing which may be compared with the findings
of the first part of this report. Since our procedure followed
more or less along the classical lines of community surveying,
the interviewing techniques used were, of course, more of the
kind of qualitative interviewing or unstructured interviewing
combined with field experience, as has been successfully employ-
ed in the Elmira study run by Cornell University. Incidentally,
the Cologne study on interviewing brought forth a remarkable
preference of some strata of the population for open questions
and/or for the cafeteria question; it may be that we have to
face, in a general way, a preference of central European popu-
lations for open-ended questions and the qualitative interview
in contrast to the questionnaire with prefixed questions. This
feature would, in some way, fit together with the traditions of
Folklore and the almost favorable attitude towards community
surveys we have mentioned in the beginning of this section.
This fact also has consequences for the evaluation of the data,
since we can assume a general tendency towards qualitative evalu-
ation in the proper sense, combined sometimes with a strong re-
sentment against every kind of quantitative analysis. Beyond
that, we have been confronted with new difficulties in our com-
munity surveys, mainly connected with the question of contacting
a peasant's population and to win its co-operation for research
work.

It has often been emphasized that, in research work deal-
ing with different social classes, there is always the risk of
an upper class bias in collecting data through interviewing,
especially when students are used as interviewers. Since in
community surveys we can regularly expect a rather complex popu-
lation differentiated in several social classes, higher and lower
ones, this means, of course, that in a most general way the
danger of the upper class bias must be expected to be present
in almost every community survey. This risk grows even more
when we face a rural population of the European kind, since
peasantry, in most European countries, is of a very different
character from all the other social classes together, and of
particularly difficult access. Thus, we very soon become aware
that the normal method of collecting data by contacting people
did not work so well with a rural population in Switzerland.
First, we had to take into consideration that research in gene-
ral, and students as well, are looked upon by the peasants as
typical products of city life. That means, of course, that the

student working in an isolated country community will have
the effect of a foreign body even if he is very sociable
and skillful. On a smaller scale, this holds for every com-
munity, the social scientist being looked upon as an intruder
as soon as he confesses frankly the scope of his questions.
But, on the other side, we still can rely upon a certain will
for co-operation, at least in some parts of a more urban com-
munity, and that with the result that, after a while, our re-
search worker has a fairly good chance to be accepted by the po-
pulation even though he has, occasionally, to go through rather
indiscrete and annoying questions. With a rural population,
however, and especially when it is of the European peasant type,
the difficulties grow enormously. Though we had, in one of our
studies, the full agreement of the community president and his
secretary, it proved to be a rather hard job to convince the
peasants that one could look in a completely different way at
their life conditions than they actually did. It seemed especi-
ally difficult to influence them in such manner that they began
to acknowledge the scope of our study. Purposive thinking in a
rational way may be uncommon to the peasant's way of life to such
a degree that he becomes suspicious as soon as he is confronted
with a direct question. Now, one could easily circumvent this
particular difficulty by using the indirect form of questioning;
but since it can be taken for granted that our trend of thought
is entirely different from the peasant's mentality, we should
fear to go completely astray with our assumptions. As Hans Weiss
has pointed out in his study, we have to look out in this parti-
cular situation for a new approach in order to realize a satis-
factory contact. Indeed, a factory worker is much more inclined
to answer an interview, especially when he is given the opportu-
nity to express his grievances. A peasant, on the other side,
has to overcome strong inhibitions, even if he is asked to voice
his complaints. He also has difficulties in understanding that
another man, obviously a student and with that a city man, might
be interested in his own affairs which are so different from
city life.

Under these circumstances the interviewer will have to be
very reserved; he has especially to be continuously on his guard
to avoid interrupting a long silence. Furthermore, as experien-
ce has shown, he must take care not to become impatient if the
interviewee repeats his story over and over again. This could
almost completely destroy the contact, if the interviewer tried
in such a moment to pass over to the next point of his interview
guide. On the other side, he may acquire some insights into
the importance of the observations of the interviewee from the
very fact that he will tend to repeat them, almost in the same
wording, several times. It may even seem that the self-confidence
of the peasant interviewee grows with a frequent repetition of
identical words. An immediate consequence of this behavior will
be that we cannot expect our interviewers in a rural community
survey to go through as many qualitative interviews as they could
handle with an urban population.

It has often been said that it helps a good deal, in order
to achieve co-operation of an interviewee, to let him know that
one is interested especially in his personal opinions or senti-
ments. As a rule, the interviewee will acquire the feeling that
he is respected, that he is more than an anonymous person, and
thus co-operate quite willingly. On the contrary, it seems to

be rather difficult to convince a peasant that his ideas
have meaning for other people. It may be that in former
times, when the peasant actually had a feeling of his rank
in society as a whole, he would have been more open-minded
than he is to-day. With the contemporary industrial evolu-
tion, and as a consequence of the lasting crisis in agricultu-
ral life, it seems that the peasant has developed a tendency to
look at himself as a minor being in social life and may be,
therefore, rather unable to understand why people are interest-
ed particularly to know about his opinions and his problems.

        In our study on a suburb of Zurich which had once been a
community mainly composed of peasants and small craftsmen, we
had an interesting hint as to the nature of this feeling of de-
pression mentioned above. When the peasants of this community,
before it had been incorporated into the community of Zurich,
began to come into closer contact with city life, they first
wanted to live up to the new standard by building, e.g., a new
school house. This, of course, was a rather heavy investment
compared with the smallness of the community. Now, the business
could have been carried through if only they had had a long-
ranged investment plan; but here it turned out that they were
quite unable to find a feasible arrangement, be it only a ratio-
nal form of book-keeping. Thus, quite suddenly, they felt over-
powered by the demands of modern business life, and eventually
resigned with a general feeling of weariness. This was the si-
tuation on the eve of the incorporation into the larger body of
the city of Zurich. It seems that the inability to accept the
summons of contemporary economic life, together with the exten-
sion of urban life and industrial civilization, work together
in uprooting the folk society of peasantry. And this general
feeling of resignation may render social research work more
difficult with a peasant's population, while, on the other side,
the labourer, especially the skilled worker, is thoroughly con-
vinced of his importance in the community so that he can easily
be induced to co-operate in a community survey.

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Sect. III

DEVELOPPEMENTS RECENTS
DE LA RECHERCHE SOCIOLOGIQUE

Sect. III

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS
IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

TYPES OF FORMAL LEADERS:

THEIR ROLE PERCEPTION AND IN-GROUP CONTACTS

by

Dr. Uriel G. FOA

The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research
Jerusalem

TYPES OF FORMAL LEADERS : THEIR ROLE
PERCEPTION AND IN-GROUP CONTACTS

by Uriel G.FOA

The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research

This paper presents some findings of two studies which seem to offer insight into the nature of leadership and which suggest an objective classification of certain kinds of leaders. The results are based on a novel type of relationship found to exist between: (a) the degree of contact between leader and group members and (b) the leader's perception of his role. It appears that these two criteria may both be related, each in its own way, to the leader's ratings of group members. It has been possible to discover these relationships (which are of a kind perhaps unfamiliar to many research workers) on the basis of the theory of te principal components of scalable attitudes.

There is an increasing interest both in scales and in the related principal components as tools for the observation of attitudes ; this is evidenced by the fact that considerable space is dedicated in many new textbooks of social research to Guttman's approach to attitudinal analysis.

Yet it is not yet widely recognized that the usefulness of the theory of principal components is by no means limited to the measurement of attitudes or other psychological and sociological variables which have a scalable structure. While the theory does not suggest that all data may be scalable (1) and does not propose a solution when particular data are not scalable, it offers, at the same time, a basis for advancing our understanding of certain theoretical problems. That is, it supplies a framework for building up certain socio-psychological hypotheses and for testing them.

The subject matter of this paper is but one of several examples of this type already available. Here the theory of principal components helps us to understand the relationship between the role of the leader of a group, his in-group contacts, and his rating of the group members.

There are many situations where the leader of a group is required to rate the group members. One may think of the foreman in a factory, of the officer of an Army unit, of the teacher in the classroom, of the departmental chief of a bank, a government office or some other organization. Very often the rating is quite a formal operation, such as the scores given by a schoolteacher to his pupils, or the rating of workers by their supervisor in organizations and plants where a rating system is used. But even when no formal rating is required, the rating may "exist" nonetheless in the leader's mind and may be acting to condition the leader's behavior toward the group

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(1) To the contrary. Scalability is a property possessed only by limited types of data. Most data may be assumed to be non-scalable, according to Guttman. He has recently developed several structural theories for non-scalable data.

member. Thus the importance of the study of rating goes beyond situations where a formal or explicit rating is required.

Groups may differ considerably as to size. If the group is small, the leader is likely to know everybody quite well and to have many opportunities to come into contact with each member. Contrarywise, if the group is large, some members may not be so well known to the leader. In any event, it seems likely that in certain situations the leader may know everybody welle and in certain other situations the leader may know only some of the group members well, either because the group is a large one or for some other reason (for instance, the leader may dislike some member to such an extent as to avoid contact with him).

In general there is an explicit end to leadership: the leader is supposed to lead the group toward some goal or several goals. Thus the goal of the foreman may be to produce certain of goods or services in the most efficient manner. The school teacher is likely to strive to instill into each of his pupils certain types of knowledge, values and also patterns of behavior ; but the teacher may also believe that his role is to help the most promising pupils even at the expense of the others. Thus the leader's role as perceived by the leader is not necessarily identical with the formal role of the leader. We are concerned here only with the leader perception of his role ; the relationship between leader's perception and official group role is an interesting, but separate, problem and we are not dealing with it here.

We shall deal with the leader's perception of his role in terms of a continuum, the extremes of which may be defined at one end as the leader's concern with the group as a whole, and at the other end by the leader's concern with each separate individual in the group. In the first extreme case we have only a group goal, like producing certain goods or services. In the second case, the goal is individual: for example, to teach each pupil or the largest possible number of pupils, to add. One may observe that between these two extreme types of roles all kinds of intermediate positions are possible, but we shall focus here largely on the extremes.

The findings of two recent studies of rating carried out by the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research seem to indicate that the leader's acquaintance with group members and his perception of his role as a group leader have a definite influence on the rating of members. They suggest an objective way of classifying certain types of leaders.

*
*   *

The first study deals with a group of 131 office workers each rated by his own supervisors (1).

Each worker was rated on a series of scalable areas (in Guttman's scalogram sense) on aspects of job performance such as: understanding of job, interest in job, independence in job performan-

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(1) See Uriel G. Foa, Rating Performance on the Job ; a Psychological Analysis, to be published.

ce, nervousness, and the like. Each worker received a scale rank on each scale of job performance. For instance, each worker was rated on nervousness by the following four items:

(a) Does the worker show signs of nervousness ?

      __Always
      __Almost always
      __Very often
      __Quite often
      __Sometimes
      __Very rarely
      __Never

(b) Does the worker ever seem confused, depressed, and consequently unable to make decisions ?

      __Always
      __Almost always
      __Often
      __Sometimes
      __Rarely
      __Never

(c) Does the worker seem especially worried or excited ?

      __Always
      __Almost always
      __Quite often
      __Sometimes
      __Very rarely
      __Never, even in very difficult situations

(d) Would you say that the worker has strong nerves ?

      __Definitely not
      __No
      __Not especially
      __Yes
      __Definitely yes

These items are approximately perfectly scalable and give rise essentially to the following ten types of rating (1):

Type 0 : Never shows signs of nervousness
Never confused, depressed and consequently unable to
                              make decisions
Never worried or excited, even in difficult situations
Definitely has strong nerves

Type 1 : Never shows signs of nervousness
Never confused, depressed and consequently unable to
                              make decisions
Never worried or excited, even in difficult situations
Has strong nerves

Type 2 : Never shows signs of nervousness
Rarely confused, depressed and consequently unable to
                              make decisions

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(1) The item differentiating each type from the preceding one is in-
dicated in italic.

Never worried or excited, even in difficult situations
Has strong nerves

Type 3 : Never shows signs of nervousness
Rarely confused, depressed and consequently unable to
make décisions

<u>Very rarely worried or excited</u>
Has strong nerves

Type 4 : <u>Very rarely shows signs of nervousness</u>
Rarely confused, depressed and consequently unable to
make decisions
Very rarely worried or excited
Has strong nerves

Type 5 : <u>Sometimes shows signs of nervousness</u>
Rarely confused, depressed and consequently unable to
make decisions
Very rarely worried or excited
Has strong nerves

Type 6 : Sometimes shows signs of nervousness
Rarely confused, depressed and consequently unable to
make decisions
Very rarely worried or excited
<u>Has not especially strong nerves</u>

Type 7 : Sometimes shows signs of nervousness
Rarely confused, depressed and consequently unable to
make decisions
<u>Sometimes quite often, almost always, always) seems
worried and excited</u>
Has not especially strong nerves

Type 8 : Sometimes shows signs of nervousness
<u>Sometimes (often, almost always, always) seems confused
depressed and consequently unable to make decisions</u>
Sometimes (quite often, almost always, always) seems
worried and excited
Has not especially strong nerves

Type 9 : <u>Quite often (very often, almost always, always) shows
signs of nervousness</u>
Sometimes (often, almost always, always) seems confused
depressed and consequently unable to make decisions
Sometimes (quite often, almost always, always) seems
worried and excited
Has not especially strong nerves

It will be noted that these types are in rank order from the
least to the most nervous, and each rating corresponds to a certain
profile of categories ; conversely each profile corresponds to a gi-
ven rating. That is, given the rating it is possible to reproduce
the categories. This is one of the basic properties of a scale in
Guttman's scalogram sense (1).

At the same time each supervisor was asked three questions
about how well he knows each of his workers. The questions were as

(1) Guttman has since developed several theories of quasi-scales
which have been found useful in the empirical work of the Israel
Institute of Applied Social Research.

follows:

(a) Do you know this worker well enough to express a reliable opi-
nion of him and of his work ?

        __I know this worker very well
        __I know this worker well
        __I know this worker fairly well
        __I do not know him so well
        __I hardly know him at all
        __I know him very little

(b) Do you have a clear and well-founded opinion of this worker ?

        __Yes, definitely
        __Yes
        __Not so very
        __Hardly any
        __Definitely not

(c) Have you had many opportunities to come in contact with this
worker and observe his work ?

        __Yes, very many opportunities
        __Yes, several opportunities
        __Hardly any
        __No

These items also proved to be scalable, and gave rise to the
following seven ranks of knowledge of worker:

Type 0 : I know this worker very well
        I definitely have a clear and well-founded opinion
                          of this worker
        I have had very many opportunities to come in contact
                  with this worker and observe his work

Type 1 : I know this worker well
        I definitely have a clear and well-founded opinion
                          of this worker
        I have had very many opportunities to come in contact
                  with this worker and observe his work

Type 2 : I know this worker well
        I have a clear and well-founded opinion of this worker
        I have had very many opportunities to come in contact with
                  this worker and observe his work

Type 3 : I know this worker well
        I have a clear and well-founded opinion of this worker
        I have had several opportunities to come in contact with
                  this worker and observe his work

Type 4 : I know this worker fairly well
        I have a clear and well-founded opinion of this worker
        I have had several opportunities to come in contact with
                  this worker and observe his work

Type 5 : I know this worker fairly well
        I do not have a very clear and well-founded opinion of
                          this worker
        I have had several opportunities to come in contact with
                  this worker and observe his work

Type 6 : I know this worker fairly well
       I do not have a very clear and well-founded opinion of
                        this worker
       I hardly had any opportunity to come in contact with this
                  worker and observe his work

Now, for each worker we have a score (rank) indicating his rating of nervousness, and a score (rank) indicating the degree to which this same worker is known to his supervisor. By cross-tabulating the two scores, it is possible to find out whether there is a relationship between rating and degree of acquaintance.

Here is the cross-tabulation table...

TABLE 1

Crosstabulation of Rating and
Knowledge of Worker by Supervisor

Rating of Worker

		Favorable						Unfavorable				
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
High Knowledge	0	3	6	7	4	6	6	1	4	5	1	43
Supervisor's	1	–	–	2	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	6
Knowledge of	2	1	4	1	4	9	7	3	1	4	6	40
Worker	3	1	–	1	1	7	2	1	1	2	2	18
	4	–	1	1	–	5	2	–	–	3	–	12
	5	–	1	1	–	4	2	1	–	–	2	11
Low Knowledge	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Total		5	12	13	9	35½	19	7	6	14	11	131

The median of each column is the median degree of acquaintance with workers who got the rating indicated at the head of the column.

The workers with rating score zero (which happens to be the best rating) have a median score of acquaintance also of zero ; that is, they are very well-known by the supervisor. Similarly, workers with scores 1 and 2 are also favorably rated and are well-known on the average to the supervisor. Then the median goes down: the workers are less well-known and less favorably rated ; yet they are still positively rated, since the zero point separating positive from negative rating is at the midpoint of rating 4. The next group of workers is typified by rating 7 : they are mildly negatively rated and are well-known to the supervisor.

Finally, workers in scores 8 and 9 are on the average little known and extremely negatively rated. So it seems that well-known workers are rated either very positively or mildly negatively, while little known workers are rated mildly positively or strongly negatively. This is equivalent to saying that the supervisor is well acquainted largely with the top workers and not-so-good-workers, while the very poor and somewhat good workers are rather unknown to him.

Such an interpretation of the Table is likely to raise many eyebrows: does such a strange curvilinear relationship really mean something ? Are these not merely random deviations of the medians, with no indication of a structural relationship between rating and knowledge of the worker ?

A conclusion of this kind would have been tempting before the development of the psychological theory of the principal components of scalable attitudes. But, when planning this piece of research, it was hypothesized that the supervisor's degree of acquaintance with the worker would be closely related to the third principal component of the supervisor's rating of the worker. This preliminary hypothesis was made before the data were gathered and indeed was the reason for inserting the area about acquaintanceship into the research. The hypothesis was based on what is known of the general psychology of the third component in other attitudinal areas.

Now, the regression of the theoretical third component on content is a curve with two bending points, just like the one that has just been observed in the data of Table 1. Therefore, the empirical findings confirm the hypothesis that acquaintance with the worker and rating of the worker are related essentially by the third component-content type of dependence.

Several examples of third component curves have been found in previous empirical work (1).

A good deal of work has been done toward clarifying the psychological meaning of the first four components, but there is still a great need for further sharpening and focusing of the specific content of each component and for testing whether this content is valid for types of attitudes different from those studied so far.

Insofar as present experience goes, the components can be described in the following way (2) :

The first component is a monotone function of the rank order on the content of the attitude itself.

The second component is the extremeness of the attitude, which can often be interpreted as intensity.

The third component is called closure. It may often be described as an attitude on attitudes. Items of the type "Have you decided your attitude on..." belong to the third component. If the particular attitude is but one of several conflicting attitudes belonging to the same hyperuniverse of content, the closure is common to each one of this set of attitudes, hence the name "closure". For instance, the closure of the attitude towards accepting a particular

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(1) See Guttman, Louis, "The Principal Components of Scalable Attitudes", in Lazarsfeld (Ed.), Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences, Columbia Univ. Press. In press.
(2) Ibid.

job may be expected to be the same as for each of the attitudes to-
wards the possible alternative jobs.

If, however, the particular attitudes are not conflicting, the
closure may be specific to each separate attitude. Then it seems
that a strong monotonic relationship may exist between the closu-
res belonging to the same hyper-universe of non-conflicting attitu-
des.
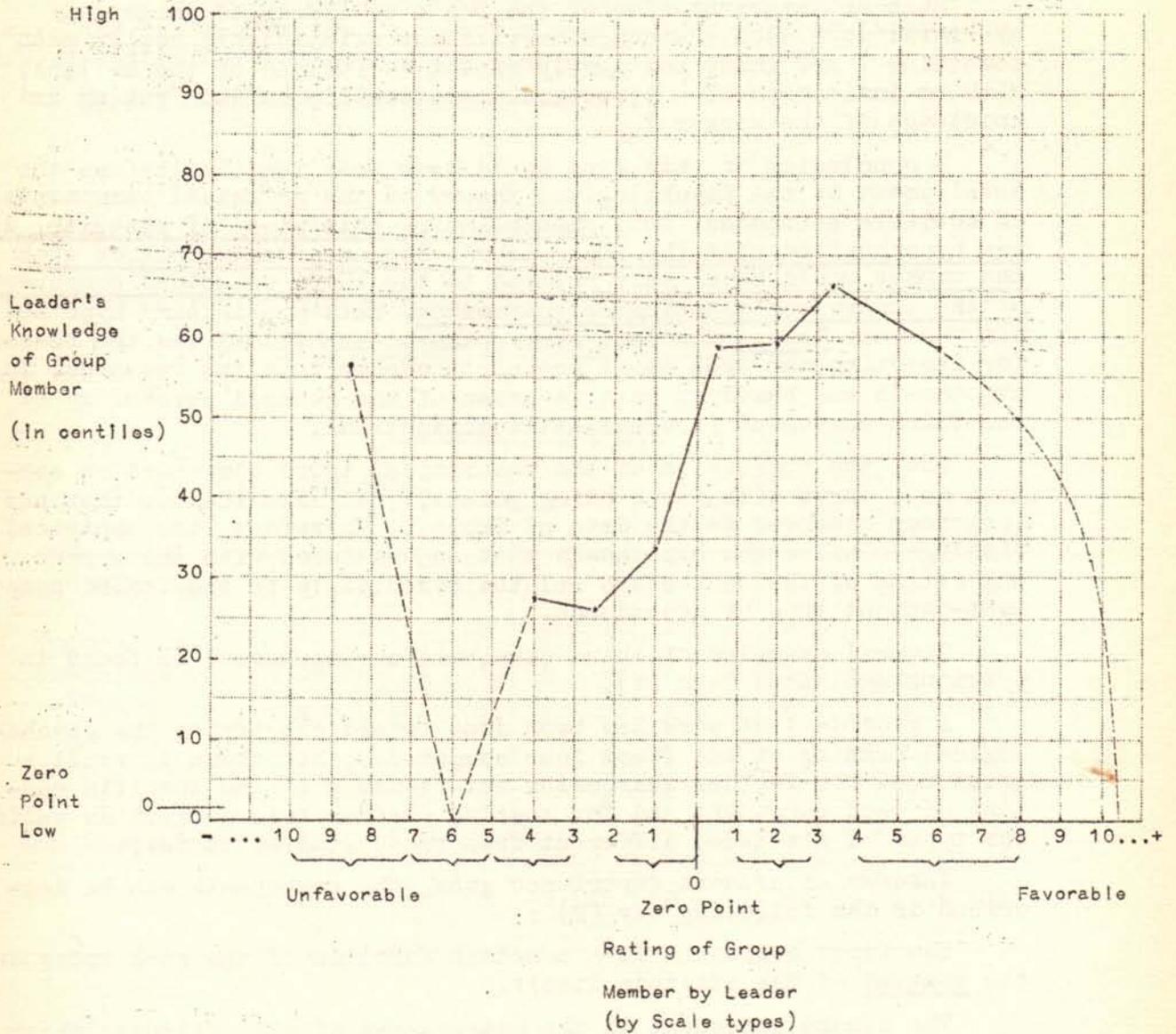
The fourth component is called involution, and was not studied
in this project. It can be described as the degree in which the res-
pondent weighs and reexamines his standing on the attitude. Items
of the type "Do you often ask yourself if your attitude on... is
the right one ?" tap the involution component.

The third and fourth components (and perhaps the second one) are
scalable attitudes on their own right, with their own intensity func-
tions and their own zero points. It is, therefore, possible to tell
whether a certain respondent is positive or negative on each compo-

nent. The pattern of signs (positive or negative) of the components defines absolute psychological types which are independent from the sampling of items (1).

In the group of workers we have just considered, not all the workers are known to the supervisor. Certain workers are little known to him, and he rates them either mildly positively or strongly negatively.

Moreover, the attention of the supervisor is focused on the best workers and on the mildly negative workers. Most "well-known" workers are really in the top group (30 workers against only 6 in mildly negative group), so that top workers get a very large share of the supervisor's interest.

The role of the supervisor is obviously a group role ; he has to organize and lead the group so to produce certain goods or services to the best of the group's ability: the performance of the group members is in part a function of group goals. This may explain why the top elements of the group are in closer contact with the supervisor. The fact that the second type of people nearer to the leader consists of rather negative people is, however, left unexplained and it may be due to irrational factors not related to the needs of an efficient organization of group activity.

Of course, one could also say that the leader rates certain members in a given way because he knows, or does not know, them. However, the mechanism of causation may not be of crucial importance at this stage and can even complicate the interpretation of findings without necessarily making any significant contribution to the understanding of this type of behavior. The basic fact is that a special kind of relationship exists between acquaintance and rating of the worker.

In conclusion the leaders of the groups just described:

(a)   Are not in close contact with each and every member of the group.

(b)   Are more in contact with top members and with"not so good" members than with others.

*
*   *

Now let us consider a different group where each member is well known to the leader and, in consequence, the ratings indicating lack of acquaintance do not occur (2). Furthermore, in this group, the leader's role consists in training each member separately, and not the group as a whole. In the particular empirical example below it appears that the leader's focus is reversed, centering on the most unsatisfactory and on the mildly satisfactory members of the group.

This group is composed of 84 recruits of the Israel Defence

(1) Uriel G. Foa, "Guttman's Absolute Psychological Typology for Scalable Attitudes", in preparation.
(2) Moshe Werba, Observations on the Third Component, to be published in Hahinuch (Hebrew).

Army being given preliminary training before being sent to permanent outfits. The purpose of the training is <u>not</u> to weld the recruits into a unit, since they are to be split up anyhow among different outfits, but rather to transmit to each recruit certain elementary elements of military knowledge and values.

After the completion of the training period the recruits were rated on various traits by their leader-trainer. This trainer was also required to indicate his degree of acquaintance with the recruit being rated. Rating scales and a scale of acquaintanceship, very similar to those described above in relation to the first group, were used.

Again the ratings and the acquaintance scores were cross-tabulated, but some significant differences in the findings, as compared with those of the previous group, appeared.

Let us, for instance, consider the rating of success in understanding as cross-tabulated with the degree of acquaintance (see Table 2 and Figure 1). For the most favorably rated group on understanding, the degree of acquaintance is high but not the highest. As the rating becomes less favorable, the degree of acquaintance increases. When the rating becomes negative, acquaintance decreases again. Then suddenly a number of ratings scores have no frequency at all, and finally acquaintance increases again for the most negative ratings. The same curve with two bending points is indicated as for the previous group, but the direction of the curve is reversed: top people are less well-known than moderately positive people.

TABLE 2

Crosstabulation of Rating and
Knowledge of Recruits by Trainer

Rating of Recruit
(by Scale Types)

		Favorable								Unfavorable				
		7-6	5-4	3	2	1	0	1-2	3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-	Total
High Knowledge	1	2	2	6	3	7	19	6	3	4	-	3	-	55
Trainer's Knowledge of Recruit (by Scale types)	2	-	1	-	-	-	3	2	4	3	-	1	-	14
	3	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	10
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	3
Low Knowledge	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Total		2	3	6	4	8	24	12	9	10	0	4	0	82

There is a further difference between the worker and the recruit group. All the recruits are at least quite well-known to the rater. The zero point (as determined by the intensity foldover technique) of acquaintance fell in score 3 ; that is scores from zero to three indicate that the recruit is know to the rater, more or less well. Scores above three would indicate that the recruit is not systematically known to the rater ; almost none of the recruits fell in these

scores. This explains why no recruits get rating -6 or -7 (see Table 2) while a certain number of them gets rating -5 and -8. Since the direction of the curve is reversed from that of the previous example, rating -6 and -7 would correspond to a bottom bending of the curve, to non-knowledge of the recruits ; but no recruit is unknown, hence no recruit gets a rating which is theoretically appropriate to relatively unknown group members. Therefore, the fact that all the members are known to the leader has the effect of introducing a sudden discontinuity in the range of ratings.

In conclusion, when the direction of the acquaintance curve is as in the worker's group, the following combination of knowledge and rating arises:

Known members: either strongly positive or mildly negative rating ;

Unknown members: either mildly positive or strongly negative rating.

If all the members are well-known, no member is rated mildly positive or strongly negative.

If all the members are unknown, no member will be rated strongly positive or mildly negative.

On the other hand, when the direction of the acquaintance curve is as in the recruits group, the following combinations arise:

Known members: rated either mildly positively or strongly negatively ;

Unknown members: rated either strongly positively or mildly negatively.

When all the members are known, as in the recruits group, no member is rated strongly positively or mildly negatively. Thus in our case, the mildly negative ratings of 13 and 14 were not used at all by raters. The fact that no extremely positive ratings with similar zero frequencies were found mau be due to a failure of the scale to differentiate these groups. For this purpose it would have been necessary to select different or additional scale items. The failure of the knowledge curve to "go down" at the positive end seems to confirm this.

The findings seem to indicate that there are leaders who perceive their role primarily as aimed at group goals, like the leaders of the workers group. In this case, the curve of knowledge is such that top members are well-known, mildly positively rated members little known, mildly negative members well-known and extremely negative members little known. If the leader knows everybody then all members are rated either highly positively or mildly negatively.

Contrarywise, other leaders perceive their role mainly in terms of the individual member of the group: the welfare of the individual, and not the efficiency of the group, seems to be their concern. The trainer of recruits belongs to this type of leader. Here the knowledge curve is completely reversed, although its general shape is the same. Those members (highly positive and mildly negative) who are getting the attention of the leader of the firts type, are neglected here ; and conversely, the poorest and mildly positive members focus the interest of the leader of the second type, while the former type of leader disregerded them.

Again, if everybody is known to the leader, certain ranks of

rating do not appear as happened in the group of recruits.

In conclusion, there seems to exist a close relationship bet-ween the leader's perception of his role, his degree of contact with group members and his rating of the same.

Two kinds of leadership emerge: the group-efficiency centered and the individual-welfare centered. For each kind different ranges of leader-member contact are possible. The acquaintance curve, with the two characteristic bending points, supplies valuable information about the type of leadership: its direction indicates whether the leader is group- or individual-centered ; interruptions in the con-tinuity of the curve show that certain degree of acquaintance with members (or lack of same) are missing in this leader.

Jerusalem, Israel

July, 1953.