

TRANSACTIONS OF THE THIRD
WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

ACTES DU TROISIÈME
CONGRÈS MONDIAL DE SOCIOLOGIE

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VOLUME VII

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE

1956

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PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE 20TH CENTURY
LE PROBLÈME DU CHANGEMENT SOCIAL AU 20ÈME SIÈCLE

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PART ONE

L'enseignement de la sociologie

PIERRE DE BIE

(Professeur de sociologie, Université de Louvain)

L'introduction d'une section portant sur l'enseignement de la sociologie ne répond pas à la simple préoccupation d'un état descriptif qui pourrait être périodiquement fourni. Elle paraît bien plus une occasion de s'interroger sur les facteurs de développement, les modalités de pénétration et le statut de la sociologie dans différents pays. Progressivement le champ de l'information s'accroît : le texte de communications relatives aux développements de la sociologie en Autriche, à la Belgique, au Canada, à la Finlande, aux Pays-Bas et au Venezuela, s'ajoutant à de nombreux articles et à quelques ouvrages plus importants, vient compléter les résultats déjà acquis à la suite de l'enquête internationale entreprise en 1951 par l'Association Internationale de Sociologie.¹ Ici aussi la connaissance peut être le point de départ d'une politique susceptible de nous guider dans l'avenir.

Les progrès de la sociologie dépendent évidemment de l'extension et du degré de développement de la recherche mais ceux-ci sont conditionnés par l'enseignement. Bien que nous ne disposions pas des éléments suffisants à l'élaboration d'une théorie comparative de l'histoire et de l'état actuel de l'enseignement sociologique dans différents pays, il apparaît cependant possible d'isoler certains traits permettant de poser quelques questions majeures.

Dans presque tous les pays les développements de la sociologie ont été modestes et sur le plan de la recherche et sur celui de l'enseignement. Un fait frappant est sans doute qu'il y eut dans le développement de la sociologie une phase nationale au cours de laquelle la sociologie s'est développée de façon relativement indépendante dans un petit nombre de pays y prenant une physionomie et y présentant des caractéristiques propres. Cette phase nationale coïncide avec les débuts philosophiques, souvent même idéologiques de la sociologie. Le rapport présenté par M. Jan Szczepanski sur le développement des cours préparatoires aux études universitaires souligne très justement la dépendance de l'enseignement à l'égard de la société. Lors de ses débuts, la sociologie a été fortement tributaire des doctrines philosophiques et scientifiques de l'époque, doctrines très largement "nationales". A cet égard les différences entre la sociologie allemande, la sociologie française et la sociologie américaine sont extrêmement frappantes. A tel point qu'on a pu parler d'écoles de sociologie, et celles-ci ont rayonné favorisant dans de nombreux pays la croissance de sociologies situées dans leur ligne. Le cas de la Turquie et celui du Canada peuvent servir d'illustration.

Toute une partie de l'histoire de la sociologie s'inscrit dans des cadres nationaux et ne peut en être séparée. Sur le plan de la recherche

l'emprise nationale apparaît à la fois dans la sélection des objets d'étude, la définition des buts généraux de la recherche, les types d'explication proposés et l'utilisation des résultats. Sur le plan de l'enseignement cette emprise se manifeste par la diversité des facteurs de croissance, la variété des structures institutionnelles et des statuts atteints.

Après la deuxième guerre mondiale la sociologie se dénationalise et prend une extension qui contraste avec la situation durant l'entre-deux-guerres : en témoignent les développements récents de la sociologie en Belgique, au Canada et aux Pays-Bas. Une nouvelle phase s'amorce la phase technique, au cours de laquelle la sociologie atteint un statut scientifique mieux établi : l'apparition de cette phase est favorisée par la diffusion de la sociologie américaine et, dans une mesure moindre, par l'élaboration de projets de recherche internationaux.

L'examen comparatif des facteurs qui au sein de chaque pays ont favorisé ou freiné le *développement* de la sociologie révèle une très grande diversité : date des commencements, nombre et qualifications des personnalités ayant exercé un rôle, influence des modèles étrangers, préoccupations para-scientifiques philosophiques ou utilitaires, etc. . . . Par exemple dans certains pays les développements remontent au 19^e siècle et sont dus principalement à des facteurs indigènes ; dans d'autres, politiquement plus jeunes ils ont été poussés de façon systématique, partiellement en fonction d'influences et de modèles étrangers ; ici les historiens ont surtout joué un rôle, c'est le cas de la Finlande, là, et c'est le cas de l'Italie, ce sont au point de départ des criminologies. La sociologie n'apparaît spontanément qu'à un certain point de l'évolution sociale. Elle est le fruit d'une situation historique qui coïncide à peu près avec les débuts de l'industrialisation de l'Europe occidentale. La sociologie est partie intégrante de la culture occidentale, caractérisée par une forme rationnelle et technique du savoir. La sociologie apparaît par importation dans de nombreux pays, au même titre que la physique, la chimie ou la technique, matières d'exportation de notre civilisation technique et scientifique.

Différents facteurs sont susceptibles d'influencer d'une manière appréciable ce développement dans les temps récents :

—une prise de conscience des services que peut rendre la recherche pour la solution de problèmes sociaux contemporains dans le cadre national. Cette prise de conscience croît dans la plupart des pays et apparaît comme un facteur déterminant dans de nombreux pays : l'exemple le plus spectaculaire est fourni par la Hollande. Nous trouvons apparemment en Autriche un cas de divorce entre la fonction d'enseignement et celle de recherche celle-ci se développant en dehors des sphères d'un enseignement surtout historique et théorique.

—le stimulant que peut constituer la comparaison du développement inégal des sciences sociales et en particulier de l'enseignement sociologique dans différents pays.

—L'influence de facteurs proprement internationaux constitue un élément nouveau: l'action exercée directement par des organismes internationaux tels que les associations internationales dans le domaine des sciences sociales ou l'UNESCO dans le cadre de programmes en vue d'encourager le développement des sciences sociales dans des pays déterminés.

On peut se poser la question de savoir (a) quels sont les facteurs qui à l'époque actuelle sont les plus susceptibles de stimuler le développement de l'enseignement sociologique et (b) de considérer ensuite dans quelle mesure l'Association Internationale de Sociologie pourrait encourager cette action.

L'enseignement de la sociologie s'est introduit dans l'enseignement des divers pays selon des modalités très variables: situation institutionnelle au sein de facultés ou d'écoles différentes (cadre d'études différentes, droit, lettres, philosophie; cadres d'études connexes, économie, science politique, anthropologie sociale; cadres d'études autonomes et spécialisées), degrés divers de spécialisation, part variable des cours consacrés uniquement aux techniques ou à des objets de recherche spécialisés, ouverture plus ou moins grande à la recherche et connections plus ou moins favorables avec des centres de recherche. Les rapports relatifs à l'enseignement de la sociologie au Canada et au Vénézuéla indiquent à quelle variété d'enseignements et de centres d'intérêt la sociologie peut être liée.

Toutes ces modalités d'établissement et de pénétration importent beaucoup au développement de la sociologie et il serait sans doute utile de discuter des avantages et des inconvénients que peuvent présenter certaines d'entre elles. Sans vouloir proposer en modèle les réalisations de tel ou tel pays, ne pourrait-on mettre en relief l'intérêt que présentent certaines réalisations et indiquer à tout le moins certaines orientations qu'il apparaîtrait utile de favoriser? Dans l'hypothèse où dans le cadre d'une aide technique à certains Etats un nombre croissant de pays pourront dans l'avenir faire appel à des organismes internationaux pour le développement des sciences sociales, un accord sur certains points et des suggestions même limités pourraient fournir une base de travail fort utile.

En particulier il ne serait pas sans intérêt de s'arrêter aux questions suivantes: à l'enseignement de quelles disciplines apparaît-il d'abord nécessaire d'associer l'enseignement de la sociologie? Les réponses doivent tenir compte de la fonction qu'on entend faire exercer par l'enseignement sociologique: rôle de formation générale, rôle de complément de formation et rôle de spécialisation. L'enseignement de la sociologie au Vénézuéla, inséré dans des programmes très divers, révèle une pluralité de fonctions. Ces diverses fonctions ont fait l'objet de discussions lors de la Table Ronde internationale réunie à Paris sous les auspices de l'UNESCO en juin 1952.

—peut-on déterminer les mérites relatifs de deux modalités de cet enseignement: la forme plus théorique qui consiste à faire connaître,

à propos de l'étude de différents phénomènes ou sur le plan d'autres disciplines, en quoi consiste le point de vue sociologique ou la forme plus positive d'un enseignement lié à une étude de la structure sociale ou à des recherches sur des problèmes sociaux contemporains ?

Ce qui peut surtout retenir notre attention dans *le statut de la sociologie* c'est le degré de prestige dont elle bénéficie dans le cadre des structures académiques et de la société. Ce statut varie en fonction de la durée de son établissement, de la renommée des auteurs, de l'importance matérielle des enseignements, du rôle qu'ils jouent dans la société soit directement soit par les aptitudes et la capacité de ceux que ces enseignements forment.

Résultante de toute une gamme de facteurs, de structures, d'opinions et d'attitudes, le statut de la sociologie n'est pas une question académique. Un statut signifie une puissance d'appel et de sélection pour le marché du travail. Certains se demandent s'ils peuvent prendre la responsabilité de former des spécialistes alors que dans l'état actuel il n'existe que des débouchés professionnels insuffisants. D'autres estiment que le problème des débouchés se résoudra de lui-même la présence et les initiatives de spécialistes en place créant la conscience du besoin et faisant apparaître la nécessité de la fonction de recherche et d'enseignement. Le statut récemment acquis par la sociologie aux Pays-Bas montre combien les situations peuvent évoluer rapidement et combien la formation à rythme accéléré de sociologues peut aller de pair, à courte échéance, avec un élargissement très grand du marché de l'emploi.

Il importe de voir clairement que le statut de l'enseignement sociologique dépend d'une série de facteurs que l'analyse peut déceler et sur lesquels il est possible d'agir. Ces facteurs sont généralement interdépendants de sorte que le renforcement des uns peut entraîner le renforcement des autres.

NOTES

¹ Les résultats de cette enquête ont été publiés par l'U.N.E.S.C.O. dans un volume intitulé, *Les sciences sociales dans l'enseignement supérieur, Sociologie, Psychologie Sociale et Anthropologie Culturelle*, UNESCO, 1954.

Teaching and Professional Activities in Sociology in Austria

LEOPOLD ROSENMAYR

(Associate Professor and Director of the Sozialwissenschaftliche
Forschungsstelle, University of Vienna)

With the exception of a very few courses offered by adult education centres sociology is taught in Austria only in the universities.

In Vienna, there is a professor of sociology (Professor A. M. Knoll) who is the head of the *Lehrkanzel für Soziologie* within the Faculty of Law. Teaching is carried on through lectures and seminars. Some of these lectures are obligatory for all students in the Faculty of Law, in particular for their first period of studies. Students in the Philosophical Faculty may also attend the lectures provided they choose a related field of the Philosophical Faculty (e.g., philosophy, psychology), as a special subject. There are two "Privatdozenten" in the Philosophical Faculty who assist in the teaching of sociology.

In Graz, Professor J. Mokre and Professor H. Riehl teach sociology in the Faculty of Law and Professor K. Radakovic conducts seminars in Social Philosophy and Sociology in the Philosophical Faculty.

In Innsbruck a course in Social Psychology is offered by Professor V. Neubauer within the Philosophical Faculty.

The sociology courses often represent a secondary field of interest of university teachers whose principal subject is not sociology.

Since the main area of concentration in the teaching of sociology has been on historical and theoretical sociology, there are not at present research workers, trained in Austria, able to undertake empirical research. Responding to a slowly-growing demand self-trained or foreign trained researchers have started to work for public and private institutions in the fields of sociography, opinion and market research, and have done special investigations for the purposes of town planning. Dr. L. Grond, the director of the *Katholisches Institut für Kirchliche Sozialforschung*, is conducting studies on the ethnic and social origins of priests, and on the size and social composition of Viennese parishes. Dr. W. Fessel, director of the *Österreichisches Institut für Markt-und Meinungsforschung*, is conducting market and opinion research mostly for private firms. Dr. L. Rosenmayr, director of the *Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungsstelle*, is conducting a study on problems of housing and the family in Vienna for the University and has carried out a project for the city government and its planning department.

In the University of Vienna approximately twenty-five students are studying sociology; one third of them will probably be interested in empirical research.

As far as the research institutes are concerned only a relatively small group of private and public institutions with an *avant-garde* mentality have shown an interest in sociological research. In consequence of this situation the research institutes, in some phases of their work, are confronted with organizational and financial problems, but as far as can be seen at present a slow but steady increase in research activities may be expected.

Développement de l'enseignement et organisation de la recherche sociologique en Belgique

DENIS SZABÓ

(Université de Louvain)

LES ORIGINES

Les premières contributions de valeur où se marque un réel souci de connaissance objective de la société remontent à Adolphe Quetelet. A de nombreux écrits portant sur la démographie et la statistique il joignait en 1835 son célèbre ouvrage " Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés ou essai de physique sociale ". L'œuvre de Quetelet, contemporaine de celle de Comte, est en Belgique le point de départ d'un remaniement et d'un développement important de la statistique officielle. En 1885, Edouard Ducpétiaux fait paraître les résultats d'une étude approfondie des conditions de vie ouvrière dans l'ouvrage intitulé " Sur les budgets économiques des classes ouvrières, suivi d'une étude sur les subsistances, les salaires et l'accroissement des populations dans leurs rapports avec la situation économique des classes ouvrières en Belgique ". Cette œuvre est le point de départ des analyses comparatives des budgets d'ouvriers et d'employés qui ont plusieurs fois été entreprises depuis.

La préoccupation d'étudier de façon positive les phénomènes sociaux est grande chez ces auteurs. On retrouve le même souci dans de nombreuses enquêtes et études faites par des organes gouvernementaux, au cours du siècle, études relatives à la topographie médicale, à la structure industrielle et sociale du pays. Le terme " sociologie " n'apparaît que vers la fin du siècle dans quelques écrits oubliés aujourd'hui, et principalement dans l'œuvre de Guillaume de Greef. Cet auteur subit l'influence de Quetelet, de Comte et de Spencer et il publie de 1889 à 1910 de nombreux ouvrages de sociologie théorique: exemples typiques de ce qu'on a nommé " armchair sociology ", sociologie fortement influencée par la biologie. De Greef occupe ce qui fut en fait la première chaire de sociologie créée en 1889 à l'Université de Bruxelles: le cours qu'il donne s'intitule " Méthodologie des sciences sociales ".

Une initiative importante à signaler en cette fin de siècle est la création en 1895 de l'Institut des Sciences Sociales. Cet Institut, dû à l'initiative de l'industriel Ernest Solvay, a publié de 1895 à 1900 une revue intitulée " *Les Annales de l'Institut des Sciences Sociales* ", son programme officiel était vaste: en fait il devait particulièrement s'attacher à l'examen des idées de son fondateur, et il n'eut qu'une existence éphémère.

Du début du siècle à 1940

L'histoire de la sociologie en Belgique durant les premières dizaines d'années du XXe siècle s'identifie principalement à l'activité de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay.

Entièrement dû à la générosité de l'industriel Ernest Solvay, cet Institut créé en 1901 devient très vite sous l'impulsion de son premier directeur, Emile Waxweiler, professeur à l'Université de Bruxelles, un centre très actif de recherches. Le concours précieux de Daniel Warnotte, concourt à en faire un centre précieux de documentation pour les sciences sociales, alors unique en Europe.

Les activités de cet Institut ont été fort décrites dans l'ouvrage de Daniel Warnotte, *Ernest Solvay et l'Institut de Sociologie* (Bruxelles 1946, tome II), et nous nous contenterons ici de rappeler l'essentiel.

L'Institut a été principalement conçu comme centre de recherches : d'une part, recherches organisées par la Direction de l'Institut, d'autre part, recherches libres par des chercheurs indépendants.

On peut distinguer principalement deux périodes dans l'activité de l'Institut : la première s'étend jusqu'à la première guerre mondiale et est marquée du sceau d'Emile Waxweiler décédé prématurément en 1916. Celui-ci a le souci d'établir un système de sociologie. Sa première œuvre : "*L'Esquisse d'une Sociologie*" (1906) peut donner une idée assez fautive de ses conceptions, si l'on n'y joint les nombreux articles publiés à partir de 1910 dans les revues de l'Institut : "*Le Bulletin de l'Institut*" (1910-1911) et les *Archives Sociologiques* (1912-1914).

À côté de ces revues, il faut mentionner les diverses séries de publications consacrées, soit à des travaux d'ordre sociologique (*Notes & Mémoires*), soit aux applications des sciences sociales en général (*Etudes sociales*), soit à la vulgarisation de questions courantes (*Actualités sociales*).

L'activité de l'Institut se traduit, en outre, par la constitution de divers groupes d'études et d'un service de documentation : grâce à Daniel Warnotte qui avait conçu et organisé ce service bien des chercheurs et des sociétés scientifiques ont pu, de par le monde, réaliser des relations de documentation et d'aide scientifique mutuelle. La *Chronique du Mouvement scientifique*, publiée de 1910 à 1940 dans les revues de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay, a été l'expression vivante de l'information internationale fort large que Warnotte avait acquise.

Durant les premières années du XXe siècle, il faut également relever les travaux de la Société belge de Sociologie, fondée en 1900 à Louvain par Cyrille van Overbergh. Cette société fut très active durant les premières années de son existence. De 1901 à 1906 elle publia une revue intitulée l'Année Sociologique et entreprit ensuite une vaste enquête ethnologique au Congo belge. Elle cessa toute activité à la veille de la première guerre mondiale.

La guerre de 1914-1918 a pesé lourdement sur le développement de la sociologie belge. Aux environs de 1930 sous la direction d'Ernest Mahaim, puis de Georges Smets, l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay subit une impulsion nouvelle. Fidèle à l'orientation donnée par ses fondateurs l'Institut conserve une conception encyclopédique de la sociologie et les travaux sont tantôt d'ordre strictement sociologique, tantôt d'ordre juridique, économique, voire philosophique. Ceux qui représentent

le mieux le point de vue sociologique sont G. Smets, E. Dupréel et G. Jacquemyns. Ce dernier dirige depuis 1931 le service des enquêtes de l'Institut et ses recherches, menées suivant la méthode d'observation directe, portent principalement sur divers aspects de la vie ouvrière belge.

A l'Université de Gand, J. Haesaert crée en 1933 le séminaire de sociologie théorique et appliquée. Son domaine particulier est celui de la sociologie juridique.

LES DÉVELOPPEMENTS RÉCENTS

En Belgique, comme dans de nombreux pays, la seconde guerre mondiale marque un temps d'arrêt dans la recherche scientifique. Toutefois elle a peut-être favorisé la naissance de nouvelles initiatives.

Si l'on veut caractériser la situation générale, il y a lieu de relever les faits suivants: (a) l'émancipation des sciences sociales de la tutelle des Facultés de droit s'amorce d'une manière significative. Dans les deux universités libres, à Bruxelles et à Louvain, la sociologie est enseignée dans des Facultés dites de "Sciences sociales, politiques et économiques" et de "Sciences économiques et sociales". Le rapprochement de la sociologie des autres sciences positives présente un avantage considérable: la spécialisation et l'approfondissement de la formation technique sont davantage devenus possibles. La structure plus rigide des deux universités d'Etat de Liège et de Gand ne leur a pas permis d'atteindre ce degré d'évolution.

(b) Les anciens centres de recherches ont pris un nouveau développement et de nouveaux centres ont été créés. L'intérêt purement scientifique n'a pas été le seul facteur à susciter la création de ces organismes de recherche. Les besoins du pays, exprimés par les diverses organisations publiques et privées, les ont appelés de leur vœux. La jonction de ce qui est scientifiquement intéressant et de ce qui est socialement utile s'est opérée d'une manière frappante au cours des dernières années.

(c) Les recherches ne se limitent plus toujours à l'échelon d'une université. Souvent elles sont entreprises à l'échelon national. Le développement de la collaboration inter-universitaire est un facteur important dans le développement de la sociologie: celle-ci exige le concours de nombreux spécialistes qu'on ne peut réunir, en fait, que sur le plan national.

Nous allons brièvement considérer dans la suite, le niveau de l'enseignement sociologique dans les quatre universités et les institutions de recherches universitaires et inter-universitaires.

Dans les deux universités d'Etat, celle de Liège et celle de Gand, l'enseignement de la sociologie se situe dans les Facultés de Droit. Celles-ci délivrent le diplôme de licencié en sciences sociales. L'enseignement est échelonné sur quatre années d'études: deux ans de candidature et autant de licence. Le programme est le même dans les deux universités.

Au niveau de la candidature, on trouve un cours de sociologie de 45 h., qui est d'ordre introductif. En licence, un autre cours de sociologie également de 45 h. constitue une matière approfondie. Les exercices pratiques complètent ce cours magistral.

Les autres cours composant les matières de cette licence, relèvent principalement du domaine du droit. Il y a cependant des cours d'économie politique, de démographie et de statistique, ce dernier cours se complète par des exercices pratiques.

En dehors du programme de la licence en sciences sociales, un cours introductif à la sociologie de 30 h. est donné en sciences commerciales dans chacune des deux universités.

A Liège, un cours de sociologie de 15 h. orienté vers les problèmes du travail figure au programme du Centre Interfacultaire du Travail.

L'enseignement de la sociologie est assuré à Liège par M. R. Clémens et à Gand par M. J. Haesaert. Un assistant leur est adjoint.

A l'Université libre de Bruxelles, l'enseignement de la sociologie s'effectue à l'Ecole des Sciences politiques et sociales, rattachée à la Faculté des Sciences Sociales, Politiques et Economiques. Le diplôme de licencié en sciences sociales s'obtient après quatre années d'études : deux ans de candidature et deux ans de licence.

Un cours de sociologie générale, de caractère introductif, de 90 h., est donné en candidature. En licence, un cours de 30 h. est consacré à l'étude approfondie des questions de sociologie. L'enseignement de la sociologie est confié à M. H. Janne.

En dehors des cours d'ordre philosophique et juridique, les cours suivants, consacrés aux sciences sociales, figurent au programme : l'ethnologie, la démographie, les problèmes économiques du travail, l'économie sociale, la criminologie et la médecine sociale.

A la différence des deux universités d'Etat où le droit constitue le complément principal des cours de sociologie, l'enseignement des sciences sociales à Bruxelles se caractérise par une orientation nettement scientifique. En effet, les cours d'anatomie, d'anthropologie et de mathématiques figurent au programme.

A l'Université Catholique de Louvain, la sociologie est enseignée à l'Ecole des Sciences politiques et sociales qui est incorporée dans la Faculté des Sciences Economiques et Sociales. L'obtention du titre de licencié en sciences politiques et sociales suppose quatre années d'études. Pendant les deux années de candidature sont donnés un cours d'encyclopédie des sciences sociales de 30 h. et un cours introductif à la sociologie de 45 h. Soixante heures d'exercices pratiques comportant l'étude de techniques sociologiques, complètent l'enseignement magistral. En dehors de cours d'ordre philosophique, juridique et littéraire, un cours de psychologie sociale est donné encore en candidature.

La licence en sciences politiques et sociales offre plusieurs types de spécialisations en laissant le choix aux élèves parmi les quatre sections suivantes : sociologie, institutions, presse et science de l'opinion, travail. Il faut choisir deux sections pour obtenir le diplôme de licence.

A côté du cours approfondi de sociologie de 60 h., de nombreux autres cours de sociologie figurent au programme : sociologie religieuse (30 h.), sociologie criminelle (30 h.), sociologie économique (30 h.), sociologie rurale (30 h.), sociologie et déontologie de la presse (30 h.), relations sociales et industrielles (30 h.). En dehors des cours économiques et juridiques, relevons encore des cours consacrés aux questions ouvrières (30 h.), à la démographie (30 h.), à l'ethnologie (30 h.) et à la psychologie industrielle (30 h.).

On constate que le degré de spécialisation et le nombre de cours sociologiques particuliers sont le plus élevé à l'Université de Louvain. Il faut encore faire remarquer le caractère bilingue de l'enseignement. Tous les cours que nous venons de mentionner sont donnés à la fois en français et en néerlandais. Les cours sociologiques de base sont donnés par M. P. de Bie.

En ce qui concerne les instituts de recherches sociologiques, on relève à Gand le Séminaire de sociologie théorique et appliqué, dirigé par M. J. Haesaert, depuis 1928. Les activités de ce séminaire se lient à l'enseignement de la sociologie et comportent surtout les travaux menés par les élèves en vue de l'obtention de la licence. Les recherches se rapportent essentiellement à l'étude sociographique et sociologique de la ville de Gand. Le Directeur du séminaire est assisté par un chef de travaux et par un "opsteller". Une revue est publiée depuis 1955 sous le titre : "Tijdschrift voor Sociale Wetenschappen".

Le Séminaire de sociologie de l'Université de Liège, fondé en 1945 par M. R. Clémens, a atteint de l'extension et a pris le nom d'Institut de sociologie depuis 1954.

L'Institut est attaché à l'Université mais n'en fait pas partie. Il travaille sur contrat conclu avec les organismes privés et publics. Les principaux domaines de recherches sont les suivants : la mobilité résidentielle et le problème des immigrations ; la stratification sociale en milieu urbain ; les recherches en milieu industriel comme par ex. les effets de la formation accélérée du personnel dans certaines entreprises ; la gestion des affaires : les séminaires sont organisés à l'intention des industriels et des cadres supérieurs.

Le Directeur de l'Institut, M. Clémens, est assisté de six chercheurs à temps plein et par une dizaine d'autres, engagés à mi-temps. L'institut publie, sous forme de cahiers, certains résultats d'enquêtes.

A l'Université libre de Bruxelles, les recherches sont poursuivies dans le cadre de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay. Actuellement, les travaux sont confiés à des groupes d'études, groupés dans des sections de l'Institut : section d'économie politique (comptabilité nationale, théorie économique, finances publiques, mathématiques et économétrie) ;

section d'économie sociale (centre de sociologie du travail étudiant des problèmes de la productivité, des relations humaines dans l'entreprise, et le coût énergétique des professions; groupes d'études de la population active, de l'emploi, de la définition de l'entreprise et des conseils d'entreprise); section de science politique (sociologie électorale); section sociographique (monographies urbaines); section de psychologie sociale (problème de la régression sociale).

L'activité de l'Institut ne s'arrête point aux frontières belges: plusieurs recherches économiques et sociologiques sont entreprises au Congo belge.

Fidèle à une tradition qui remonte au début de ce siècle, l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay étend ses investigations dans le domaine de multiples sciences sociales.

Les résultats des recherches font l'objet de publications soit dans la Revue de l'Institut, soit dans une collection appelée les " Cahiers de l'Institut ". Le Directeur, M. Janne est assisté d'un secrétaire et d'un conseil scientifique et d'un bureau. Il y a huit auxiliaires scientifiques, dix-huit chargés de recherches et quatre chargés d'enquêtes.

A l'Université Catholique de Louvain on note une extension des activités de l'Institut de Recherches Economiques et Sociales au domaine des recherches sociales. Depuis 1944, cet Institut se nomme Institut de Recherches Economiques et Sociales et consacre partiellement ses activités à des recherches sociologiques menées à l'aide de méthodes quantitatives et qualitatives. Depuis 1946, un fascicule du Bulletin de l'Institut a pu être consacré annuellement aux résultats de ces études. Comme l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay, cet Institut est rattaché à une université et est d'ordre purement scientifique. Il est dirigé par M. L. Dupriez.

C'est au domaine des recherches appliquées que sont consacrées les activités du Centre d'Etudes Sociales, fondé en 1955 et présidé par M. J. Leclercq. La fondation récente de cette institution ne permet pas encore de dresser un bilan d'activité. Elle travaille sur contrat, conclu avec les établissements publics et privés.

Sur le plan inter-universitaire, deux institutions sont à signaler. L'Institut Universitaire d'Information Sociale et Economique (INSOC) est spécialisé dans l'étude de l'opinion publique belge et dans des enquêtes plus approfondies dans des couches déterminées de la population sur des sujets particuliers. La méthode employée est la méthode des sondages. L'INSOC se compose de professeurs appartenant aux quatre universités du pays et est dirigé par M. G. Jacquemyns, professeur à l'Université de Bruxelles. Il publie depuis 1946 un Bulletin consacré aux résultats des sondages. Cet Institut est financé par les contributions des abonnés au service des sondages.

Depuis janvier 1949, il existe un Centre Interuniversitaire de Sociologie (CIUS) composé d'un représentant de chaque université: M. G. Smets (Université de Bruxelles), M. J. Haesaert (Université de Gand),

M. R. Clémens (Université de Liège) et M. P. de Bie (Université de Louvain). Le CIUS est subsidié officiellement par le gouvernement belge. Il a pour objet d'entreprendre sur un plan scientifique des recherches d'importance nationale. De 1949 à 1952 le Centre a réalisé une large enquête sur l'assimilation culturelle des immigrants étrangers dans le secteur minier. Depuis 1954 il poursuit une recherche sur la stratification et la mobilité sociale particulièrement dans le milieu des fonctionnaires.

En conclusion on peut constater que l'enseignement sociologique s'est développé et que dans deux des quatre universités belges il s'intègre dans les cadres de facultés des sciences sociales. Les cours de sociologie spécialisés deviennent plus nombreux et la formation de spécialistes est de la sorte de plus en plus encouragée.

Dans chaque université existent des accès à la recherche et ceux-ci sont actuellement en pleine expansion. Le développement de la recherche au sein des universités et sur le plan national, a pris une réelle ampleur depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale. La sociologie est ainsi en mesure de contribuer toujours davantage à l'étude des problèmes qui préoccupent les responsables de la vie sociale du pays.

La sociologie au Canada

JEAN-C. FALARDEAU

(Professeur à l'Université Laval, Québec)

FRANK E. JONES

(Professeur à l'Université McMaster, Hamilton, Ontario)

Le rapport suivant n'a pas la prétention de présenter un panorama complet de la sociologie au Canada. Ni le temps ni les ressources disponibles ne permettaient de procéder à l'enquête transcontinentale auprès des professeurs et des chercheurs, au moins auprès de chaque université, qui eût été nécessaire à cette fin. Tout au plus trouvera-t-on ici une indication des progrès récents de cette discipline et de quelques-uns des caractères principaux qui permettent de déceler son importance dans la vie universitaire, sa contribution à la vie de la nation, son orientation probable dans l'avenir. Deux ordres de problèmes sont successivement abordés : 1) l'enseignement et la recherche sociologiques dans les universités (1^e partie); 2) les débouchés professionnels, les recherches extra-universitaires, les cadres d'organisation qui s'offrent aux sociologues canadiens (2^e partie). Par souci spontané de conformité avec la dualité culturelle canadienne, ce rapport se présente en deux langues : la première partie, en français; la seconde partie, en anglais.

I. LA SOCIOLOGIE DANS LES UNIVERSITÉS CANADIENNES

(1) RÉTROSPECTIVE HISTORIQUE

La sociologie est l'objet d'un intérêt croissant dans les institutions d'enseignement supérieur au Canada où elle jouit dorénavant d'un statut indiscuté. Mais c'est là un progrès relativement récent. La sociologie a été reconnue dans les universités canadiennes comme matière d'enseignement autonome et domaine de recherche longtemps après que l'histoire, l'économie, la science politique, la psychologie, et même, dans plusieurs cas, l'anthropologie, eussent été fermement établies. Au Canada de langue française, l'intérêt académique pour les problèmes de la vie sociale est longtemps demeuré d'ordre juridique, moral, philosophique ou théologique. C'est dire que la sociologie a dû, selon les cas, ou bien se proposer avec grande discrétion, ou bien lutter avec persévérance pour se faire accepter dans les programmes d'études. D'une part, les disciplines dont l'enseignement était déjà institué tenaient à maintenir jalousement leurs privilèges acquis. Les administrations hésitaient, temporaient, se refusaient aux audaces. Selon les termes du doyen de la sociologie canadienne, le professeur Carl A. Dawson: " Dans un grand nombre d'institutions universitaires au Canada, le nom même de la sociologie demeura longtemps un terme

équivoque, péjoratif. Pis encore, on l'a souvent utilisé comme appât ou trompe-l'œil plutôt que pour en faire l'objet d'un enseignement cohérent".¹ Pour ces raisons et d'autres encore, les sociologues authentiques mirent du temps à faire leur apparition. Jusque vers 1930, les professeurs sérieusement qualifiés en sociologie se comptaient sur les doigts de la main. Il n'est pas étonnant, dans ces circonstances, que les étudiants considèrent longtemps la sociologie comme une discipline marginale, moins attirante sinon moins "pratique" que d'autres sciences sociales, en particulier, l'économique. Mais la crise de 1930 et surtout la seconde guerre mondiale ont marqué les étapes d'un intérêt nouveau, vite considérable, pour la sociologie. Tout compte fait, la sociologie ne date en notre pays que d'une vingtaine d'années.

(2) ENSEIGNEMENT ET RECHERCHE UNIVERSITAIRE EN SOCIOLOGIE

Les universités

Pour bien saisir la place et l'importance relative de la sociologie dans les programmes académiques, il importe d'évoquer quelques caractéristiques de la structure universitaire canadienne. On compte, au Canada, vingt-deux établissements d'enseignement supérieur formellement reconnus comme "universités". Plusieurs d'entre elles, ainsi, dans les provinces des Prairies et de l'Ouest, sont directement sous la juridiction d'un gouvernement provincial dont elles reçoivent leurs subsides et sont, pour autant, des universités d'"état". D'autres sont confessionnelles et sont soumises au contrôle d'une église ou d'un groupe religieux. Mais, quelle que soit leur allégeance étatique ou religieuse respective, les universités canadiennes sont devenues de plus en plus semblables les unes aux autres. En général, leur organisation et leurs programmes imitent les modèles américains. La base du cours, à l'échelon *undergraduate* comprend 4 ou 5 années d'études conduisant au degré de baccalauréat (B.A.) spécialisé dans une discipline ou un groupe de disciplines connexes. C'est à l'échelon supérieur, celui des études *graduate*, que se donnent les cours proprement universitaires conduisant, après une ou deux autres années, au degré de maîtrise (M.A.) et, dans certaines universités, après des études encore plus poussées, au degré ultime du doctorat (Ph.D.). Ainsi la très grande majorité de la population étudiante canadienne appartient au niveau *undergraduate*. Seulement une minorité d'étudiants universitaires poursuivent des études plus avancées au niveau de la maîtrise ou du doctorat. Parallèlement aux universités existent des *colleges* qui dispensent un enseignement de type *undergraduate* conduisant au B.A. spécialisé dans une ou plusieurs disciplines. Seulement un très petit nombre de *colleges* canadiens de langue anglaise incluent la sociologie dans leur programme d'enseignement.

Très différent est le cas des deux universités canadiennes de langue française, l'Université de Montréal et l'Université Laval, de Québec.

(L'université bilingue d'Ottawa, qui combine les caractéristiques des deux systèmes, est davantage de type anglo-saxon). De fait, l'ensemble du système d'enseignement de la province de Québec est différent de celui des provinces canadiennes de majorité anglaise et du reste de l'Amérique du Nord. Les jeunes Canadiens de langue française du Québec reçoivent l'enseignement secondaire dans des "collèges classiques" où ils obtiennent, après un cours de huit ans, un baccalauréat (B.A.) de culture générale. Les quatre dernières années de ce cours correspondent en gros aux quatre années du niveau *undergraduate* des universités de langue anglaise. Ainsi l'enseignement des universités de Montréal et de Québec est formellement de niveau *graduate* et conduit d'abord, après des cours variant de deux à quatre ans, au degré de licence ou de maîtrise (M.A.) et, dans le dernier cycle, au doctorat (Ph.D.). Néanmoins, comme le baccalauréat classique des collèges n'est pas spécialisé, la première partie de l'enseignement universitaire au niveau de la maîtrise ou de la licence en est une de première spécialisation et peut valablement être considérée, *mutatis mutandis*, comme l'équivalent de la seconde moitié du curriculum *undergraduate* des universités anglaises. Dans l'ensemble, la philosophie de l'enseignement au Canada français accorde relativement moins d'importance à la spécialisation hâtive que les universités de langue anglaise et reflète une préoccupation plus vive, même au niveau proprement universitaire, d'intégrer les connaissances empiriques à un système général, éthique ou philosophique.

L'enseignement

On enseigne maintenant la sociologie dans presque toutes les universités canadiennes et dans quelques *colleges* de langue anglaise. Le statut institutionnel et le programme des cours de cette discipline varient d'université en université. Dans la plupart des universités de langue anglaise, la sociologie est enseignée dans le cadre d'un *Department of Political Economy*; à Québec et à Montréal, dans celui des Facultés de Sciences sociales. Il importe, en premier lieu, de considérer de façon spéciale chacune des quatre universités qui offrent des degrés en sociologie et dont l'enseignement spécialisé est fondé sur la recherche : McGill (Montréal), Toronto, Montréal et Laval (Québec).

(a) McGill

Le département de Sociologie de l'Université McGill fut le premier à être organisé au Canada, en 1922, par le professeur Carl A. Dawson. Dès 1924 les cours de sociologie conduisaient à un degré universitaire spécialisé et comportaient deux chaires d'enseignement. Depuis 1944, le département compte cinq professeurs exclusifs, fréquemment secondés par des chargés de cours ou des assistants en recherche. Depuis 1948, une chaire d'enseignement de l'anthropologie a été ajoutée et le département est officiellement devenu un "Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie". Il comporte un Centre de recherches qui bénéficie

régulièrement de fonds destinés à la recherche et ses professeurs coopèrent étroitement avec ceux des départements où s'enseignent les autres sciences sociales. L'enseignement sociologique est diversifié et conduit aux degrés de B.A. et de M.A., mais non pas au doctorat. Le département de Sociologie collabore de façon très spéciale avec l'Institut de Relations Industrielles. Les sociologues de McGill se sont de tout temps caractérisés par leur souci d'équilibrer théorie et recherche, sociologie générale et sociologies spéciales.

(b) *Université de Toronto*

C'est en 1933 que l'Université de Toronto institua un programme de baccalauréat spécialisé (*honours course*) comportant la sociologie comme sujet dominant. En 1937, deux professeurs avaient charge de cet enseignement. En 1939 fut institué, dans le cadre du *Department of Political Economy*, une Section de Sociologie semi-autonome et qui a groupé, selon les époques, quatre ou cinq professeurs à plein temps. Le programme d'études de la Section conduit au B.A., au M.A. et, depuis quelques années, au doctorat. L'enseignement porte sur tous les domaines importants de la sociologie contemporaine avec une préférence marquée, selon une tradition torontoise inspirée il y a plus de trente ans par le regretté professeur H. A. Innis, pour l'histoire sociale. Les sociologues de Toronto travaillent en contact particulièrement étroit avec les spécialistes en science politique, les anthropologues et les historiens.

(c) *Université de Montréal*

Une Faculté de Sciences sociales existe à Montréal depuis 1920 et fut ré-organisée en 1952 dans des cadres stables. La Faculté ainsi renouvelée comporte maintenant quatre "sections" (Economique, Sociologie, Service Social, Relations Industrielles) et offre un programme régulier de trois années d'études conduisant au degré de M.A. La première année est commune à tous les étudiants et comporte des cours d'initiation générale aux sciences sociales, dont la sociologie. Les deux années suivantes se passent dans l'une ou l'autre des Sections dont chacune offre un enseignement spécialisé. La Section de Sociologie compte maintenant trois professeurs à plein temps qui se partagent les cours spécialisés, avec l'aide de quelques professeurs à temps partiel. L'enseignement est particulièrement orienté vers l'écologie humaine et l'étude des phénomènes de la vie urbaine. Les étudiants doivent aussi suivre des cours de psychologie sociale à l'Institut de Psychologie avec lequel la Section de Sociologie entretient de très étroits rapports.

(d) *Université Laval (Québec)*

La Faculté des Sciences sociales de l'Université Laval, fondée en 1938, compte quatre départements, dont un de Sociologie, institué en 1943. L'enseignement de la Faculté se répartit sur quatre années et se

subdivise en deux étapes. La première, d'une durée de deux ans, est commune à tous les étudiants et conduit au degré de " baccalauréat en sciences sociales ". Elle comporte un programme de cours fondamentaux dans les principales sciences sociales, dont la sociologie, qui est enseignée à tous les étudiants durant les deux ans. Les deux dernières années du cours se passent dans un département et conduisent au degré de M.A. L'enseignement spécialisé du Département de Sociologie est actuellement assuré par trois professeurs exclusifs qui se partagent aussi les cours généraux de sociologie du baccalauréat. Les cours départementaux couvrent un éventail varié, des techniques de recherche à la théorie, accordant une importance particulière à la psychologie sociale, à la sociologie des professions, des relations ethniques, des comportements religieux. Ce programme est de nouveau en voie d'amélioration et le Département s'adjoindra vraisemblablement deux nouveaux professeurs à compter de la prochaine année académique (1956-57). Le Département de Sociologie collabore régulièrement avec l'Institut d'Histoire et de Géographie de l'Université et joue un rôle de premier plan dans les activités du Centre de recherches de la Faculté, lequel a comme fonction de coordonner et de planifier la recherche ainsi que d'organiser des séminaires inter-départementaux.

Autres universités

On a déjà noté que les conditions faites à la sociologie s'améliorent d'année en année. Le statut institutionnel de cette discipline de même que ses relations officielles ou officieuses avec les autres sciences sociales varient selon les lieux. Au point qu'il est impossible de résumer la situation canadienne dans un schéma d'ensemble. En certains endroits, comme à l'Université de la Colombie britannique, à l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick ou au *Carleton College* d'Ottawa, la recherche et l'enseignement sociologiques ont été, dès les débuts, étroitement associés à l'anthropologie sociale qui les a dominés ou polarisés. Ailleurs, comme à l'Université du Manitoba, la sociologie a d'abord été la préoccupation de pédagogues chargés de la formation des instituteurs avant de constituer un secteur autonome d'enseignement. Certaines universités, telle celle de McMaster (à Hamilton, province d'Ontario) ont fait enseigner sporadiquement la sociologie par des démographes ou des géographes avant de recourir aux services exclusifs d'un sociologue. C'est cette dernière forme de solution que est devenue la règle générale.

Comme l'indique la seconde partie de ce rapport², quarante-deux sociologues enseignent actuellement dans les 22 universités canadiennes. Leurs efforts ainsi que l'exemple donné par les universités plus évoluées dans l'enseignement de la sociologie entraîneront d'ici quelques années des progrès peut-être encore plus marquants que ceux des dernières années. Il n'est pas utopique de prévoir pour un avenir prochain le jour où chaque université canadienne aura son département de sociologie adéquatement organisé pour poursuivre des recherches et décerner des degrés de qualité.

La Recherche

Les recherches des sociologues canadiens reflètent une grande diversité de préoccupations. Celles-ci ont été déterminées soit par des intérêts "traditionnels" propres à certaines universités, soit par les suggestions ou les impératifs du milieu local. En premier lieu, il convient de rappeler que des sociologues ont collaboré à certaines grandes collections de travaux qui, depuis environ trente ans, ont porté sur des problèmes d'intérêt national, tels la série d'études sur les *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement* (W. A. Mackintosh et W. L. Joerg, edit.) ou les travaux de recherche poursuivis à l'Université McGill durant les années trente (*McGill Social Research Series*, L. C. Marsh edit.). Tels aussi la série d'études sur les changements sociaux dans l'Ouest canadien dirigée par le professeur S. D. Clark de l'Université de Toronto (*Social Credit Series*) et le symposium récent de l'Université Laval, *Essais sur le Québec contemporain*. Une bibliographie des recherches individuelles ou collectives effectuées seulement depuis dix ans par les sociologues canadiens révélerait une vaste gamme de curiosités professionnelles, semblables en beaucoup de points aux préoccupations des sociologues américains.

On peut cependant discerner des préférences régionales ou locales fortement accusées. Ainsi, les recherches entreprises à l'Université McGill ont davantage porté sur la structure et les avatars des institutions économiques et des entreprises industrielles dans la vie moderne, sur les professions, les relations inter-ethniques. Les travaux de l'Université de Toronto ont surtout analysé la dynamique des mouvements sociaux, particulièrement des sectes religieuses et des partis politiques dans les régions frontalières. A Québec, on s'est intéressé à l'évolution des institutions traditionnelles du milieu canadien-français, la famille, la paroisse, aux phénomènes de stratification sociale, aux répercussions sociales de l'industrialisation.

Depuis plusieurs années, les sociologues canadiens peuvent bénéficier, à titre individuel, des subventions de recherche accordées par le Conseil Canadien de Recherche en Sciences Sociales et il est intéressant de noter qu'ils constituent le groupe de spécialistes dont les demandes sont les plus assidues. Les résultats de ces recherches sont présentés sous forme de communications dont le nombre et la qualité vont sans cesse croissant dans le cadre des congrès annuels de la *Société canadienne des Sciences Politiques*.

(3) CARACTÈRES GÉNÉRAUX DE LA SOCIOLOGIE CANADIENNE.

La sociologie au Canada a été principalement influencée par l'enseignement et la recherche des universités américaines où la majorité des sociologues, y compris ceux de langue française, ont reçu leur formation. Conséquemment, la pensée sociologique au Canada reflète un grand éclectisme et manifeste encore peu de préoccupations d'ordre théorique général. D'une part, les sociologues de langue anglaise tentent d'établir le point entre les courants de pensée britanniques

et américains. D'autre part, les sociologues de langue française du Québec, mieux informés des travaux européens en général, et français, en particulier, semblent davantage soucieux de méthodologie et intéressés à préciser l'envergure et les limites de la sociologie ainsi que l'ordre de ses relations avec les autres sciences de l'homme. Néanmoins, leur conception de la sociologie va bien au delà de celle d'une simple science de "formation générale". A l'instar de leurs collègues de langue anglaise, ils cherchent à donner à leurs étudiants une information et une formation aussi poussées que possible en tenant compte des acquisitions récentes tant de la recherche que des tentatives valables de généralisation théorique. Les sociologues canadiens semblent, à date, avoir heureusement résisté à l'engouement pour les techniques et les méthodes considérées comme des fins en soi. Si leurs travaux laissent percevoir une certaine prudence, ils manifestent aussi la recherche d'un équilibre.

II. THE PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES OF SOCIOLOGISTS IN CANADA

INTRODUCTION

This part of the report reviews the current situation regarding employment, research interests and professional organization of sociologists in Canada. As there are, at present, no systematic records of the major professional activities of sociologists in Canada, this report provides only a broad summary of current trends.

EMPLOYMENT

The main sources of employment for sociologists in Canada are the universities and government departments and agencies. Among 69 persons classed as sociologists (persons who have had some graduate training in sociology although not necessarily having been awarded a higher degree), 42 were on the faculties of Canadian universities, 19 in government service, and the remaining eight were employed in private organizations, such as market research agencies and personnel departments of industrial firms.

Most of the 42 employed in universities are teaching sociology as part of the regular undergraduate curriculum but among this group, two are employed in Schools of Social Work, one in an Extension Department, and two others teach sociology on a part-time basis.³

Seventeen sociologists are employed in Federal government departments and agencies and two others are employed in Provincial government departments. Nine of these sociologists are engaged in sociological research on the armed services, radio and television audiences, immigrants, ethnic groups, and on mental health in Canadian communities. Six others are engaged in various aspects of statistical and other kinds of studies which are peripheral to sociological research. The remaining

four are not responsible for carrying out sociological research as part of their regular duties.

Detailed information concerning the employment of sociologists in private organizations is not available.

Canadian universities will continue to be a major source of employment for sociologists in Canada. Moreover, there are signs of expansion in this respect, presumably reflecting an increased interest in the social sciences among certain sections of the public as well as a preparation on the part of the universities for larger enrolments expected in the near future.

Employment opportunities in government departments and agencies for persons trained to undertake sociological research have developed almost completely in the post-war period. Among these openings, several have required persons with high-level training in sociology. Such employment opportunities reflect an awareness by government administrators of the relevance of sociological research to policy-making. Similarly, an increased emphasis on research in government departments and agencies has made training in sociology a desirable qualification for applicants for administrative positions in the government. This trend in opportunities for employment in government departments and agencies is likely to continue during the next few years. It is possible that employment opportunities in market research agencies, private industry, and in hospitals may develop, but so far there has been little demand for the services of sociologists by such organizations.

RESEARCH

The research interests of Canadian sociologists cover most of the customary areas of the discipline. The Defence Research Board, a government agency, has stimulated a number of research projects in the armed services on the problem of socialization and on bureaucracy as a form of social organization. Sociologists in Canada have always given considerable attention to research on ethnic groups but this interest has received new vigour from the post-war immigration. The Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration has exerted a strong positive influence both by supporting and by directly undertaking research on problems relating to immigrants and to various ethnic groups. Another area of research influenced by government as well as by private agencies concerns problems relating to mass media. An important influence has been the establishment by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation of a Bureau of Audience Research which employs sociologists on a full-time basis.

Government departments and agencies have influenced the selection of research problems through the full- and part-time employment of sociologists and through research grants and contracts, but have not been the only determinants of the research interests of Canadian sociologists. While there has been little published work in the period under review, a number of studies have been undertaken in the

universities dealing with the community, deviance, the family, occupational rôles, population, religion, social stratification, and voluntary associations.

Although sociologists in Canada are pursuing research, three major factors limit the full development that might be expected. In most Canadian universities, sociologists carry a teaching load that leaves little time for research and writing. Furthermore, only a few Canadian universities offer a programme for graduate study in sociology and, consequently, most sociologists do not have research assistants readily available. Finally, funds available for sociological research in Canada are inadequate.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

Although there is no professional organization composed exclusively of sociologists in Canada, membership in the Canadian Political Science Association is open to them. Sociologists participate fully in the Association, reading papers at the annual meetings and publishing in the Association's official journal, *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*. However, only a minority of the sociologists employed in Canada belong to this Association.

During the past year, sociologists in Canada have begun to examine the possibility of achieving a clearer corporate identity and to achieve closer contacts between members of the profession. To this end, a committee of sociologists and social anthropologists is presently preparing a statement of the alternatives which range from achieving a more distinct identity within the Canadian Political Science Association to the establishment of an independent organization. Present plans call for the circulation of these suggestions to all known sociologists and social anthropologists in Canada as a means of learning what form of organization would receive majority support. It is hoped that this can be done soon enough to allow concrete steps toward the achievement of an adequate form of organization to be taken during 1956.

Sociology has been represented by at least one member on the Canadian Social Science Research Council since its founding in 1951. The contributions of several sociologists have been recognized by nomination to membership in the Royal Society of Canada.

NOTES

¹ Carl A. Dawson, *The Rôle of Sociology in Canadian Colleges and Universities*, Mémoire ronéotypé présenté à la réunion préliminaire de l'Association Internationale de Sociologie, Oslo, 1949, p. 2.

² Voir infra, *The Professional Activities of Sociologists in Canada*, par le professeur Frank E. Jones.

³ Cf. the first part of this report on "The Teaching of Sociology in Canada".

Sociological Teaching in Finland

KETIL BRUUN

(Head, Department of Social Research,
Finnish State Liquor Monopoly)

At the beginning of this century the prospects of sociology looked fairly good in Finland. This was due partly to the influence of Edward Westermarck, partly to the interest in social history which was displayed by several Finnish historians of that time. Thanks to these two factors, and to the growing concern for the social sciences, there are now regular chairs in sociology at four Finnish universities. Because the teaching of social policy (Sozialpolitik) at the University of Helsinki/Helsingfors follows sociological lines, the chairs in sociology are actually five. These five professors, one docent (reader), and two assistant instructors carry the whole burden of sociological teaching in Finland. Even if the number of chairs in sociology is satisfactory, the number of teachers, especially of the lower ranks—readers and instructors—is far too small. As a consequence, field-work can only rarely be included in the curriculum.

The Finnish Master's degree is taken in four subjects, in which the student has to pass a prescribed system of comprehensive examinations. An introductory examination, e.g., corresponds to one credit point (*approbatur*), an intermediate examination gives two points (*cum laude*), and a major course three points (*laudatur*). A minimum of seven points is necessary for a Master's degree. To get his *approbatur* in sociology, the student must attend a series of introductory lectures—usually for two terms—and read a number of short elementary textbooks in sociology and social psychology. For the mark *cum laude*, the student has to attend more lectures, participate in pro-seminars and write some brief essays; he must also acquire a knowledge of methodology (including statistics), of the history of sociology, and of some empirical studies. Those majoring in sociology for the *laudatur* have, in addition to the above, to participate in seminars during two terms, to do a reading course covering two major fields of sociology, and to write a thesis. The pro-seminar debates usually deal with new books or other selected topics; in the seminars the discussions usually concentrate upon the students' theses and research plans. Sometimes they are also formed into research teams to study some specific problem. Each term special lecture courses are given, and by varying the topics, most fields of sociology are covered within a couple of years.

For the licentiate degree (*filosofie licentiat, politices licentiat*) a special reading course and a typescript thesis are required. These theses are discussed at special postgraduate seminars. To obtain his Ph.D. the licentiate must publish a thesis, which has to be publicly defended.

The printing of doctors' theses, which is rather expensive, is nowadays largely financed by the learned societies.

In Finland sociology is taught in the Faculties of Social Science, and studies in sociology are usually combined with studies in psychology, economics, political science, statistics or practical philosophy.

Counting as sociologists those who aim at, or have, at least a licentiate degree in sociology, we find that only those few who are engaged in teaching or employed by research institutions are full-time sociologists. There are no jobs especially for sociologists; most of them earn their living in adult education, as personnel officers in industry, or in various capacities in government, municipal or private organisations.

It is not easy to make predictions about the future of Finnish sociologists, particularly as most of them are not sociologists from the beginning. Since sociology gained ground only after World War II, there are but a few who have started primarily as sociologists. Thus, sociologists proper did not appear on the labour market until very recently. Experience has shown that the demand for sociologists is not yet satisfied, but this demand will, of course, depend upon the way in which the sociologists fulfil their duties. The growing need for social planners seems, however, to indicate that there will be good opportunities for our future sociologists.

The University Teaching of Sociology in the Netherlands

J. P. KRUIJT

(Professor of Sociology and Director of the Sociological Institute,
State University of Utrecht)

INTRODUCTION

Everywhere in the world sociology is, in comparison with law, history, economics or ethnology, a young branch of the social sciences. But whereas the study of this branch has already a comparatively long tradition behind it in countries like France, England, Germany and the United States,¹ in other countries of Western civilisation, like Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, and the Netherlands, sociology, especially as an academic study has shown a remarkably late development. For the causes of this late development I refer to a paper prepared for the Second World Congress of Sociology in Liège, Belgium, 1953.²

However, in the ten years since 1945, there has been, in this respect, in the Netherlands as in some other countries, a rapid change and striking progress. In the Netherlands this found expression in a much greater interest in sociological research and theory, in a rapid growth of the scope of this research and the number of research projects, research institutes and research workers, in a more frequent publication of sociological books and articles, and, last but not least, in the development of the teaching of sociology and the training of research workers.

Before World War II, only one University in the Netherlands, the University of the City of Amsterdam, had a chair in sociology, combined with criminology. The well-known criminologist Prof. Dr. W. A. Bongers gave lectures in sociology, chiefly confined to the history of sociology. But at the same University worked another famous sociologist (and ethnologist), Prof. Dr. S. R. Steinmetz, who had a chair in human geography and ethnology. In fact he combined, through this chair, human geography with sociology, in a specialised form to which he gave the name of sociography, a kind of regional sociology with strong accent on description and statistics. He and especially his successor, Prof. Dr. H. N. Ter Veen, began the training of research workers. So the first generation of Dutch social research workers, working already before 1940, and nowadays still the majority of professors of sociology, originate from the sociographic school of Steinmetz.

NUMBER OF TEACHERS

Since 1945, the need of more, and deeper, and not only regional social research was so great that a new phase of development set in. Within a few years all institutions of higher education, with the exception of

the Technical College in Delft, had at least one chair in sociology, and some of them have two or more. In such cases differentiation was possible (besides general sociology: sociology of non-western civilisations, theory and methods of social research, sociology of religion, sociography). The rapidity of the change is indicated by the increase from *one* chair before 1940, to *seventeen* ordinary or extraordinary chairs ten years after the war. The distribution is as follows:

the three State Universities:	7
(Leiden 3, Utrecht 3, Groningen 1)	
the University of Amsterdam:	4
the Roman Catholic University (Nijmegen):	2
the Calvinist University (Amsterdam):	1
the Agricultural College (Wageningen):	1
the Economic College (Rotterdam):	1
the Roman Catholic Economic College (Tilburg):	1

Moreover some Universities have one lecturer in a branch of sociology (Leiden, Groningen, Calvinist University). Of course all the professors of related branches (criminology, political science, cultural anthropology, social psychology or social geography) are excluded from the above enumeration.

In most Universities the study of sociology is organised by the "United Faculties of Law, Literature and Philosophy" (Leiden, Utrecht, Groningen, Nijmegen); in the University of Amsterdam and in the Calvinist University by the "Faculty of Political and Social Sciences".

NUMBER OF STUDENTS

As a result of this rapid development the number of students in sociology rose from a handful before 1940 to more than one thousand to-day. The most recent complete statistics available are for the academic year 1953-1954, but these numbers have, without doubt, been exceeded. The Calvinist University is excluded from these statistics since it did not commence a complete sociological course before 1955. For another reason the Economic College in Rotterdam and the Agricultural College in Wageningen have been excluded: they have, up to this moment, only students in economics and agriculture respectively, though some of them follow subsidiary courses in sociology. These 6 institutions had in 1953-1954 a total enrolment of 19,447 students. So the 984 students in sociology and/or political sciences totalled 5.1 per cent. of students of all subjects. For several reasons we may include the students in geography. Only a minority of them (59) study physical geography as a principal subject. At a rough estimate, about half of the graduated students in geography become teachers in geography at the secondary schools. We saw that human geography means in the Netherlands, at least in Amsterdam (less in Utrecht and Groningen) the study of sociography. In fact such students in geography, after graduation, have the same functions as students in sociology. We may conclude that this percentage of 5.1, therefore, may be increased to 6 or 7 per cent. The percentage of

Number of students during the academic year 1953-1954 in:

	Sociology			Political and Social Sciences			Geography		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
State Univ. of Leiden ...	60	32	92	—	—	—	—	—	—
State Univ. of Utrecht ...	73	44	117	—	—	—	123	42	165
State Univ. of Groningen ...	38	31	69	—	—	—	22	9	31
Univ. of Amsterdam ...	—	—	—	362	133	495	158	56	214
R.C. Univ. (Nijmegen) ...	30	14	44	110	14	124	—	—	—
R.C. Economic College(Tilburg)	41	2	43	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total ...	242	123	365	472	147	619	303	107	410

women among the three groups of these students is 27 per cent., i.e. more than among the total enrolment of women in these six institutions (22.6 per cent.).

TEACHING METHODS

At the Dutch institutions of higher education for the study of humanities—without laboratory work—the formal lectures of the professors and other teachers (“monologues from the chair”!) are, in general, still important. They are theoretically not compulsory, but, with a compulsory number of books (prescribed titles, sometimes with a possibility of choice), they form still the chief source of instruction. However, everywhere at the Dutch Universities, new teaching methods are in full development and it will be easily understood that sociology, as one of the youngest branches in academic education, and not burdened with tradition, shows such a development more clearly. Both for undergraduate and graduate students the writing of notes and reports based on the literature and/or fieldwork is compulsory, and in small groups these reports are discussed and criticised. Every student has to learn the theory of sociological methods as well as the technique of interviewing, of making a questionnaire, of sampling, of making a coding-system, of sorting and counting the statistical data by hand or by machinery and so on. Nearly all Universities and Colleges have now a Sociological Institute or Department with some full-time assistants. These academic institutes carry out research projects and groups of students participate in this research during and after undergraduate study. Most Departments make excursions, often combined with fieldwork, sometimes in foreign countries (Germany, Belgium, England, Austria). In some Universities the more advanced students have to work, before graduation, for a varying period (University of Amsterdam: 6 months; Utrecht: 4 months), in the personnel management of a large

enterprise, in adult education, group work, youth clubs, community agencies, and so on, under supervision of a person experienced in this work. The purpose is *not*, in the first place, to learn these particular jobs, but to go through new experiences and new situations for sociological observation. Some Universities (Leiden) have experimented with "rôle-playing", others (Utrecht) with using a sound-recording apparatus for instruction in interviewing. So, in a few years, the whole teaching system has been modernised. However, as a matter of course, in many cases the teaching and research staff of the Department is not large enough, and the budget too small to allow more rapid progress. In comparison with the situation of ten years ago we have made good progress, but in comparison with the opportunities given to older studies, especially to the natural sciences, we are still greatly in arrears.

EXAMINATIONS AND CURRICULUM

A sociological study lasts for an average of about six years, after the moment the freshman leaves the secondary school and enters the University. Besides many *tentamina* there are two official *oral* examinations: the "candidaats" examination and the "doctoraal" examination which gives the *uis promovendi*. After these six years the student generally leaves the University and chooses a job. To obtain his doctor's degree he has to write and defend a dissertation. Most students work at their dissertation in their leisure time when they are in employment. The result is that only a minority of the graduate students succeed in finding time and energy enough for this rather heavy task, and then in most cases many years after graduation.

Students of sociology follow several different types of course; we may distinguish three main ones:

(A) *A complete sociological training.*

Here sociology is the main subject during the whole six years, and subsidiary subjects include: psychology, social psychology, law, economics, philosophy, ethnology, social and economic history and one or two other chosen disciplines.

(B) *A partial sociological training.*

Sociology is the main subject only during a part of the years of study.

(C) *Sociology as a subsidiary subject.*

We need not speak of group (C) which would include hundreds of students in psychology, history, education, literature and so on.

The *first group* (A), with a complete sociological training, we find at the three State Universities (Leiden, Utrecht, Groningen), at the Catholic University (Nijmegen), at the University of Amsterdam in *section B* of the faculty of political and social sciences, at the Calvinist University (Amsterdam) and at the Roman Catholic Economic College (Tilburg).

The *second group* (B) we find at (i) the University of Amsterdam: section A (main subject: political science, sociology in general only for the "candidaats" examination) and section C (main subject: social psychology and education); (ii) the Agricultural College (Wageningen): study in agriculture, with sociology as an important branch for a part of the students; (iii) a sociological "doctoraal" study after a juridical "candidaats" examination (State University of Leiden and of Groningen); (iv) a sociological "doctoraal" study after an economic "candidaats" examination: Calvinist University, Economic College (Rotterdam), Roman Catholic Economic College (Tilburg).

FUNCTIONS OF SOCIOLOGISTS

For the *third group* (C) of students, mentioned above, sociology has mainly a general academic, intellectual value. But for the first and second group it has *also* a practical meaning. The following table gives us an impression of the number of students who had completed study on September 1, 1955, and their employment at that date.

Since the study of sociology started after World War II, the number of these students is not very great. The first graduates of group A at some universities, e.g., in Groningen and at the Calvinist University, had not appeared at this date. No doubt the total number will be much larger within a few years.

As may be easily understood, the most numerous category for group A is the first: social research, and next category V, government administration. Third comes category II: assistants at Institutions of higher education. Such employment gives a good opportunity for working at a dissertation.

For group B we see a similar distribution, but category VII (business) comes second, which is understandable for students of an Economic College (Rotterdam, Tilburg). The same reason underlies the comparatively higher number in category IV (personnel management).

Functions of sociologists with completed study (group A and B) on September 1, 1955

Complete sociological training (group A)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total
State Univ. of Leiden ...	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
State Univ. of Utrecht ...	10	4	—	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	4	2	24
Univ. of Amsterdam, sect. B ...	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
R.C. Univ. (Nijmegen) ...	4	5	—	—	6	1	3	5	—	—	2	6	32
R.C. Economic Coll. (Tilburg) ...	4	—	6	3	4	1	2	—	1	—	4	5	30
Total ...	21	10	6	5	12	2	7	5	1	—	10	13	92

Partial sociological training (group B)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total
State Univ. of Leiden ...	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	7
State Univ. of Groningen ...	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3
Univ. of Amsterdam, sect. A and Calvinist Univ. Amsterdam ...	3	6	5	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	6	26
Agricultural Coll. Wageningen ...	15	3	2	1	5	2	5	3	—	4	1	1	42
Economic Coll. Rotterdam ...	6	1	—	7	—	2	5	—	—	1	2	8	32
R.C. Economic Coll. Tilburg ...	9	1	5	4	15	8	14	2	5	2	1	6	72
Total ...	38	13	12	16	22	13	27	7	6	7	6	23	190
General total	59	23	18	21	34	15	34	12	7	7	16	36	282

Categories of functions

- I Social research and scientific work (private or public) (not at Universities).
- II Assistants at Institutions of higher education (education and research)
- III Social work (also: research for social work) and social services.
- IV Personnel management in private enterprises (also advising and instruction).
- V Government administration (Government departments, municipalities, counties etc. (no research) (also abroad).
- VI Education (adult education and education for social work included)
- VII Business (market-analysis included)
- VIII Secretary of societies, trade-unions etc.
- IX Journalism, publishing or other professions.
- X Information and guidance, especially of farmers.
- XI Without function (working for dissertation, housewives).
- XII Unknown (abroad, military service, etc.).

In general we may say that social work and personnel management have only begun to open their field for sociologists. Education is not an important category, since sociology is not taught at secondary schools, with the exception of schools for social work and teacher-training colleges. Students of Economic Colleges may of course teach economics at secondary schools.

The distribution of the 282 sociologists (group A and B together) over the 12 categories is as follows:

I social research	20.9%
V government administration	12.1%
VII business	12.1%
II assistants Univ. etc.	8.1%
IV personnel management	7.4%
III social work	6.4%
VI education	5.3%
VIII secretaries, etc.	4.3%
IX journalism, etc.	2.5%
X information ...	2.5%
XI-XII without function, unknown, etc.	18.4%
	<hr/> 100%

It is very interesting that the rapid expansion of sociological training in the Netherlands, within a few years at nearly *all* Institutions of Higher Education, led to no difficulties in getting jobs. At this moment the demand for graduate sociologists is much larger than the supply, partly of course as a consequence of the present full employment. On the other hand, this situation is also an indication that sociology has succeeded in our country in being recognised as a discipline, necessary, nay, *indispensable* for solving the problems of society.

NOTES

¹ *The University Teaching of Social Sciences*, UNESCO 1954, p. 23.

² Den Hollander and Kruijt, "A survey of the development of sociology in the Netherlands, especially after World War II". A shortened version in: *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology*, volume 1, pp. 44-46.

³ Compare: *Teaching in the Social Sciences*, UNESCO 1954, p 61.

Cours préparatoires pour les études universitaires

JAN SZCZEPANSKI

(Professeur de sociologie, Université de Lodz)

et

WLADYSLAWA MILCZAREK

(Assistante, Université de Lodz)

L'admission des candidats aux études dans les écoles supérieures, leur niveau culturel, leurs idéaux personnels et sociaux, leurs buts et leurs idées concernant le cours des études et leurs futures carrières dans la vie—voilà l'ensemble des phénomènes sociaux dans lequel se reflètent les régularités structurales générales de la société et la régularité des processus de ses changements. Cela résulte de la fonction historiquement établie des écoles supérieures.

Même un coup d'oeil superficiel sur l'histoire des universités et des écoles supérieures nous prouvera que dans certaines époques historiques, différentes classes et différentes couches sociales avaient leurs propres institutions d'éducation qui formaient leur jeunesse dans l'esprit du système des valeurs acceptées par ces classes et reconnues indispensables pour la continuation de leur existence, en traitant chaque tentative contre ces valeurs comme une attaque contre les fondements de leur vie. Il serait relativement facile de montrer sur des matériaux historiques, de quelle manière pendant la période du développement de la chevalerie féodale, se formait l'éducation de la jeunesse de cette classe, et dans quel rapport elle se trouvait avec les universités d'alors qui formaient avant tout des prêtres, des juristes et des médecins.

Nous aurions pu suivre les changements dans le rôle et la mission des écoles supérieures pendant la période de la formation du capitalisme. Le sort des universités françaises pendant la révolution et le règne de Napoléon sont une confirmation frappante de cette dépendance des écoles supérieures de l'organisation sociale. Le développement des universités bourgeoises du XIX siècle nous en donnent de nouveaux exemples. Sans nous arrêter plus longtemps sur des détails, nous constatons que—1. les universités et les écoles supérieures ont toujours rempli des fonctions strictement définies par le système de gouvernement sous lequel elles agissent.—2. qu'elles étaient toujours sous leur forte pression et sous leur contrôle.—3. que leurs études scientifiques et les travaux d'éducation et de didactique étaient toujours subordonnés soit d'une manière consciente, soit d'une manière inconsciente, aux intérêts de ces classes et de ces groupes qui donnaient l'instruction à la jeunesse suivant leurs intérêts et leurs idéals. Le processus de recrutement et les principes d'admission dans les écoles supérieures étaient toujours marqués par cette dépendance. Il en résulte ce phénomène: dans chaque organisation sociale les classes dirigeantes dressent sur la route qui mène aux écoles supérieures une quantité de barrières et d'obstacles de différentes

espèces qui doivent éliminer la jeunesse qui sous certains rapports est indésirable.

Ce système de barrières a subi des modifications dans le processus historique de son développement. Dans la société capitaliste du XIX^{ème} siècle on devait passer par des barrières à multiples degrés économiques, les unes étaient sous la forme distincte de taxes et de frais qu'exigeait la vie dans la grande ville universitaire, d'autres—échelonnées, pour ainsi dire—dans les frais encourus pour acquérir le diplôme d'école secondaire indispensable pour être admis dans une école supérieure. Plus tard, à mesure du développement du système des écoles, sur le chemin menant à l'école supérieure s'élevèrent de nouvelles barrières; c'étaient des exigences préparatoires—soit en examens, éliminant les candidats qui ne possédaient pas de connaissances suffisantes, soit en diplômes de bachelier. Enfin cette route était toujours hérissée de barrières à caractère social qui éliminaient les individus sous le rapport d'une provenance sociale indésirable, ou de leurs points de vue politiques.

C'est donc ainsi que toujours, pour franchir le seuil d'une école supérieure, il fallait prouver son identité par le niveau de ses connaissances scientifiques, par ses moyens économiques suffisants, par des critères sociaux. Nous donnons ici comme exemple plusieurs chiffres qui caractérisent l'état social des étudiants dans les écoles supérieures de la Pologne en 1936/37. (Tableau de Falski.)

*Provenance sociale des étudiants dans les écoles supérieures
en Pologne en 1936/37*

ouvrière	...	...	...	...	...	...	9,5%
paysanne	...	...	...	...	...	...	9,6%
intellectuelle	...	...	...	...	...	...	42,7%
artisanale	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,6%
autres	...	...	...	...	...	...	33,6%

Les chiffres cités ci-dessus et d'autres que nous pouvons trouver dans *Economic Factors Affecting Access to the University* (World University Service, Genève, 1955) nous démontrent l'efficacité de ces barrières contre les classes plus faibles économiquement et se trouvant à cause de cela sur un niveau culturel plus bas.

Cependant la dépendance des universités de l'organisation sociale, est un phénomène compliqué, et les phénomènes qui en résultent ne se passent pas d'après un schéma simplifié. Des facteurs divers compliquent cette dépendance dans la société des XX^s. Avant tout il faut mentionner la signification toujours grandissante de la science et son influence qu'on sent s'approfondir dans tous les domaines de la vie, la différenciation toujours grandissante du processus de la production et de l'organisation institutionnelle de la vie sociale exigent un nombre toujours croissant de travailleurs aux qualifications de plus en plus hautes. L'influence des processus de démocratisation se laissent aussi sentir. On peut observer l'élargissement de la base sociale du recrutement pour les écoles supérieures autant dans les pays de la démocratie

populaire et les pays capitalistes que dans ceux qui, il n'y a pas longtemps encore, étaient des pays coloniaux; on y admet la plus grande quantité possible de jeunes gens vraiment bien doués ce qui garantit le bon accomplissement des devoirs compliqués de la vie de la société moderne. C'est pourquoi le problème d'admission aux études supérieures de la jeunesse la mieux douée, et la diminution de l'efficacité des autres barrières, est le sujet de larges discussions dans tous les cercles universitaires du monde entier.

PROBLÈME DE L'ACCÈS AUX ÉCOLES SUPÉRIEURES EN POLOGNE APRÈS 1945

La reconstruction des écoles supérieures en Pologne, après les dévastations causées par la guerre, alla au commencement, de pair avec certaines réformes qui tendaient à élargir la base sociale du recrutement. Ces réformes étaient dues à plusieurs considérations: le pouvoir passa en Pologne dans les mains des classes ouvrières; se préparant à réaliser des réformes fondamentales dans le régime national et dans le système social, ces classes devaient viser à former une classe d'intellectuels unis à elles par son origine; il fallait au plus vite combler les manques formés dans l'organisme social par la destruction impitoyable des intellectuels polonais par les hitlériens et par la fermeture des écoles supérieures durant six années.

C'est pourquoi immédiatement, de pair avec l'inauguration des écoles supérieures, on a tâché d'abolir toutes les barrières sur la route de la jeunesse en introduisant l'éducation gratuite, en créant des bourses et des maisons étudiantes; on a facilité l'accès à l'université aux brevetés des écoles normales secondaires, aux brevetés de toutes sortes de cours clandestins du temps de l'occupation, aux brevetés d'écoles pour adultes et de toutes autres écoles suppléantes organisées pendant l'occupation. On admettait dans les écoles secondaires, de même que dans les écoles supérieures, le plus largement possible la jeunesse ouvrière et paysanne.

Cette facilité d'accès aux écoles supérieures a été organisée à dessein par le nouveau pouvoir. Pendant les premières années on réalisa les réformes fondamentales du nouveau régime social en Pologne: la nationalisation de l'industrie, la réforme agraire; on introduisit le régime de plans, on a établi et fixé les plans nationaux de l'industrialisation du pays, on a lutté contre la réaction économique et culturelle, on se mobilisa pour transformer le pays essentiellement agraire en pays industriel et agraire. Pour réaliser ces plans on avait besoin de nouveaux cadres d'intellectuels, possédant le plus haut niveau de qualifications, personnes adonnées à la même idée et rattachées au pouvoir qui introduisait ces réformes, donc des intellectuels provenant des classes aux nom desquelles on combattait. On ouvrit le chemin de l'éducation supérieure à la jeunesse la mieux douée de cette classe.

Le processus de la formation des intellectuels d'une nouvelle origine sociale s'accomplissait en Pologne par différentes voies. Parmi celles-ci, une des plus intéressantes était celle des études préparatoires pour

candidats aux écoles supérieures, qui rendait possible l'admission à l'université sans brevet d'école secondaire. Il s'agissait de trouver une "route remplaçante" qui aurait pu donner dans le plus court délai, le plus possible de ces connaissances, dont on a besoin au commencement des études supérieures. C'est de ce chemin raccourci, menant la jeunesse des classes ouvrières aux études supérieures que nous voulons parler ci-dessus.

LE BUT DU RAPPORT

Le but que nous nous proposons est de présenter la description (très abrégée) des moments sociologiques essentiels de l'activité de ces Cours Préparatoires de l'Université de Lodz.

L'Université de Lodz a été fondée en 1945. C'était la première école supérieure de cette ville, qui est la plus grande ville ouvrière de la Pologne, ville, qui avant la guerre n'avait pas une seule école supérieure tout en étant, d'après le nombre de sa population, la seconde ville du pays. Cette université était donc, depuis le commencement, disposée à donner l'instruction à la jeunesse ouvrière de son milieu et à s'intéresser aux problèmes sociaux. C'est pourquoi ces Cours Préparatoires, transformés plus tard en Etudes Préparatoires, ont été dès le début l'objet d'observations de la chaire de sociologie de cette université. On a analysé aussi les étudiants de ces cours depuis leur passage à l'université et on a comparé le résultat de leurs études avec le résultat des études de la jeunesse venue à l'université par d'autres voies.

Les résultats de ces recherches seront donnés en quelques mots dans notre rapport.

L'ORIGINE DES COURS PRÉPARATOIRES; LEURS BUTS ET LA TRANSFORMATION DE LEUR ORGANISATION

Le 24 mai 1945, un décret du Ministre de l'Instruction Publique créa dans toutes les écoles supérieures une année préparatoire, où l'on admettait la jeunesse des classes ouvrières et paysannes. On lui permit de subir l'examen des matières étudiées dans les écoles secondaires sans les avoir fréquentées; les connaissances nécessaires étaient donc acquises par autodidactie. Mais bientôt on se rendit compte des difficultés de l'autodidactie et on eu l'idée d'organiser des cours, qui préparaient les candidats pour cette année préparatoire. Ce qui est caractéristique pour l'époque d'alors—époque pleine de l'enthousiasme révolutionnaire qui régnait parmi la jeunesse, c'est que l'idée de créer de tels cours est née chez cette jeunesse-même; ce sont aussi les organisations de jeunesse qui se sont mises à organiser un tel cours, et c'est à Lodz que cela a eu lieu. Au cours de la même année, plusieurs mois plus tard, de pareils cours ont été créés dans beaucoup d'autres villes.

Voici les buts de ces premiers cours: préparer en peu de temps la jeunesse qui travaillait et qui n'a pas eu le temps ni la possibilité de finir une école secondaire (tout en étant très bien douée pour l'étude)

à être admise aux études supérieures. A son début le cours durait 6 mois; l'étude à l'année préparatoire était de la même durée. Il en résulta qu'après 12 mois d'études le candidat était admis à l'école supérieure, s'il avait bien subi l'examen au cours et à l'année préparatoire. Après une période d'expériences l'organisation des cours a été modifiée. Après la première année la durée du cours a été fixée à un an, puis les deux étapes ont été unies et ont formé une Etude Préparatoire, qui depuis 1951 a été incorporée aux écoles supérieures. La mission de ces cours était très difficile; non seulement il fallait trouver les formes nécessaires d'organisation, mais il fallait aussi vaincre le manque de foi en la réussite de cet expérience chez les professeurs et même chez une partie de la jeunesse; il fallait trouver des conditions matérielles (locaux, cantine, manuels, appareils) dont pourtant dépendait le succès. L'histoire des premiers cours, c'est l'histoire de la lutte du grand enthousiasme et de l'endurance de la jeunesse et de ses professeurs, contre les difficultés matérielles et didactiques. Mais l'année suivante, grâce aux soins de l'Etat les difficultés matérielles graduellement cessèrent d'exister.

Pour que le cours puisse réaliser son but, trois conditions étaient indispensables: une jeunesse vraiment bien douée, d'excellents professeurs et pédagogues qui partageraient en même temps l'enthousiasme de la jeunesse, de meilleures conditions de travail et avant tout des formes d'enseignement essentiellement efficaces. Parlons plus en détail de ces conditions.

SÉLECTION DE LA JEUNESSE

Les cours—comme nous l'avons dit—étaient un des anneaux dans la chaîne des moyens qui complétaient les réformes du régime. Ils devaient donner le plus vite possible des cadres de nouveaux intellectuels liés avec la classe ouvrière par leur provenance comme par leur idéologie. La nouvelle structure économique et administrative exigeait des personnes dévouées à l'affaire des réformes sociales, ayant des qualifications pour le travail dans les nouvelles conditions. C'est pourquoi on recrutait la jeunesse des familles ouvrières et paysannes. Les organisations de jeunesse de cette classe, les partis politiques et les organisations sociales et professionnelles se sont occupées du recrutement pour ce cours. Les candidats devaient avoir 7 classes de l'école primaire, des intérêts affirmés se manifestant dans l'autodidactie et des capacités remarquables. Les commissions qui choisissaient les candidats pour ce cours se composaient d'instituteurs expérimentés et de représentants des organisations sociales. On admettait la jeunesse ayant dépassé l'âge scolaire. On admettait aussi la jeunesse d'origine intellectuelle. Mais pourtant en moyenne 77% d'auditeurs des cours à Lodz provenaient de familles d'ouvriers et de paysans.

Aux quatre premiers cours, 79% d'auditeurs s'étaient inscrits travaillant déjà comme professionnels. C'est ce travail professionnel qui marquait le plus souvent la direction des intérêts des futurs

étudiants. L'intérêt porté aux sciences sociales est caractéristique pour les premières années des cours.

Les cours posaient de très grandes exigences à la jeunesse : pendant deux ans il fallait faire le programme de toute l'école secondaire qui durait normalement quatre ans. Cela exigeait de grands efforts et du côté de l'élève et de celui du maître. Plus tard on organisa un cours de sélection qui se faisait avant le cours de deux ans ; il consistait en ce que la jeunesse recevait d'abord des instructions par correspondance et se préparait au cours d'après ces matériaux et informations. Ensuite venait le cours sélectif où on observait le candidat et on appréciait ses capacités. Et ce n'est qu'après avoir acquis des résultats positifs qu'on l'admettait à l'Étude Préparatoire.

ORGANISATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT

Pour que le candidat puisse passer avec succès au cours de l'Étude Préparatoire, il était indispensable de poser de grandes exigences non seulement à lui, mais aussi aux professeurs et aux méthodes d'enseignement. Les meilleurs maîtres y prenaient part, profitant de leur pratique, partageant l'enthousiasme de la jeunesse, toujours prêts à augmenter leurs efforts. Ce qui caractérisait les méthodes de travail, c'étaient l'expérimentation et la recherche des moyens les plus efficaces.

Tous les élèves de la première année des Etudes Préparatoires passaient ensemble dans un cours d'introduction pour être répartis, à la seconde année, en groupes de spécialités : humanités, sciences, sciences exactes et agronomie. Il y avait 38-42 heures d'études par semaine. On appliqua un système qui devait faciliter aux auditeurs l'assimilation des matériels d'études ; il y avait des répétitions (répétitorium) qui avaient le caractère de leçon de récapitulation, des devoirs écrits de contrôle, des consultations, des répétitions collectives de ce qui avait été appris, etc.

Pendant la durée de l'Étude les auditeurs subissaient deux examens : un après la première année, le second en finissant l'Étude. Les examens se passaient devant une commission choisie par le recteur de l'école supérieure à laquelle appartenait l'Étude. Les exigences étaient grandes, donc le pourcentage de ceux qui n'avaient pas passé avec succès l'examen était souvent très élevé comme nous le voyons d'après le tableau ci-dessous, se rapportant aux cours de Lodz.

Années	Nombres d'inscrits		subis	%
1946-47	...	328	203	61,8
1947-48	...	359	213	59,2
1948-49	...	299	199	66,5
1949-50	...	298	199	66,8
Total	...	1284	814	63,4

L'Étude Préparatoire était non seulement pour ses participants une période d'études intensives, mais aussi un grand saut en avant sous tous les rapports ; la jeunesse qui y venait, souvent ne parlait même pas correctement et avait de grandes lacunes de culture générale. Elle

manquait de tout ce que la jeunesse des classes aisées reçoit de la maison, de l'atmosphère, du niveau culturel plus élevé surtout. Souvent elle arrivait de la province reculée, des petites villes et de villages perdus. Le séjour au Cours Préparatoire était pour elle un avancement culturel, un contact avec la littérature, le théâtre, l'art. Ces jeunes gens n'acquerraient pas seulement des connaissances de science dont ils avaient été isolés pendant des générations entières, mais aussi ils s'assimilaient vite à la culture de la nation, entraient en contact avec son riche héritage culturel, entraient dans le cercle des problèmes dont était pénétrée toute la vie du peuple. Les Cours montraient une grande activité pour rapprocher la jeunesse de la culture artistique par la lecture, le théâtre, les expositions, les causeries, les gazettes murales etc.

C'est dans ce rapide avancement que se concentrait le pathétique et le charme de cet expériment sociale. La jeunesse qui finissait le Cours Préparatoire, surtout les premières années, se sentait vraiment l'avant-garde de sa classe sociale et se rendait bien compte de la responsabilité qui tombait sur elle. Il faut dire aussi que l'atmosphère générale qui entourait cet expériment, n'était pas toujours bienveillante. Les intellectuels qui avaient acquis leur connaissances pendant de longues années, considéraient avec méfiance cet expériment. De même la jeunesse des écoles supérieures, qui avait passé "normalement" par l'école secondaire, surtout la jeunesse des sphères intellectuelles de différentes espèces, rattachée aux classes riches, regardait d'un oeil malveillant la jeunesse du Cours Préparatoire.

On discutait donc sur les possibilités du Cours Préparatoire, en se demandant s'il est possible en un temps si court de donner à la jeunesse une quantité suffisante de connaissances et de la faire entrer dans la culture générale, dans la science indispensable à des futurs intellectuels. Ces discussions, ces doutes, étaient un fort stimulant pour le travail de la jeunesse des premières années du Cours Préparatoire. Elle se rendait compte aussi que la lutte pour la reconstruction du régime continue aussi dans les écoles supérieures et que de graves devoirs tombent aussi sur la jeunesse. Cette atmosphère de lutte était un puissant facteur d'éducation et tout l'enseignement restait sous son influence.

LES DIPLÔMÉS DU COURS À L'UNIVERSITÉ

Le résultat des études des élèves des Cours Préparatoires, doit être considéré comme le meilleur critérium du travail didactique des cours. Nous tâcherons de montrer quels furent ces résultats à l'université de Lodz. Le pourcentage de ceux qui finissent les études, par rapport aux nombres des inscrits est-il le même chez les diplômés des Cours et chez les étudiants qui sont arrivés à l'université par d'autres routes?

Avant de répondre à cette question, nous devons caractériser en quelques traits la jeunesse qui remplissait les universités de la Pologne pendant ces dix dernières années.

Nous savons déjà que lorsqu'on ouvrit les universités en 1945 elles furent remplies par une grande quantité de jeunesse dont les études ont été interrompues ou rendues impossibles par la guerre. Pendant les 6 années de l'occupation, les universités et les écoles secondaires clandestines agissaient, mais elles ne servaient qu'à des groupes relativement peu nombreux. C'est pourquoi on organisa pour la jeunesse, qui pendant l'occupation avait acquis des connaissances grâce à différents cours ou par autodidactie, de larges possibilités de finir l'école secondaire. On organisa aussi de même des écoles secondaires pour adultes et tout un réseau d'écoles professionnelles, qui permettaient aussi d'être admis dans une école supérieure. C'est pourquoi les étudiants qui emplissaient après la guerre les écoles supérieures étaient presque jusqu'à 1952 des personnes qui dans la moyenne avaient dépassé l'âge normal d'un étudiant. Un grand pourcentage travaillait, entretenait une famille et n'était pas passé par une école secondaire "normale". La chose se passait ainsi surtout à la faculté des lettres et de droit, qui étaient plus "faciles" à finir, voire qu'il n'y avait pas de travail obligatoire dans les laboratoires et les cabinets de travail. C'était différent aux facultés de sciences exactes et de sciences naturelles. Ici la préparation et les connaissances acquises fraîchement à l'école secondaire étaient indispensables.

En comparant les résultats des diplômés des Etudes Préparatoires avec ceux des autres étudiants, nous ne devons pas oublier que la composition personnelle de la masse des étudiants a beaucoup changé pendant les années d'après guerre. Il faut aussi souligner que parmi le reste des étudiants qui venaient à l'université, le pourcentage de la jeunesse ouvrière et paysanne augmentait toujours, car ce pourcentage augmentait aussi dans les écoles secondaires.

Au début, les diplômés des cours, venus à l'université, se perdaient dans la masse des étudiants, n'attiraient pas l'attention de l'entourage, et même tâchaient de ne pas l'attirer. Surtout, pendant les premières années, avant la réorganisation de l'étude à l'université (elle commença en 1949/50), quand la jeunesse affluait en grande quantité, les contacts des professeurs avec les étudiants étaient très lâches et les diplômés des cours préparatoires se perdaient dans la masse et restaient inaperçus. Les professeurs ne se rendaient pas même compte de leur existence, et cela se faisait ressentir dans leur travail. Ils étaient habitués au patronage des maîtres qui dirigeaient strictement leurs études, et ne savaient pas toujours se tirer d'affaire dans ce nouveau système. Plus tard—après la transformation des cours en Etude Préparatoire de deux ans liée étroitement à l'université—la situation changea, et on s'intéressa à eux. Mais il faut souligner que même dans cette première période, les diplômés des cours préparatoires, pour lesquels la vie avait toujours été une dure école et qui étaient habitués à surmonter toutes les difficultés, ne se tiraient pas mal d'affaire. C'est pourquoi nous nous intéresserons avant tout aux résultats de cette première période, car

les résultats de cette époque ont le mieux prouvé les valeurs de l'étude aux cours préparatoires.

Depuis 1950 les écoles supérieures envoyaient au directeur de l'Etude Préparatoire, après tous les examens, un bulletin donnant les notes reçues par ses diplômés. Cela engageait les professeurs et les autorités des facultés à s'intéresser au travail de ces étudiants et à les aider.

Nous nous rendons compte, que le critérium définitif de la valeur des études préparatoires—c'est le travail de ses élèves après le diplôme universitaire. C'est pourquoi les sociologues de l'Université de Lodz continuent à rassembler les matériaux sur le développement de la vie des diplômés de l'Etude Préparatoire depuis leur sortie de l'université, en s'intéressant à leur travail professionnel, social etc. Ces recherches ne sont pas encore terminées.

L'entrée des diplômés des cours à l'université a donné naissance à une série de problèmes concernant les méthodes d'enseignement, les programmes, la spécialisation professionnelle etc. Ces problèmes réclamaient de plus en plus une solution à mesure du développement de la vie sociale en Pologne, de la transposition de l'économie nationale et économie planifiée etc. et aussi à mesure de l'affluence grandissante de la jeunesse des classes ouvrières dans les écoles secondaires. Le manque de place ne nous permet pas d'analyser et de décrire ces questions. Le tableau présenté ci-dessous, nous permet de comparer les résultats des études des diplômés des cours et des étudiants venus à l'université après l'école secondaire ou par d'autres chemins. Le tableau se rapporte aux étudiants inscrits en 1947/50 à différentes facultés de l'Université de Lodz.

Faculté de lettres (1947/50)

Étudiants	Études terminées	Non terminées	Total
Dipl. des			
Cours Préparat ...	56,7	43,3	100
Autres Étudiants	55,8	44,2	100

Faculté de droit étudiants inscrits pendant les années 1947/50

Étudiants	Études terminées	Non terminées	Total
Dipl. des			
Cours Préparat	47,2	52,8	100
Autres Étudiants	40,1	59,9	100

Faculté de Biologie et d'études géologiques étudiants inscrits pendant les années 1947/50

Étudiants	Études terminées	Non terminées	Total
Dipl. des			
Cours Préparat ...	68,9	31,1	100
Autres Étudiants	54,8	45,2	100

Ces chiffres d'orientation pour trois facultés, nous montrent que pendant ces années la moyenne des étudiants qui n'avaient pas passé leurs examens avec succès était de 42,2% pour les diplômés des cours préparatoires, tandis que pendant la même période, 49,7% d'autres étudiants échouaient à leurs examens. Cela prouve que les dipl. des

cours se tiraient mieux d'affaire que ceux qui étaient venus à l'université par d'autres voies. Il ne faut pas oublier que c'était de la jeunesse choisie spécialement d'après ses capacités et dont l'idéologie et les buts étaient nettement définis. Ce qui est aussi important, c'est que dès la seconde année, au cours préparatoire, l'élève étudiait des matières liées à ses prochaines études à l'université. C'était donc déjà une certaine spécialisation avant la première année d'études à l'université et cela leur donnait certains avantages et les préparait mieux pour les futurs examens. Il faut aussi souligner les méthodes spéciales adaptées pendant l'étude aux cours.

Après 1950 on introduisit à l'université de grands changements dans la méthode d'enseignement et dans les programmes. Ce fut une série de différents procédés qui réglèrent la durée des études, renforcèrent le patronage de la jeunesse. On construisit de nombreuses maisons étudiantes. Près de 50% d'étudiants y demeurent; plus de 65% reçoit des bourses. On a fixé strictement le terme de la fin des études et les prescriptions qui règlent le cours du travail de l'étudiant. Il en résulta que le pourcentage des étudiants qui finissaient leurs études monta jusqu'à 73% pendant les années 1951/54, et il est à remarquer que le pourcentage des diplômés des cours était un peu plus élevé—il atteignait en 1952/53—77,5%. L'Etude préparatoire n'était pas une route qui conduisait en masse la jeunesse ouvrière et paysanne aux écoles supérieures, Le nombre d'élèves dirigés par l'Etude Préparatoire à l'université, n'a jamais été très haut. Même plus tard, lorsque les Etudes Préparatoires en Pologne étaient plus nombreuses, et le système de travail y était établi, en 1950/54, toutes les Etudes Préparatoires de la Pologne ont envoyé dans les écoles supérieures en tout 5693 candidats, tandis que le nombre global des étudiants de toutes les écoles supérieures, montait à 150,000. Cela prouve que le nombre des diplômés des Etudes Préparatoires n'était pas élevé.

Mais l'importance sociale des Cours Préparatoires n'était pas dans l'éducation en masse sans passer par le chemin "normal" qui mène de l'école secondaire à l'école supérieure. Ces cours étaient considérés d'avance comme une institution de caractère transitoire. C'était une institution appelée par les classes ouvrières pour compléter leurs réformes. Ces cours montraient à la jeunesse de ces classes le chemin de l'avancement social et culturel, ouvraient devant elle des possibilités dont elle était privée et réparaient les torts faits à cette jeunesse par le régime capitaliste. C'était peu de renverser les barrières économiques qui empêchaient d'entrer à l'université, il fallait créer un chemin qui permît de franchir les barrières de la science. Les Cours ont été ce chemin. Ils furent créés pendant une période révolutionnaire et leur mission était révolutionnaire aussi à une époque où tout le système scolaire n'était pas encore réorganisé. Sur l'étendue de tout le pays ils ont donné à l'Etat plusieurs milliers d'intellectuels qui travaillent dans tous les domaines de la vie publique d'accord avec les buts communs de la société qui les a appelés.

L'enseignement et la recherche sociologique en Turquie

H. Z. ÜLKEN

(Professeur de Sociologie, Université d'Istanbul)

Il y a un demi-siècle que l'enseignement de la sociologie a pris place dans les Universités et les écoles supérieures de la Turquie. Quant à l'enseignement des sciences sociales—parfois comme sciences normatives, parfois comme sciences positives—entièrement distinctes de la sociologie, cette historique monte jusqu'à 1880, c'est à dire jusqu'à la fondation de l'Ecole Supérieure des sciences politiques et de la Faculté de droit d'Istanbul.

La sociologie était enseignée d'abord dans la Faculté des Lettres d'Istanbul, en 1910 par Ahmet Chuayip, et depuis 1912 jusqu'à l'armistice—1918—par Ziya Gökalp. Cet enseignement était essentiellement inspiré de l'école durkheimienne. Les émules de Gökalp ont suivi la même méthode et dans la même chaire : successivement, nous pouvons citer les noms de Nedjmeddin Sadak, ancien ministre des affaires étrangères, M. Izzet, I. H. Baltacıoğlu. Après la réforme universitaire en 1933, un professeur de faculté, Z. F. Findikoğlu, occupait cette chaire, mais en 1936, lors de la nomination de G. Kessler à la Faculté des sciences économiques, récemment constituée, Findikoglu l'assista dans ses travaux, et devint plus tard professeur de sociologie de cette Faculté. Gerhard Kessler, avant d'être sociologue, était un politicien social, mais dans ses cours généraux il était toujours inspiré de F. Tönnies.

Depuis 1911 la Turquie connaît déjà la Science Sociale de Frédéric Le Play, par les publications du Prince Sabahaddine, qui était un pionnier de l'école et un homme politique. Son disciple, Mehmed Ali Chevki, publia en 1918 une revue intitulée "Meslek-i-içtimai" (*La Doctrine sociale*) et fonda une société de recherches monographiques ; mais cette tendance resta sans écho et loin de l'enseignement universitaire, tandis que la sociologie durkheimienne pénétra non seulement dans l'enseignement de l'université et de certaines écoles supérieures, mais aussi dans l'enseignement secondaire, suivant l'exemple de la France, même la dépassant par la place particulière réservée à la sociologie dans les cours de philosophie des lycées.

C'est seulement après 1938 que la Faculté des Lettres d'Istanbul a accordé une place à l'enseignement de la sociologie expérimentale de Paul Descamps, à côté de l'enseignement des doctrines sociologiques. Ces cours furent donnés pendant deux ans par M. A. Chevki, nommé chargé de cours, puis après sa démission, par Hilmi Ziya Ülken, professeur de sociologie de cette Faculté. Depuis lors, deux professeurs de faculté, l'un nommé en 1944, l'autre en 1954 ont pris place dans cette chaire. Le centre de gravité de la chaire étant depuis 1935 l'histoire

et la critique des doctrines sociologiques, la sociologie expérimentale n'a gagné d'importance que tardivement, surtout après la fondation de la Revue de Sociologie (*Sosyoloji Dergisi*) par H. Z. Ülken. Celui-ci a essayé de faire certaines esquisses monographiques avec ses élèves et ses assistants, et quelques-unes de ces monographies ont paru dans la Revue de Sociologie.

En 1947, dans la Faculté de droit d'Istanbul on a institué une chaire de sociologie, dans laquelle le professeur Findikoğlu donnait des cours complémentaires de la Faculté des sciences économiques. Le Prof. H. N. Kubali, dans ses cours de droit public, était inspiré de la sociologie durkheimienne. Il avait fait son doctorat à la Sorbonne, avec M. Georges Davy, et traduit en turc un manuscrit de Durkheim sur le droit et la morale, puis, il avait publié à Istanbul un autre manuscrit d'Emile Durkheim, intitulé "Leçons de sociologie, physique des mœurs et du droit", en 1950. Professeur de criminologie, S. Dönmezler paraît être attaché, depuis 1950, à la sociologie criminelle et juridique américaine. Seulement, il faut remarquer qu'en 1955 cette Faculté a mis la sociologie parmi les matières à option, et par suite, cette science a perdu dans cette Faculté sa suprématie précédente.

A l'Université d'Ankara, qui est en train de se constituer, depuis 1935, la sociologie est toute neuve et elle a une historique assez différente de celle de l'Université d'Istanbul. D'abord, c'était la Faculté des Langues, d'Histoire et de Géographie qui avait fondé cette chaire, parallèlement avec la chaire de Folklore. Dans la première, deux professeurs de faculté enseignaient la sociologie et un professeur enseignait le folklore turc. Leur tendance marxiste, exprimée non pas dans leurs cours, mais dans leur revue personnelle a provoqué une tension entre les gauches et les droites, et cela finit par l'abolition de leur chaire. Cependant, ils avaient déjà commencé de faire certaines recherches sur la sociologie rurale en Anatolie.

L'enseignement de la sociologie à la Faculté des sciences politiques n'avait été que de très courte durée, parce que M. E. Erichirgil, professeur de sociologie de cette Faculté, avait préféré la vie politique. En dépit du fait que la chaire de sociologie de cette Faculté resta vacante, on n'a pas donné moins d'importance à la recherche scientifique. Au contraire, la constitution de l'Institut d'administration publique l'a accrue à plusieurs points de vue. D'abord, on a engagé un professeur étranger pour l'enseignement de l'anthropologie culturelle; puis, on a fait des recherches par des équipes d'étudiants et d'assistants dont la première, qui est publiée, se rapporte à la répercussion sociale de l'agriculture mécanisée en Turquie. Il paraît que ces recherches seront plus développées par les soins de plusieurs professeurs de faculté instruits en Angleterre et en Amérique et par des spécialistes étrangers.

Quant à la Faculté de Langue et d'histoire d'Ankara, deux chargés de cours ont remplacé les anciens professeurs de faculté jusqu'en 1953. En 1954, le professeur Hans Freier fut engagé pour la chaire de sociologie et de philosophie de cette Faculté, et il a donné des cours

supplémentaires dans la Faculté des sciences politiques de l'université d'Ankara. La tendance sociologique, inspirée d'une part de Tönnies, d'autre part du matérialisme historique, nourrie par les idées d'Ortega y Gasset paraissait un peu surprenante relativement à l'enseignement traditionnel du pays. Dans la Faculté de droit de l'Université d'Ankara, cette chaire est très récente; elle formait d'abord corps unique avec la philosophie du droit, et était représentée par un professeur allemand; mais le centre de gravité étant la seconde, la sociologie n'avait jamais pris une place autonome. Son professeur de faculté, Mme. H. Topçuoglu, s'inspirant de la sociologie juridique de Georges Gurvitch, paraît être attachée à cette science avec plus de ferveur.

Depuis 1939 jusqu'en 1946 à la Faculté des sciences économiques de l'université d'Istanbul la sociologie fut enseignée successivement par G. Kessler, par Rustov, et après 1946 par Z. F. Findikoğlu, tandis que la politique sociale fut enseignée toujours par G. Kessler. Cet enseignement visait surtout l'étude des syndicats, du problème social et la vie ouvrière, l'urbanisme, etc. et, parallèlement, on avait fait certaines recherches avec la collaboration des assistants et des professeurs de faculté, Orhan Tuna, S. Ülgener, etc. Les sujets principaux des recherches sont la vie ouvrière à Zonguldak, le problème des "Gedjé konu" — la formation des quartiers contre les réglemens municipaux et ses conséquences sociales, l'artisanat à Istanbul, l'industrie de tissage à Denizli, la vie ouvrière des nouveaux établissements du monopole, etc.

Dans la Faculté des Lettres d'Istanbul, étant donné que l'enseignement sociologique d'Ülken comprend la sociologie des valeurs et des institutions sociales, l'histoire de sociologie est enseigné depuis dix ans par le professeur de faculté Kösemihal et la science des moeurs, depuis deux ans, par un autre docent, Tanyol. Ülken, en changeant les thèmes, s'arrête chaque année sur un problème délimité de la sociologie des institutions, fait des séminaires parallèles à ces cours. La sociologie expérimentale de P. Descamps est enseignée par Kösemihal. Ülken, depuis deux ans, outre ces leçons, donne des cours sur l'anthropologie culturelle. Dans la chaire de psychologie, M. Turhan et S. Siyavüchgil donnent par alternance des cours sur la psychologie sociale. M. Turhan fait des recherches en Anatolie sur le changement culturel, et Siyavüchgil a appliqué une enquête sur les préjugés des races, à l'occasion de ses cours sur l'opinion publique dans l'Institut de journalisme.

La section de sociologie de la Faculté des Lettres a fait ces recherches sociales en Istanbul et dans les provinces du pays: 1.—recherche sur les causes sociales de la criminalité à Istanbul et sa distribution écologique. 2.—monographie de petite ville à Ménémén, 3.— monographie de Gönen. 4.—monographie d'hétérogénéité ethnique à Adapazari et à Gönen. A Gönen nous avons étudié les villages turcs — Manav, les villages turcs réfugiés de Bulgarie, les villages Pomaks, Circassiens, Géorgiens, et les villages récemment construits des turcs nomades —

Yörük, enfin, un village Kodjagöl, peuplé par les Kazaks, émigrés en 1686, sous le règne de Pierre le grand. Les habitants de ce dernier village gardent leurs moeurs et leurs coutumes, leur sectes et leur langue depuis presque trois siècles. Ce phénomène très intéressant de résistance contre le changement social a attiré aussi l'attention du M. Turhan; il est resté un mois pour étudier ce phénomène et pour tourner des films sur leurs moeurs, 5.—un mélange composé d'études rurales, préparé sur la demande de l'I.S.A. comme un chapitre qui serait consacré à la Turquie; mais, la section des sciences sociales de l'UNESCO qui avait promis l'édition de ce livre n'a pas pu réaliser sa promesse. Ces recherches sont faites par Ülken et par ses élèves. 6.—monographie de petite ville: Malatya, préparé par Ülken, en collaboration avec un étudiant. 7.—Monographie ethnologique sur les Baraks, préparé par Tanyol, plus que la moitié est imprimée dans la Revue de Sociologie. Certaines études qui ne sont pas citées ici sont publiées dans la Revue de Sociologie.

La tendance générale de la sociologie en Turquie va de plus en plus vers des études expérimentales et concrètes. Mais, cette évolution du livresque vers le vécu n'est pas aussi facile qu'en occident, par ex. en Amérique du nord ou en Scandinavie. Car, les réformes successives réalisées en Turquie pour la modernisation du pays visent avant toute chose l'assimilation complète de la mentalité scientifique moderne, mais les survivances assez fortes de la mentalité scolastique résistent encore. En outre, l'introduction officielle de la sociologie en Turquie avait commencé par l'école durkheimienne qui est assez loin des recherches expérimentales, et l'insuffisance des chiffres de statistiques existantes ne permettant pas de les utiliser partout, dans cette conception, il était presque impossible de faire avancer la science. Par conséquent, on était obligé de s'arrêter dans le domaine historique; dans ces conditions la sociologie n'était possible qu'en tant qu'histoire des institutions. Mais la pénétration un peu lente de la Science Sociale, d'abord pénétration surannée, à vrai dire, car depuis longtemps elle était dépassée par d'autres recherches scientifiques, et une connaissance pas bien étendue de la sociologie expérimentale anglaise et américaine sont en voie d'attirer tout l'intérêt de la jeunesse sur l'étude des problèmes actuels sans se perdre dans les discussions des doctrines. La constitution de l'Institut de l'Administration publique, du Centre des recherches sociologiques¹ et sa section de la psychologie de l'opinion publique, la publication de certaines périodiques, tels *Forum*, donne un espoir pour le développement de la sociologie en Turquie.

NOTE

¹ Le Centre était proposé à la Conférence de Damas par Ülken, et cette proposition était admise unanimement. Le gouvernement turc a appuyé cette proposition, et la Commission nationale de l'Unesco a écrit à la direction générale de l'Unesco, mais la réponse pour la constitution d'un Centre de recherches du Moyen-Orient étant négative, actuellement on doit se contenter de la constitution d'un Centre national de recherches sociologiques.

Sociology: Teaching and Professional Activities in Venezuela

RAFAEL CALDERA

(Professor of Sociology, Universidad Central de Venezuela and
Secretary of the Asociacion Venezolana de Sociologia)

A. THE ORGANISATION OF TEACHING

1. The need for instruction in sociology is daily receiving more recognition. The Universities, secondary schools and the Ministry of Education itself are all gradually giving more attention in their curriculum to Sociology (general Sociology and special Sociologies) and the Social Sciences. There are three factors in favour of this movement: (a) the vigorous social change which has been taking place in Venezuela since 1936; (b) the need to interpret the preponderant features of present-day social conditions; and (c) the systematic propaganda put out by sociologists. An unfavourable factor is the history of too theoretical a teaching of Sociology in earlier times, teaching which was limited to narration of the customs of savage tribes—a stage which now definitely belongs to the past.

2. The main Chairs of Sociology in Venezuelan Universities and other educational institutions are:

(a) The "Universidad Central de Venezuela" has a department of Sociology and Cultural Anthropology (Faculty of Economics) with the following degree course: *1st year*: (1) Introduction to Sociology; (2) Methodological Statistics; (3) General and Human Geography; (4) English; (5) Logic; (6) Social Problems; (7) Fundamentals of Social Psychology; (8) Society and Culture; (9) Pre-Seminar;

2nd year: (1) Social Dynamics; (2) Physical Anthropology; (3) Social Thought of the Liberator (Simón Bolívar); (4) Introduction to Archæology; (5) Methodological Statistics; (6) Economic Theory; (7) English; (8) The History of Culture; (9) Seminar;

3rd year: (1) Fundamentals of Rural and Urban Sociology; (2) Public Opinion; (3) Study of Communities; (4) English; (5) Industrial Trade Union Relations.

Subjects for Specialisation: SOCIOLOGY: (1) Forms of Social and Personal Organisation; (2) The Sociology of the Family; (3) Seminar; Delinquency and Criminology.

(b) In the "Departamento de Economía de las Facultades de Economía" (there are at present 5 Universities in Venezuela) there are Chairs of General Sociology and Venezuelan Sociology.

(c) In the "Facultad de Derecho" (Law Faculty) of the various Universities, there is the Chair of Special Sociology (the first Chair of Sociology was founded in 1902 by the Law Faculty of the "Universidad Central").

(d) In the "Facultad de Humanidades y Educación" (Faculty of Humanities and Education) for the "Central", "Los Andes", and "Católica Andrés Bello" Universities, there are Chairs of Sociology and Anthropology in the School of Humanities, Chairs of Social Sciences and Sociology of Education in the School of Education and a Chair of Sociology in the School of Journalism.

(e) In the Faculty of engineering at the "Universidad Católica Andrés Bello" a Chair of Special Sociology has been created.

(f) At the "Instituto Pedagógico Nacional" specialising in Social Sciences, there are Chairs of Sociology and other Social Sciences.

(g) At the Social Service Schools courses are arranged in Venezuelan Sociology, Social Problems, etc.

(h) The advanced stage courses of Secondary Education (Humanities Section) at all Venezuelan "Lycées" include "Social Sciences" in the form of a genuine general introduction to Sociology.

(i) The Primary stage courses of Secondary Education at all Venezuelan "Colegios" include (over a period of two years) the recently created subject "Social, Moral and Civic Education" which takes the form of a general introduction to social affairs.

(j) There are Chairs of General Sociology for all standard educational courses.

(k) All specialisation courses, including courses at technical and trade schools, benefit from special Sociology Chairs suitable for the type of specialisation and cultural level of the students.

3. The above mentioned Chairs can be divided into the following grades :

(a) elementary, for Secondary Education studies as well as for technical and trade schools, journalism courses and ordinary schools ;

(b) *general*, for advanced stage studies in Secondary Education ;

(c) *special*, for university courses in Law, Education, Engineering, and Social departments of the "Instituto Pedagógico" ;

(d) *specialisation*, for university courses in Sociology, Cultural Anthropology and Economics.

4. The stage of specialisation embraces both of the following two aspects :

(a) studies for careers in Sociology, Cultural Anthropology and Economics, designed especially for these subjects ;

(b) in other careers (Law, Education, Engineering, etc.) the intention is to deal with the subject of Sociology in its particular reference to the

said careers, leaving its broader aspects to the introductory subjects studied in the Secondary stage (primary and advanced grades) of Education.

5. To obtain the degree of Master* of Sociology a student must (after satisfying the Bachelorship examinations) complete three full years at a University. To acquire a Doctorate he must complete a further year and also submit an original thesis in the form of a research paper. For the degrees of Master and Doctor in Cultural Anthropology, similar requirements must be fulfilled. For the degree of Master of Economics, four years of study are necessary ; to obtain the degree of Doctor, a student must submit an original thesis in the form of a research paper.

All these careers require the preparation of research papers which can be of two types : (a) during the University studies, *Seminar* papers, in those Universities provided for that purpose ; and (b), to obtain the degree of Doctor, doctoral theses prepared with the collaboration of the same Institutions.

The Social Service Schools also require the submission of original papers before a student can qualify as a social worker (female).

B. PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

1. In Venezuela the greater number of sociologists are engaged in teaching activities. Departments devoted particularly to research do not yet exist, and for this reason each researcher works independently. Nevertheless, a systematic research scheme is now in the early stages of development at the various Institutes for "Seminar" work at the University Faculties.

The first Masters of Sociology will graduate this year (1956).

A lecture (symposium) on "Sociology as a Profession" given in 1955 at the "Universidad Santa Maria" aroused considerable interest in the professional aspect of Sociology.

2. The professional prospects open to sociologists can be considered as extremely favourable.

3. The development of large business undertakings, the social activities of governmental institutions, the requirements of the teaching profession, all of which are ever on the increase, offer very great opportunities for Sociology as a profession.

The social revolution now taking place—in all its aspects—is decidedly encouraging to the prospects of Sociology as a profession.

* "Master" is an approximate translation of "Licenciado"—Translator.

PART TWO

Current Sociological Research: A Note on Trends towards International Comparability

STEIN ROKKAN

(Programme Director, Institute for Social Research, Oslo)

The exchange of information on current research has from the very beginning been considered a primary task in the work programme of the International Sociological Association.

The Statutes of the Association are explicit on this point: they state that it is one of the major purposes of the Association

“to encourage the international dissemination and exchange of information on significant developments in sociological knowledge”.

During the seven years of its existence, the Association has concentrated much of its action on this front: it has taken an important initiative in developing a world-wide bibliography of the research literature in all fields of sociological enquiry and it has endeavoured to ensure regular reporting on investigations in plan or under execution in the different countries of the world.

Such reporting on current researches has taken several forms: there have been a great number of detailed accounts of developments in the priority areas focussed on in the Association's international research programmes and in its Congresses, and there has been a long series of general reports on the progress of research in a wide range of institutions, areas or countries.

At the Constituent Congress in Oslo in September, 1949, a number of papers on national developments in the field of sociology were presented by the participants. These papers provided the basis for a broad proposal for the preparation of a world survey of the state of sociology in 1950. One result of this initiative was the extensive enquiries promoted by UNESCO into the teaching of sociology in a sample of countries throughout the world: a series of national reports were prepared and were summarised and analysed in a general report by Professor Pierre de Bie. Another result was the establishment of a regular section on current research trends as a permanent feature of the triennial World Congresses of the Association. This system was first tried out at the Second World Congress at Liège in 1953. Altogether, 32 papers were received in the section devoted to “Recent Developments”, but only half of these could be said to constitute general reports on sociological research activities within given countries or institutions: the remainder was a miscellany of papers on research in more or less well-defined fields of sociology, on special projects recently undertaken or on general problems of theory or methodology. This heterogeneity obviously made it difficult to organize the discussion

in this section of the Congress. It was accordingly recommended that an attempt should be made to ensure greater unity in the section to be devoted to current research at the Third World Congress. This objective has by and large been achieved: it will be seen that of the 11 papers submitted for printing in the *Transactions*, five attempt to give general accounts, across a number of substantive fields, of recent developments in the respective countries, and five others provide over-all accounts of the activities of research institutes while the final one takes the form of a broad essay on the general dynamics of developments in sociological theory and research.

The sample of countries and institutions covered in these papers is not very large: yet, considered in the general context of the stock-taking activities stimulated by the Association over recent years, they offer a wealth of information and a useful basis for detailed discussions of the "where?" and "whither?" of sociological enquiry.

It is impossible in this context to go into the substance of the very considerable number of investigations registered in these papers. The discussion must of necessity be focussed on a few of the *general problems* raised by these research developments. This does not make it any simpler: it is easy to get lost in vague "elaborations of the obvious". On the other hand, it may occasionally be worth while to attempt to view these manifold developments in a broader perspective than the local and national one.

A great variety of important problems might be discussed on the basis of the reports now at hand on current research activities.

In this introductory statement I shall limit myself to two sets of problems:

(1) Is it possible to discern any *general trends of development* in all the accounts of current research activities that are becoming available from such a wide range of countries and regions?

(2) Are sociologists in fact gathering *data on the same substantive categories* in the different countries where they have become active and do their reports and interpretations of these data increasingly allow *comparative analyses* across national units?

Three years ago I spelled out some impressions of research trends in sociology in a report presented to UNESCO on behalf of the International Sociological Association.¹

It might be of some interest in this discussion to quote a few of the statements made in this report:

All recent analyses of trends and developments in the different fields of sociological research emphasize the striking *diversity* of activities and the *lack of integration* characteristic of the manifold research undertakings launched and implemented by sociologists. A perusal of an historical survey such as the one recently published by Howard E. Odum on *American Sociology: the Story of Sociology*

in the United States through 1950 (New York: Longman, Green & Co., 1951, 501 pp.) will provide a vivid impression of this diversity of efforts, the complexity of relationships and the multiplicity of tendencies.² Sociology is still very far from having achieved any clear consolidation as an academic discipline, as a well-structured body of propositions, research methodologies and procedures for concrete application, as a distinct field of professional training and practice. Any attempt at characterising "basic trends" in the development of sociological research over the last decade or decades runs the risk of reflecting more of the personal biases of the characterizer than the actual sequences of events. Nevertheless, it would seem to be possible not only to establish wide consensus but also to bring substantial documentary evidence to bear on the characteristics of some *very general theoretical, methodological and institutional trends* which have become manifest in the development of sociological research activities in the different regions, countries and centres of the world over the last two or three decades. It is most difficult to find adequate formulations for these very broad and general trends and it will be only too easy to identify cases which do not fit the patterns and call for qualifications. It is therefore with considerable diffidence that the following formulations of major over-all trends in sociological research activities are put forward:

I. There has been a trend toward increasing concern for the conceptual and methodological foundations of systematic sociological theory and toward increased efforts to clarify the relationships between theoretical proposition-systems and the designs and findings of empirical research.

II. There has been a continuous expansion of empirical fact-finding and data gathering and a definite tendency to give a central place in sociological teaching, training and study to the planning, design and conduct of investigations on factual and inductive lines.

III. There has been a steady increase in the use of statistical theory and analysis in the treatment of empirical data and a tendency to develop techniques and devices for the quantification of data previously considered inaccessible to statistical processing.

IV. There has been a distinct trend toward a diversification of the methods, techniques and procedures used in the collection and processing of data, toward the development and refinement of a number of operational devices, such as sampling, testing, interviewing, participant observation, field experimentation, sociometrics, etc., for the systematic accumulation and processing of reliable data in areas of social life outside those traditionally covered in the regular course of the administrative bookkeeping of public and private agencies such as census bureaux, fiscal agencies, government departments, business organizations, schools, hospitals, etc.

V. These tendencies toward empirical and quantitative research along novel methodological lines have brought with them a gradual organizational restructuring of sociological activities toward increased emphasis on co-operative teamwork and programmatic integration of projects within more or less institutionalised frameworks.

VI. All these forces have contributed over the last couple of decades to the rapid development, in more and more countries of the world, of active organizations, institutions and university departments devoted to the planning, conduct and application of sociological research on a basis of close co-operation between scientific personnel, field services and statistical processing teams.

VII. Within these research organizations, institutions and departments there have been more or less pronounced tendencies to widen the scope of interdisciplinary co-operation in the field of the social and behavioral sciences and to combine methodologies derived from a number of disparate traditions of scholarship and empirical study.

VIII. There has also, particularly during the years since World War II, been an increasing trend toward closer co-operative ties between research organization and departments in different countries through the exchange of information and advice, the training of personnel, the joint planning and conduct of co-ordinated investigations, in some cases with roughly equivalent research instruments and methodological instructions.

IX. In financing all these combined activities, the tendency has been to rely on a wide range of possible sources of support according to the character of the research organization in question: a great many have developed within the universities and have been partly supported from academic funds, some have derived their primary support from philanthropic foundations and funds for scientific advance, others have been based on governmental or other public support, while others again have oriented their activities in directions that have made it possible to obtain substantive support from business and industry.

All these broad generalisations can only serve as guide-lines for the concrete discussions of developments in differing local settings. There are countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, where a majority of these tendencies are clearly pronounced; there are other countries where developments are so rudimentary as to allow no specifications along these lines; and there are a good many intermediary countries where a great deal of uncertainty prevails and very considerable obstacles remain to be overcome in making sociological research advance along the lines it has progressed in the major countries.

The various papers and reports which have become available since this was written in June, 1953, would, on the whole, appear to have borne out these statements about trends in sociological research: the reason may, unfortunately, be that the statements are so general that they cannot easily be falsified. A clearer picture would no doubt emerge from an analysis of the materials collected by UNESCO in its *International Register of Current Team Research in the Social Sciences* (1950-52). This *Register* is of great interest as a first attempt at the development on a world scale of the type of regular research census so successfully organized by Mrs. Stone for the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth and lately by a Committee of the A.S.S. for the United States. The difficulties encountered in this UNESCO undertaking need no comments here: it is only to be hoped that further action in this direction can be initiated in the not too distant future. Such detailed listings of projects by substantive areas and by methodological characteristics could supplement very usefully the overall national reports regularly assembled by the I.S.A. Quite particularly, such listings *might prove essential for further progress in international research in providing a basis for some assessment of the extent of common coverage and the comparability of procedures*: this is the second of the general problems I would like to take up for discussion in this section.

Various attempts have been made in recent years to sort out the major problems encountered in comparative social research.³ I shall not try to repeat here some of the obvious distinctions which have been introduced in discussions of the problems of logic, procedure and organization in cross-societal studies. There is, however, one particular dimension I would very much like to focus on for a moment: the *degree of inter-dependence* between data gathering activities in different countries and territories or on different populations. The extremes of this continuum are not hard to describe: at the one end any data gathering undertaken in complete isolation from social scientists in other cultures or societies, at the other end any data gathering maximally controlled by social scientists from the relevant cultures or societies to ensure comparability in all phases and on all points of importance in the research process. No actual data gathering operations are of course to be found at any of these extremes. We do not find any examples of social data gathering undertaken in complete national or cultural isolation, but neither can we as yet be said to have found any examples of completely interdependent data gathering operations controlled at every point to ensure cross-societal comparability. What we find are a number of steps in a ladder pointing toward some maximum of comparability. In some fields of research we find ourselves at the very bottom step of this ladder, in other fields we have been able to climb much higher. This is obviously not a question of unilineal development: for some purposes the focus of research must definitely remain one-cultural and one-national, for other purposes a higher degree of interdependence and comparability may be worth striving for. There

will always be controversies over optimum points on the ladder: the main thing to watch is that nobody should be too drastically prevented from finding out how it would be to move one step up on the ladder. Enough of this metaphor. It is impossible to talk about interdependence without talking about problems of *organization*. To simplify matters for purposes of discussion, we may distinguish three levels of organizational activity in comparative social research :

Level I. The systematic collection and collation of the " haphazard products of natural growth ", of the data and findings of researches independently conceived, designed and executed in different societies or cultures—examples are the cross-societal analyses of kinship structures undertaken by Murdock, the cross-cultural studies of child-rearing and socialization due to Child and Whiting, and, on a different level, the Lipset-Lazarsfeld review of significant findings from a wide variety of independent investigations in different countries of the social and economic determinants of political behaviour.

Level II. Organized efforts to influence on-going institutionalized data-gathering processes through regular inter-societal and inter-cultural interaction, directed toward the development of standard methodological features, questionnaires, codes, tabulation and analysis procedures—much progress of this sort has already been achieved in the field of demographic and economic statistics based on total counts through the efforts of the UN, ILO, WHO, FAO and UNESCO and some initial efforts have been taken to encourage similar developments in the parts of the world now covered by institutionalized sample surveys.

Level III. The organization, for explicit purposes of comparative analysis, of specifically designed data gathering operations in different societies or cultures: examples are the UNESCO nine-country 1948 study of " common ideas about foreign peoples ", the Columbia study of communications behaviour in five countries of the Middle East, the Whiting *et al* studies of child-rearing practices in different countries of Asia, the OCSR sample surveys and group experiments in seven countries of Western Europe.⁴

The papers collected by the I.S.A. on current developments can provide some basis for comparative research efforts at the *first of these levels*. It may be possible to work out schemes for the comparison of findings across national and cultural boundaries on the basis of researches reported in these papers, but in the majority of cases nothing conclusive can be inferred from such collations of analyses.

If we classify the research accounts by areas of substantive focus, we shall find that in all countries surveyed studies have been undertaken on problems of *labour relations and industrial organization*: it is indeed of great interest to note how industrial sociology is advancing as a major field of empirical enquiry not only in the countries of the West but also, according to the Polish report, in countries of clearly different

economic structure. However, if we try to get down to the concrete studies, the data and the findings, we shall immediately be struck by the diversity of research problems, by the wide variety of methodologies and techniques, by the vast spread of studies in a multitude of different settings. Even if we had access to all the original reports or to the raw data themselves, we should not be able to get anywhere near a comparative analysis on any of the major points of industrial sociology. This is not to say that we should despair of the prospects for comparative research in this field. On the contrary, the important initiatives taken by the European Productivity Agency in launching cross-national industrial studies augur well for the future: it should only be clear that, with these initiatives, we move directly from the *first* to the *third* of the research levels distinguished in this discussion.

The situation is different in other areas of sociology: let us take a brief look into the state of affairs in two major fields, *stratification-mobility* research and *political behaviour* research.

The International Sociological Association made an important contribution to the development of cross-national social research in launching its programme of co-operative studies of social stratification and social mobility. If we go over the research proposals and the documentation assembled for the three working conferences so far organized, we shall find that the programme implies action on all three of the organizational levels distinguished in this discussion.

Level I. Systematic attempts have been made to collect and collate information on occupational structures and recruitment patterns in different countries from published research reports and other available materials—so far no over-all comparison has been undertaken on this basis, but several useful bibliographies have been produced and more will be prepared.

Level II. Attempts have also been made to incorporate questions about father's and father-in-law's occupation in regular data gathering operations to allow analyses of mobility—for censuses, this kind of arrangement has, of course, proved impossible (one exception is Theodor Geiger's use of the city census in Aarhus), but with routine sample surveys there are definite possibilities along this line; a recent example is the proposal to include a question about father's occupation in a 3-4 country comparative survey to be commissioned by UNESCO from regularly operating interview organizations.

Level III. The main focus of the programme, however, has been on the organization of explicitly comparative data gathering operations, some focused on the exploration of the degree of consensus on occupational prestige rankings, others designed as large-sample surveys allowing detailed breakdowns for purposes of mobility analysis—on this level interesting results are already forthcoming, witness the Inkeles-Rossi paper comparing prestige rankings, and the reports on the Danish and Dutch studies on the points which will allow

comparative analysis through confrontation with the findings with the original British investigations.

It is clearly necessary, whatever the field focused on, to advance on all these three levels whenever possible. We cannot wait for the "haphazard products of natural growth" to supply the data we need for our comparative analyses. In the fields where data gathering has become regularized and institutionalized, it is essential to work on Level II toward co-ordination and standardization across the countries: this should not imply any *Gleichschaltung* and impoverishment of national research operations, on the contrary, the aim should be, not uniformity, but *reliable knowledge of the actual differences in the procedures*. In fields where data gathering has not become or is not likely to become regularized and institutionalized, comparative research on Level III would seem justified when techniques for controlling the field work and the categorization procedures are available. In the case of the ISA stratification-mobility programme, there was certainly every justification for moving directly on to the third level—given (a) the impossibility of expanding census operations to the point of providing the relevant data, and (b) the inadequacy of routine-type sample surveys for this kind of research, there was clearly no alternative but to proceed to the planning of explicitly comparative data gathering operations in different countries. That, for all kinds of reasons, strict comparability could only in part be achieved in the studies so far launched under the programme, is quite another matter—this is not at all necessarily a disadvantage in an initial stage, if only some stricter comparisons can be undertaken later.

Let us finally look at the field of political sociology for some further elucidation of these dilemmas of procedure in comparative enquiry.

Disregarding the small handful of comparative sample surveys and polls so far undertaken, practically all the work achieved cross-nationally in the field of political sociology has been confined to the *first* of the three organizational levels distinguished. The field has nevertheless undergone great changes during the last decade. It is nearly 20 years now since Herbert Tingsten completed his important work on *Political Behaviour*: the comparative analyses he presented in this study were almost without exception based on breakdowns of officially available election statistics. The spectacular growth of polls and sample surveys since that time has added an immense body of data and findings of relevance to our understanding of the processes of opinion formation and electoral choice in multi-party democracies: no extensive comparative synthesis of these materials has as yet appeared but the work undertaken by S. M. Lipset and his colleagues⁵ promises to provide the basis for a systematic follow-up of Tingsten's pioneering effort. The difficulties encountered in this kind of comparative work are manifold and often discouraging. Perhaps the worst problem is that of *access* to the relevant data: poll and survey data are sometimes confidential, in most cases difficult to compare because of differences in procedures,

and practically always inadequately presented in the available reports. Comparisons of the findings of independently undertaken surveys and polls will sooner or later simply have to go beyond the published reports and proceed to the analysis of tabulations directly from the raw data on the IBM cards from each organization—if the cards still exist and are accessible. Secondary analyses of data already collected through the regular operations of poll and survey organizations may produce important bodies of information and allow opportunities for the testing of a series of hypotheses about factors affecting political opinion and electoral choice. John Bonham's study of the middle class vote in England indicates some of the potentialities of this approach: similar procedures could probably be used in a number of countries to explore cross-national similarities and differences in the recruitment of party support. At our Institute in Oslo we are currently undertaking secondary analyses of similar scope on Norwegian poll materials and have found much of interest from a comparative point of view. Consideration has recently been given to the possibility of developing an *international archive of basic survey materials* from many countries to allow more extensive secondary analyses along comparative lines: this proposal should be of direct interest to the International Sociological Association and may fruitfully be discussed in further detail at the Congress.

Comparative research on our *second* level of organization has for very good reasons practically never occurred in the field of political sociology. It is difficult to conceive of anything more "nation-specific" than electoral statistics: the recommendations of the UN statisticians often carry considerable weight but they cannot very well be expected to make any impact on the national party systems and the categorizations of national election statistics. These data simply have to be taken as they are produced: there is practically no possibility of influencing the institutionalized procedures of data gathering and data classification, hence no "Level II" research in this field.

Sample surveys of election campaigns and the processes of opinion formation and political choice are, however, about to become regularized and institutionalized in some countries. To the extent that this is the case, it may of course be possible to ensure some degree of international co-ordination and to improve the comparability of the findings. To take an example, it might become feasible to reach consensus on a series of concrete recommendations of questions to be included in routine political polls and surveys: it would, e.g. be most desirable if they could all ask questions about such essential items of background information as father's education and occupation, memberships in voluntary organizations, frequency of religious observance. This would in a way be analogous to the procedures followed by the UN for censuses and other official data gathering operations. However, since election polls and surveys do not occur very frequently, the distinction between our "Level II" and "Level III" operations becomes relatively

artificial in this field. What needs to be emphasized is that secondary comparisons, however relevant and important the conclusions they will allow, must sooner or later be supplemented by fresh data gathering: at one point or other it will clearly be necessary to resort to some amount of co-ordinated field work in a number of countries to ensure adequate data for comparative analysis. Promising beginnings have been made in this direction in recent years, but the field is still wide open. The interesting discussions of the relationships between social classes and political parties at the IPSA Congress in Stockholm last year stimulated quite a bit of thinking about these problems, but has not led to any concrete recommendations for international research. Perhaps this is one field where sociologists and political scientists might fruitfully join forces and together initiate cross-national researches on a higher level of comparability.

The papers before us do not tell us much about the prospects for such cross-national research enterprises. The vast majority of the investigations registered have a distinctly local frame of reference. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that these vast numbers of independent researches in different countries tend more and more to cover comparable ranges of problems and to apply similar techniques in the collection of data and the analysis of findings. The International Sociological Association has an important function to serve in ensuring fuller communication between research workers in different countries in the planning of their investigations: in this way their researches may gradually become more and more interdependent and eventually produce data for comparative analysis. As I have interpreted it, this is precisely the purpose of this Congress section on current research activities. I hope that in the discussion it will be possible to take up some of the more concrete possibilities of co-operation across national boundaries. I have only been able to give a quick sketch of some of the problems as I see them: I hope we can get a bit deeper into these matters in the deliberations at the Congress.

NOTES

¹ *Notes Toward "A Tentative Evaluation of current research in the field of sociology"*. UNESCO/Enq./R.C./Eval., Paris, July, 1953. Cf. the comments in Barbara Wootton, *Working Paper on Lacunæ in Social Science Research*, UNESCO/Enq./R.C./Eval., Paris, 3 September, 1954.

² But see now the more focussed accounts in H. L. Zetterberg, ed. *Recent Trends in Sociology in the United States*, Paris, UNESCO, 1956.

³ Cf. the papers in the *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. x, no. 4, 1954 and the *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol. vii, no. 4, 1955; the latter includes a first attempt in the direction of an overall bibliography of comparative cross-national research.

⁴ For detailed references, see the bibliography in the *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol. vii, no. 4, 1955.

⁵ Cf. G. Lindzey, ed. *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1954, ch. 30.

Housing and Family in the City of Vienna: A Report on Current Research

LEOPOLD ROSENMAYR

(Associate Professor and Director of the Sozialwissenschaftliche
Forschungsstelle, University of Vienna)

When the Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungsstelle, newly established at the University of Vienna in 1954, undertook a three year research project this was the first empirical study in Austria since Jahoda-Lazarsfeld's analysis of a suburban community during the depression of the late twenties.

Without the financial aid which the Rockefeller Foundation granted for a first and then for a second year it would not have been possible to re-establish the Austrian tradition of empirical social science. Apart from the financial problem a number of other difficulties arose of which three should be mentioned here in order to explain the scope, the methods and the progress of the research to be sketched out later in this report.

(1) No verified hypotheses or empirical generalisations could be used as points of departure for the analysis of problems of Austrian or Vienna society.

(2) No trained staff, personnel or experts ready for the tasks of social science research were available.

(3) Considerable resistance against the interviewing in the city of Vienna delayed the fieldwork. The distrust of the respondents was due to the resentment against any inquiries such as the population had been exposed to during eight years of National Socialism and nearly ten years of a four-power occupation.

As the problems of social life in our country may best be analysed either in the place of work (office, factory) or in the private sphere (the home) it was decided to limit the study to the exploration of the attitude of Viennese society toward the home and home life. In this way it was possible to concentrate on a changing sociological problem rooted in the permanent need to have a place to live in.

This also provided a clearly definable object, the attitudes toward which would allow us to discover the effective structures of the value system on the one hand, and data about actually existing social groups on the other. Definitions in the area of the second problem, empirical groups, were urgently needed, as most definitions in this area were connected with the ideological notions of class conflict. So the first year of the Vienna Project had to be in the true sense of the word a pilot study.

From the 700,000 dwelling units in Vienna every 175th was included in the sample and was visited by a selected group of specially trained interviewers (psychiatric nurses and social workers) using a strictly defined questionnaire.

Areas of concentration of this initial survey (1954-1955) were: physical living conditions such as size, age, location of the dwelling unit within the house, within the neighbourhood and the city, the attitude of the people toward these facts, their complaints, degree of satisfaction, wishes, etc. the social relations between the occupants of the apartment and the rest of the house, their ethnic and family background, childhood, occupation, their attitude toward their own children and toward further procreation, some value problems connected with leisure time behaviour, the degree of satisfaction with the amount and quality of leisure time, and other data for the further definition of the socioeconomic status and the pattern of household expenditure.

At the present time (September 1955) a team of experts is completing and co-ordinating the evaluation of the survey data and compiling the material in special contributions for publication as a symposium covering the following fields: statistics and methodology, economics, socio-geography, sociology, psychiatry, child psychology, cultural and folkloristic history.

During the first year the study was limited to the exploration mainly of the attitudes of Vienna society toward the home and home life. The second phase focuses on the family. As may be expected the work of the second year was based on the results of the first one. The 4,000 interviews which had been carried out for the purposes of the survey had furnished enough data to enable us to indicate, before the final publication of the results, the following features:

The Vienna home culture is relatively low. Although a large percentage of the people have retained the capacity to spend their leisure time without the products of the amusement-industry there seems to be too little initiative to make their homes real *centres* of private life. This statement is based on many findings ranging from the choices in matters of furniture to the socioeconomic attitudes regarding rent. We found also a comparatively low rate of neighbourhood contacts and friendships, a fact that seems to be interrelated with another type of negative social behaviour namely the one toward the procreation of children. The lack of concentration on the home, a certain tendency toward seclusive segregation, and the low birth rate in Vienna—the lowest of all European metropolitan areas—seem to be strongly interconnected.

These data furnished a solid starting point for the more refined analyses of the second year. It now became necessary to investigate the causes of the above mentioned phenomena. Was the cause of what we had observed in our survey any special pressure of material circumstances or perhaps a fundamental crisis in the value system? Or was it due to the large percentage of old people in Vienna society

or to other factors? These questions seemed worth investigating, first, because they offered a very interesting scientific problem, and secondly, because they lead to a central sociological problem of larger range; it seems clear that a society endangered by cultural instability and social devitalisation will be severely limited in its radiation. This argument appears still more clearly if one takes into consideration that Vienna in its newly guaranteed freedom from military occupation is to be in a position to cope with the tasks of cultural tradition and rejuvenation. Under the present conditions of radical social change it may do so only to the extent that it is able to solve its fundamental problems of the kind we have found to exist during our first year of research; namely social negativism in various forms manifesting itself especially in home and family life.

In the course of the coming months therefore between 250-300 families will be examined, the focus being on:

- (a) the weight of economic and non-economic factors in the causation of negative procreation behaviour,
- (b) the lack of active interest in the conscious development of family life,
- (c) The absence of partnership attitude between parents and children, this being a part of a general social isolationism.

It will be sought to establish correlations between various types of value systems and family behaviour. One result of the investigation will be to make available for the first time systematic knowledge of value systems in Vienna society and the scope of their present influence.

We decided to move from the level of *survey* to the level of *research* in the more narrow sense of the word. The results of the first year furnished material for various points of departure. They were formulated into formal research hypotheses and will be tested systematically by the results derived from the research of the second year.

The methodological shift from survey to "research" (testing of hypotheses) is paralleled by the thematic progress from an investigation into *material living conditions and tangible aspirations* concerning home and leisure time to the *more subtle social psychology of the family*. In this transition several difficulties had to be faced. The problem during the first year had been to break down a general resistance of the Vienna population against interviewing. During the second year when experimenting with various models of our questionnaire geared toward family research we found that the situation had somewhat improved in general. In the new phase, however, another difficulty made itself felt. It became more and more apparent that there was a noticeable difference between what people *said* they felt and aimed at and what they *really* felt and were motivated by. This difficulty inherent in all research concerning psychological problems seems to be especially large in Vienna; it is a consequence of the same reticence in communication which is a symptom of the problem we are investigating.

In order to overcome this difficulty the interview was constructed to include abbreviated projective tests. Thus we experimented with the sentence completion technique, a story completion test, several picture tests, including the four picture test and a selection of the TAT specially designed for research in family problems and other sociopsychological tests by which, for instance, the degree of co-operation between individuals can be determined. We have now worked out a special combination of questioning and projective techniques that guarantees a maximum of reliability.

Institutional Sociological Research in Finland 1950-55

KETIL BRUUN

(Head, Department of Social Research,
Finnish State Liquor Monopoly)

So far institutional sociological research in Finland has developed rather slowly. The fact that this report nevertheless deals with institutional research only does not mean that I wish to minimise the importance of extra-institutional research; it is rather an expression for my belief that institutional research is gaining ground. But because institutional research differs so much from extra-institutional, it may be feasible to conclude the report with some comments about the latter, especially in fields upon which institutional research has not yet entered.

It was not till after World War II that institutional research began to develop. Of the five institutes mentioned in this report, two were founded between 1945 and 1950, and three after 1950. A sixth institution, the Sociological Institute at the University of Helsinki/Helsingfors, was started in 1955.

I. THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI/ HELSINGFORS. (Helsingin Yliopiston Sosiaalipoliittinen Laitos)

(1) *Workers' attitudes to technical change.* The research project is carried out in close co-operation with other European universities. It deals with workers in the metal and paper industry; the data are collected through interviewing and observation. The interviewers-observers have been employed as workmen in the studied factories, which are all large plants. The population consists of about 600 interviewees. The pilot study and most of the field work are completed; machine tabulation of the data began in the autumn of 1955. The study is financed by the Finnish Government, the Trade Unions and the Employers' Federation.

(2) *Studies in Trade Union growth and structure* are chiefly a historical analysis of the Trade Union movement, with particular reference to the Union of Railroad Workers.

II. THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL STUDIES, Helsinki/Helsingfors (Yhteiskunnallisen Korkeakoulun Tutkimuslaitos)

(3) *Social adjustment of displaced persons in Finland* is a study of the adjustment of the Carelian refugees in their new milieu. In all, 3,000 people have been interviewed, 2,000 evacuees and 1,000 local people.

The communities studied were chosen according to their percentages of evacuees, and the respondents were selected by quota sampling. A general survey was made in the country in 1949, then an intensive study of some rural communities was conducted later in the same year, and finally an intensive study of a small industrial town was made in 1950. To measure the degree of adjustment and its dependence upon the time factor, the general survey was repeated in 1951. The project was financed partly by the Rockefeller Foundation, partly by the Finnish Government, and partly by some large business corporations. The results were published in 1952.

(4) *Cultural activities among organised workers* is a survey of the frequency of cultural activities and a study of their interconnection. It was conducted in three communities, where the respondents (n=498) were randomly chosen from the membership files of the Trade Unions. The findings were published in 1952.

(5) *Youth activities*. A study of the social factors which affect the cultural, political, and other activities (or lack of activity). The study is carried out as a nation-wide survey, where the parishes have been used as sampling units, in which the respondents (n=1,700) were selected at random. The project is financed by the Ministry of Education, and the results will be published in 1956.

(6) *Reading habits in Finland* is partly an ecological study of the distribution of libraries, newspapers, weeklies and bookshops, partly a survey of the reading habits of 206 persons in central Helsinki/Helsingfors. The respondents were selected by cluster sampling. The manuscript has been completed but is not yet published.

(7) *The radio survey* is designed to study the factors affecting the learning processes involved in spoken radio programmes. The readability of texts, the rate of speech, and the significance of repetition and clearness have been tested in different programmes. This study is planned to be conducted on a nation-wide scale, but the investigations will be carried out in selected areas. For the pilot study a sample of 500 was used, while the laboratory experiments were restricted to a group of 50. The results of these preliminary studies will be tested by a survey, whose population has not yet been determined.

III. THE FINNISH FOUNDATION FOR ALCOHOL STUDIES

(Väkijuomakäytöksen tutkimussäätiö), Helsinki/Helsingfors

(8) *Drinking Patterns in Finnish Lapland* is a study of the drinking habits in the sparsely populated parts of northern Finland—and their relation to other social activities. The sample consisted of 932 men selected at random in seven communities, villages and lumber camps. The results were published in 1954.

(9) *The Market Town Study* is an attempt to investigate experimentally the effect of a more liberal marketing system in rural communities

at different stages of urbanisation. In five areas, where there were no liquor shops, 1,700 randomly selected people were interviewed in 1951, whereafter liquor shops were opened in three of these areas. The same population was again interviewed in 1952-53. The intention was to measure what changes in drinking habits the opening of the liquor shops had brought about in the three experiment areas. To be published in 1956.

(10) *Intoxication* is an experimental study designed to find out possible differences between intoxication from beer and eau-de-vie. The study consists of a neuro-physiological and a psychological part. In the latter forty drinking parties were arranged, in which four to six subjects participated, each in four sessions. At two sessions beer was served, at two eau-de-vie, at a rate that made the blood-alcohol curve of the subjects remain constant. In all, 43 subjects volunteered for the experiments. They were tested with Rorschach, TAT, Rosenzweig's Picture Frustration Test, and their behaviour at the sessions was coded according to Bales's categories. The data have been factor-analysed and will be published in 1956. The project was carried out in close co-operation with the Institute for Occupational Health.

(11) *The effect of buyer surveillance* is also an experimental study. Buyer surveillance is a control activity which is carried out by staff members of the State Liquor Monopoly—in order to cut down the abuse of liquor. If repeated talks and warnings show no effect, the identity card which must be presented at the liquor store is withdrawn. In the study comparisons have been made between problem drinkers who have been subject to buyer surveillance and those who have not, and changes in drinking habits have been registered *ex post facto*. In all, 3,000 persons have been interviewed. This population has partly been studied as a whole; partly it has, by matching the subjects by 14 variables, been broken down into two subpopulations consisting of 110-52 pairs. The respondents were selected by stratified area sampling and quota sampling. To be published in 1956.

IV. THE INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT (Teollisuuden työnjohto-opisto), Helsinki/Helsingfors

(12) *Leadership qualities: A theoretical enquiry and an experimental study on foremen*. This project consists of two parts. The theoretical part is an attempt to deduct various leadership qualities from Kurt Lewin's theories, and the experimental part an endeavour to study these qualities experimentally by a battery of tests and by measuring their effectiveness. In all 737 persons, including 425 foremen, have been studied. The findings have been factor analysed and were published in 1955.

(13) *Attitudes of foremen* were studied at 16 factories, representing various branches of industry. In all, 309 foremen were interviewed, and in addition to the interviews, observational data were gathered.

The attitudes studied were: attitudes towards the corporation, the workmen, the trade unions, the steward, etc. A summary of the findings has been published.

V. INSTITUTE FOR OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH (Työterveyslaitos),
Helsinki/Helsingfors

(14) *Dynamic field theory as a foundation for research on organisations.* A theoretical enquiry into Kurt Lewin's field theory.

It should be repeated that institutional research represents only a part of the sociological research done in Finland. Thus some important projects have not been mentioned, because they lie outside the scope of the existing institutes, whose fields of activity are restricted by their general policies and by the fact that they are largely dependent upon the problems they are asked to solve.

For instance, no demographic research project has been mentioned, although a study of the demographic characteristics of the Swedish population in Finland was published in 1951, and other demographic studies—on internal migration, and on divorces—have recently been published.

Other studies in industrial sociology that ought to be mentioned are a study of the adjustment and morale of industrial workers, and a study of the interaction between foremen and workers. The most important projects which are now in progress outside the institutes include a study of some small fishing communities in the Åland Isles, an analysis of factors delaying university studies, a study of the longshoremen in one of Finland's largest harbours, and a series of studies in political sociology, aimed at testing the cross-pressure hypothesis.

L'activité sociologique en France

MAXIMILIEN SORRE

(Directeur du Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

et

F. A. ISAMBERT

(Attaché au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris)

L'EXTENSION DE LA RECHERCHE

Depuis le dernier congrès de l'A.I.S. la recherche sociologique française s'est considérablement développée, tant par le nombre croissant des chercheurs et des enquêtes, dans les anciens centres de recherche, que par la constitution de centres nouveaux, notamment en province.

Pour le Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques (Laboratoire du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), le nombre des chercheurs ayant chacun un objet d'étude distinct (auquel il faut ajouter un certain nombre d'aides-techniques) est passé de 29 en 1953¹ à 42 en 1956. Il se consacre, en outre, de plus en plus exclusivement à la recherche.

On notera un développement parallèle de la VIème Section de L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, avec ses séminaires de sociologie industrielle, juridique, religieuse et de psycho-sociologie, de l'Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques, de l'Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques (voir le rapport envoyé par cet Institut), de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, des centres privés et partiellement subventionnés comme l'Institut Français d'Opinion Publique et le Centre Economie et Humanisme (à l'Arbresles près de Lyon, et dirigé par des Dominicains) qui ont apporté à la sociologie des contributions importantes.

Parmi les organismes récemment fondés, signalons :

A. Paris

Un certain nombre d'Instituts spécialisés, joignant la recherche appliquée à la recherche fondamentale. Les uns sont fondés par des organismes publics, Institut des Sciences Sociales du Travail,² créé conjointement par la Faculté des Lettres, la Faculté de Droit et le Ministère du Travail qui, outre son enseignement pour les cadres de l'industrie, assure des recherches de sociologie industrielle; Institut des Hautes Etudes Politiques, créé cette année par la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques; Centre des Hautes Etudes d'Administration Musulmane, centres créés par les Ministère du Travail, de l'Agriculture, le Commissariat à la Productivité, etc. . . . Les autres sont privés comme le Centre Catholique de Sociologie Religieuse qui a pour tâche de promouvoir et coordonner les enquêtes intérieures à

l'Eglise Catholique, mais qui travaille en étroite collaboration avec divers organismes officiels.

En province

L'Institut des Sciences Humaines Appliquées, fondé cette année à Bordeaux, et destiné à prendre une extension sur le plan national.

L'Institut d'Etudes Psychologiques et Psycho-Sociales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux dont une section s'est occupé de Relations Humaines dans l'industrie.

Les centres d'Aix et de Lille qui se sont occupés de problèmes industriels.

Enfin, les Instituts de Sociologie des Facultés Catholiques de Lyon et de Lille, le premier spécialisé dans la sociologie religieuse et le second, en outre, dans les questions économique-sociales.

Cette extension montre l'importance croissante accordée aux Sciences Humaines en général et à la Sociologie en particulier dans la vie nationale. La découverte d'une *dimension sociale* des problèmes administratifs, économiques (reconversion, aménagement du territoire . . .) écologiques (reconstruction, urbanisme), idéologiques (en particulier religieux) a conduit les organismes intéressés à s'occuper des recherches sociologiques soit en les subventionnant (exemple du Ministère de la Reconstruction et du Logement subventionnant les enquêtes de sociologie écologiques), soit en créant des centres spécialisés (ex Centre des Hautes Etudes Agraires du Ministère de l'Agriculture). Ainsi se constituent des secteurs de *sociologie appliquée* en prolongement direct de la recherche théorique. Réciproquement, les chercheurs consacrés à la recherche théorique sont amenés à établir des liens étroits avec ces organismes pour faciliter leurs recherches *sur le terrain* et, parfois, en recevoir aide et subventions. Les organismes de recherche théorique ont été amenés, de leur côté, à établir entre eux des liens efficaces (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Politiques, etc. . .). En revanche, cette recherche théorique se distingue par sa volonté d'indépendance quant aux méthodes et aux résultats et par la publicité de ceux-ci (par opposition aux recherches dont les résultats sont réservés à une collectivité publique ou privée).

LES ORIENTATIONS DE LA RECHERCHE

Cet aspect fonctionnel de la recherche sociologique a conduit celle-ci sur les voies de la spécialisation. Notons néanmoins l'importante contribution apportée à la théorie générale par M. le Professeur G. Gurvitch³ et par la *Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine* qu'il dirige ainsi que les Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie. L'Année Sociologique,⁴ d'autre part, fait le point de l'état des questions sur le plan international, tandis que les chercheurs du Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques éditent eux-mêmes un périodique⁵ destiné à la confrontation des méthodes et des résultats. Une préoccupation dominante

semble se dessiner : celle de ne pas sacrifier l'effort de conceptualisation au caractère concret de la recherche et de maintenir dans cet effort l'apport de la tradition sociologique française en la personne de ses grands maîtres, Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, Mauss, Halbwachs. . . . En particulier, maintenir l'idée de la *spécificité qualitative des groupes* et mettre en évidence les *faits sociaux totaux*. L'étude se poursuit, en particulier sur les questions d'adaptation des méthodes statistiques. Outre les travaux de M. Guilbaut (Institut des Sciences Humaines Appliquées), signalons une thèse en préparation (M. Dussort, Assistant à la Sorbonne) sur la théorie des jeux.

I. *Sociologie du travail*⁶

C'est sans doute le secteur qui s'est le plus développé ces dernières années. L'apport de la sociologie américaine, dans ce domaine, est indéniable et c'est sous son impulsion que des milieux industriels français⁷ se sont intéressés à ces problèmes. Mais alors que dans diverses entreprises se pratiquait l'utilisation immédiate des études et des méthodes dites de " Relations Industrielles ", celles-ci étaient l'objet de la part de psychologues et sociologues français d'assez vives critiques.⁸ Les recherches, au moins celles qui se faisaient dans les conditions d'indépendance et de publicité dont nous avons parlé (et que nous citerons seules) s'engageaient dans d'autres directions ayant pour caractéristique commune de dépasser les cadres de l'entreprise. En outre, le travail des ouvriers, des employés de bureau et des cadres tend à se regrouper dans une même série d'études.

Les principaux thèmes en sont :

Vie professionnelle et qualification. Structure de la vie professionnelle en général (P. Naville).⁹ Répartition du travail et qualification professionnelle dans certains cas déterminés.¹⁰ Travail féminin (Mmes. M. Guilbert et V. Isambert-Jamati). Mobilité sociale à travers certaines professions (Instituteurs : Mme. I. Berger). Vieillesse et fin de la vie professionnelle (J. R. Tréanton). Les cadres et leur formation (J. Van Bockstaele, P. Fouilhé). Travaux de l'Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques sur la classification et la répartition des travaux professionnels.

Attitudes des travailleurs en relation avec leurs conditions de travail et de vie. Enquête générale (A. Touraine). Le cas des ouvriers non-qualifiés (Mlle. J. Gauthier). Attitudes des employés des Chèques Postaux (M. Crozier)¹¹; et de la Sécurité Sociale (J. D. Reynaud). Les travailleuses à domicile (Mmes. M. Guilbert et V. Isambert-Jamati). Réaction aux changements techniques (A. Touraine et J. D. Reynaud dans une entreprise de Thionville).

Enfin, attitudes et représentations des milieux techno-bureaucratiques (Mlle. N. Mitrani).

Deux préoccupations majeures semblent se faire jour à propos de ces divers objets : celui de la *disqualification* professionnelle sous ses

diverses formes de ses substituts ; celui de la *conscience ouvrière* (conscience de classe et attitude professionnelle).

2. *Milieux et cadres de vie*

Sur le plan urbain, P. H. Chombart de Lauwe a organisé, le premier en France, un travail d'équipe. Il passait, l'année dernière sa thèse de doctorat ès-lettres sur le thème des conditions de vie des familles ouvrières dans la Région Parisienne et de leurs réactions à ces conditions.¹² Rejoignant ainsi les problèmes de sociologie du travail, une autre équipe (J. R. Tréanton, J. Dofny, etc. . . .) s'est penchée sur la ville de Troyes, tandis que P. H. Chombart de Lauwe et son équipe portent actuellement l'essentiel de leurs efforts sur l'agglomération bordelaise. A signaler aussi, en ce domaine, l'étude du Comité Lyonnais pour l'Organisation du Territoire à la suite des travaux de l'I.N.S.E.E.¹³ et la collection des mémoires établis pour le diplôme de l'Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris.

Dans le domaine rural, H. Mendras, travaillant en relation étroite avec le Ministère de l'Agriculture s'est attaché aux problèmes des élites rurales et de l'adaptation des populations aux progrès techniques. C'est ici, enfin, que s'inscrit l'effort du Centre Economie et Humanisme.

Ces enquêtes profitent de l'exemple des enquêtes écologiques et des enquêtes de "communauté" faites aux Etats-Unis. Mais leur proximité par rapport à la géographie humaine les fait bénéficier aussi de l'apport de l'école française en ce domaine.¹⁴

Dans une orientation un peu différente, la thèse de H. Lefebvre sur les communautés pyrénéennes puise dans le marxisme des hypothèses sur les classes et la communauté primitive, auxquelles il apporte appui et compléments.¹⁵

C'est dans ce chapitre aussi que l'on peut classer quelques études récentes sur des pays "coloniaux".¹⁶ La préoccupation est ici de montrer des structures sociales en transition dans des régions de contact. Le propos dépasse donc en complexité l'ethnologie traditionnelle. Quant aux études de transformations, elles visent à insérer les phénomènes d'aculturation parmi les transformations démographiques, politiques et économiques.

Rattachons à cet ensemble les études sur les loisirs : J. Dumazedier, étude générale sur les loisirs ouvriers, avec enquête, en particulier sur les télé-clubs. P. Louchet sur les loisirs des mineurs du Nord de la France.

Revenant vers un cadre de vie plus restreint, on trouve étroitement associées aux précédentes les études sur la famille. Thème quasi oublié en France depuis le Play, il donne lieu, coup sur coup à la publication d'un ouvrage collectif sur l'idéologie qui l'accompagne,¹⁷ à celle d'un colloque du Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques,¹⁸ à un colloque organisé à Paris par l'U.N.E.S.C.O. sur le thème de l'éducation familiale dans les divers milieux sociaux, tandis que des enquêtes ont lieu sur la famille ouvrière (P. H. Chombart de Lauwe, L. Brams) et sur l'influence éducative des divers milieux (M. P. Chombart de Lauwe).

3. *Sociologie religieuse*

Elle s'est surtout développée en France sous forme de "sociographie" du catholicisme, sous l'impulsion de G. Le Bras.¹⁹ Dans la lignée de la sociologie historique du catholicisme, citons l'étude sur le diocèse de Troyes au XIX^{ème} siècle (Mlle. Turlan). Dans un contexte actuel, les développements récents relatifs aux villes sont particulièrement remarquables, avec les enquêtes sur la pratique dominicale à Marseille²⁰ Lyon²¹ et les deux diocèses de Paris et de Versailles (en cours). Des moyens mécanographiques importants grâce au concours de l'I.N.S.E.E. ont permis de donner des précisions, en particulier sur la participation des diverses classes sociales.²² Cette question de l'incidence des classes dans le domaine religieux reste une des préoccupations majeures (en particulier, travaux actuels de E. Poulat, F. A. Isambert, E. Pin). La France a été, en outre, le théâtre de la Conférence de Sociologie Religieuse (catholique) de l'Arbresle en Septembre 1953.²³ Mais le besoin d'un effort plus général se faisait sentir. C'est donc dans cette intention que fut constitué, sous le double parrainage du Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques et de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, le Groupe de Sociologie des Religions dont le travail a été jusqu'ici d'ordre bibliographique.²⁴

D'autres recherches, socio-historiques, se poursuivent sous la direction de M. E. G. Léonard tandis que H. C. Desroche s'attache aux sectes chrétiennes et péri-chrétiennes du XIX^{ème} siècle dans leurs rapports avec la naissance du socialisme.²⁵ Dans le domaine des autres religions, la frontière entre sciences religieuses est plus difficile à tracer. Nous citerons comme ouvrages à valeur sociologique incontestable M. Granet, *Etudes sociologiques sur la Chine* (Paris, P.U.F., 1953, 304 p.), Bennabi (M.) *Vocation de l'Islam* (Paris, Seuil, 1954, 173 p.), Gardet (L.) *La Cité musulmane* (Paris, Vrin, 1954, 406 p.) Massignon (L.) *Annuaire du monde musulman* (Paris, P.U.F., 1955, 432 p.), Chelhod (J.) *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes* (Préface de M. Griaule, Paris, P.U.F., 1955, 220 p.).

Le lancement cette année d'une revue spécialisée, *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, doit permettre l'unification d'un domaine encore trop cloisonné.

4. *Sociologie politique et économique*

La sociologie politique donne lieu à quelques études de théorie générale. Ch. Bourricaud présente cette année une thèse de Doctorat ès-Lettres dans ce domaine. Citons aussi l'étude en cours de Cl. Lefort sur les idéologies.²⁶ Mais elle est surtout développée dans l'angle de la sociologie électorale²⁷ qui bénéficie de sources statistiques privilégiées permettant l'établissement de concomitances multiples. Sa faiblesse réside dans l'impossibilité de scinder la circonscription.

Aussi a-t-elle été complétée par d'intéressantes recherches d'Opinion Publique²⁸ dépassant parfois le simple plan de l'actualité pour des études plus approfondies sur la structure de l'opinion politique.²⁹ C'est

enfin le problème difficile de l'insertion sociale des partis politiques qui a été mis à l'ordre du jour par l'Association Française de Sciences Politiques, patronnée par la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.³⁰

Ces problèmes sont évidemment inséparables des problèmes économiques. Il est évidemment difficile de dire où s'arrête la sociologie, où commence la science économique. Disons que, parmi les études économiques les plus proches des préoccupations sociologiques, nous avons celles qui dépendent de la VIème Section de l'Ecole Pratique des hautes Etudes: Centre d'Etudes Economiques dirigé par M. Coutin préoccupé particulièrement des régions agricoles et groupe d'études de M. Bettelheim sur les problèmes de planification.

5. *Sociologie juridique*

Tout en gardant la préoccupation des sources sociales du droit, elle se tourne de plus en plus vers les problèmes de délinquance, et entre en contact de plus en plus étroit avec la criminologie à laquelle elle apporte ses explications propres, en particulier, participation importante au dernier Congrès International de Criminologie. Signalons l'enquête effectuée par A. Davidovitch sur les sources sociales de l'escroquerie. Outre le séminaire du Pr. Levy-Bruhl aux Hautes Etudes, et sous son patronnage, un comité d'études de sociologie criminelle vient d'être constitué avec la participation de plusieurs professeurs de Droit.

6. *Sociologie des moyens de diffusion*

La diffusion des idéologies et des stéréotypes intéresse principalement les spécialistes de la Presse et du Cinéma. Presse enfantine et les types de "héros" qu'elle propose³¹ (P. Fouilhé) presse religieuse et son contenu social (E. Poulat, J. Maître) tandis qu'une sociologie du contenu des films en rapport avec leur public est esquissée par E. Morin.³²

Des organismes à vocation plus générale, comme le Centre d'Etudes sur la Presse de J. Kayser (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques) et l'*Institut de Filmologie* apportent une contribution sociologique incontestable dans ce domaine.

7. *Psycho-sociologie*

Enfin, nombreuses sont les études à cheval sur la psychologie et la sociologie. La création récente d'une chaire de psychologie sociale, confiée à M. Stoetzel à la Sorbonne, marque l'importance accrue de cette branche. Ces études ont pour cadres, outre le Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, les séminaires des Professeurs G. Gurvitch et I. Meyerson, aux Hautes Etudes, l'Institut National d'Orientation Professionnelle, l'Institut de Psychologie de la Sorbonne et le Laboratoire de Psychobiologie de l'Enfant. Parmi les plus proches de la sociologie, signalons d'abord les études de psychologie différentielle, marquant les différences psychologiques selon milieux et conditions de vie. Le séminaire du Pr. Meyerson s'attachant aux *œuvres* humaines, corrélations des

fonctions qui les engendrent, s'est attaché, dans cette perspective au travail et à la religion. Par ailleurs, c'est la question de l'affectivité qui, sous divers aspects (amitié, ton affectif, bonheur . . .) a retenu l'attention d'un certain nombre de chercheurs (MM. Pages, Maisonneuve, Mmes. A. Schöen et R. Avigdor-Corryel). Le problème de l'adaptation des enfants de la classe ouvrière dans l'enseignement secondaire vient d'être abordé par une ancienne conseillère d'Orientalisation Professionnelle (Mme. C. Peyre). Par ailleurs, la "micro-sociologie", après avoir entraîné dans l'orbite sociométrique, s'est engagée délibérément dans la voie de la *dynamique des groupes*, avec les études de P. H. Maucorps et les expériences de clubs d'enfants de J. Van Bockstaele.

Ainsi se présentent les principaux aspects de la fécondité un peu disparate de la sociologie en France. La phase actuelle de spécialisation conduira-t-elle à un éclatement ? Nous ne le pensons pas. Car la nécessité d'une sociologie, fondée non sur les a-priori, mais sur la réflexion commune à partir des travaux spécialisés apparaît aux yeux de tous les chercheurs sociologues.

Des problèmes méthodologiques généraux : méthodes d'enquête, outil statistique, induction, travail collectif sont l'objet de discussions³³ qui, sans vouloir établir d'orthodoxie montrent la part d'enrichissement que permettent d'apporter de tels échanges. Enfin, certaines grandes préoccupations communes comme celle de la structure et du sort des diverses classes sociales se font jour à travers la plupart des enquêtes et constituent un terrain commun d'études.

NOTES

¹ 11 en 1950.

² Directeur Monsieur le Doyen Davy.

³ *Déterminismes sociaux et liberté humaine*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, 302 p.

⁴ Les uns et les autres, Presses Universitaires de France.

⁵ *Bulletin des Chercheurs du Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques*, fondé en 1954 ; à partir de 1955, *Recherches Sociologiques*, trimestriel.

⁶ Une liste des enquêtes touchant de près ou de loin cette branche a été publiée par A. Touraine in *Recherches Sociologique*, (2) Juin 1955. Le Pr. G. Friedmann lui-même, outre divers articles, a publié une nouvelle édition revue et augmentée des *Problèmes humains du machinisme industriel*, 1954.

⁷ En particulier, le Centre Général d'Organisation Sociale (CEGOS) et l'Association Française pour l'Amélioration de la Productivité (AFAP).

⁸ Par exemple, P. Fraisse et Y. Guibourg : "Human Relations, progrès ou mystification ?" *Esprit*, 1953, no. 5, p. 783-803.

⁹ *La vie de travail et ses problèmes*, Paris, Colin, Cahiers de la F.N.S.P., 1954, 191 p.

¹⁰ A. Touraine, *L'évolution du travail aux usines Renault*, Paris, C.N.R.S., 1955, 203 p. M. Verry, *Les laminoirs ardennais*, Paris, P.U.F. (Travaux du Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques), 1955, 156 p. V. Isambert-Jamati, *L'industrie horlogère dans la région de Besançon*, Paris, P.U.F. (même collection), 1955, 120 p. Etude en cours de J. Dofny sur l'Industrie de la chaussure et de J. P. Trystram sur les mineurs marocains.

¹¹ *Petits fonctionnaires au travail*, Paris, C.N.R.S., 1956, 128 p.

¹² A paraître aux Editions du C.N.R.S. en 1956.

¹³ *Lyon et sa région. Analyse et enquêtes pour l'aménagement du territoire*. Lyon, Bosc Frères, 1955, 301 p. Re Pr.

¹⁴ Dont Maximilien Sorre a rappelé la fécondité dans ses *Fondements de la Géographie Humaine*.

¹⁵ Thèse de Lettres 1954.

¹⁶ G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique Noire*, Paris, P.U.F., 1955, 512 p. et *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires*, Paris, Colin, Cahiers de la F.N.S.P., 1955, 264 p. J. Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut Atlas*, Paris, P.U.F., 1955 (Travaux du Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques), 472 p.

¹⁷ *Renouveau des idées sur la famille*, R. Prigent Ed., P.U.F., 1954, 372 p.

¹⁸ *Sociologie comparée de la famille contemporaine*, Paris, C.N.R.S., 1955, 220 p.

¹⁹ Qui vient de rassembler ses principaux travaux in *Etudes de Sociologie Religieuse*, Paris, P.U.F. Tome. I—1955, tome II—1956, Le chanoine Boulard, de son côté, fait dans " *Premiers itinéraires en Sociologie Religieuse* " (Paris, Ed. Ouvrières Economie et Humanisme, 1954) une synthèse des travaux les plus récents en ce domaine.

²⁰ Mgr. Gros, *La pratique religieuse dans le diocèse de Marseille*, Paris, Ed. Ouvrières, 1954, 110 p.

²¹ Jean Labbens, *Les 99 autres*, Lyon, E. Vitte, 1954, 140 p.

²² Voir aussi *Grenoble, Essai de sociologie religieuse* par Mme. J. Perrot, Grenoble, Centre d'études des complexes sociaux, 1954, 62 p. + 56 graphiques h.t.

²³ Communications réunies in *Sociologie religieuse, Sciences Sociales*, Paris, Ed. Ouvrières, Economie et Humanisme, 1955, 272 p.

²⁴ Un fascicule *Sociologie Religieuse*, à paraître dans la collection *Current Sociology*, de l'UNESCO.

²⁵ Premier livre d'une série, *Les Shakers américains. D'un néo-christianisme à un pré-socialisme ?* Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1955, 330 p.

²⁶ Sur le domaine particulier de l'idéologie des guerres, signalons le travail de J. C. Oeconomio.

²⁷ F. Goguel, Ed. *Nouvelles études de sociologie électorale*, Paris, Cahiers de la F.N.S.P., 1954, 214 p.

²⁸ *Institut Français d'Opinion Publique*, publiant la Revue *Sondages*.

²⁹ Numéro spécial des *Temps Modernes* sur " la Gauche " avec l'important article de M. Stuetzel (10ème année, 1955, no. 112-113). Problème particulier des femmes: M. Duverger, *La participation des femmes à la vie politique*, Paris, UNESCO, 1955, 240 p. Dogan (M.) et Narbonne (J.), *Les Françaises face à la politique*, Paris, Colin, Cahiers de la F.N.S.P., 1955, xvi, 192 p.

³⁰ Lavau (G. E.), *Partis politiques et réalités sociales, Contribution à une étude réaliste des partis politiques*, Paris, Colin, Cahiers de la F.N.S.P., 1953, 169 p. *Partis politiques et classes sociales*, publié par l'Association Française de Sciences Politiques, sous la direction de M. Duverger, Paris, Colin, Cahiers de la F.N.S.P., 1955, 332 p.

³¹ *Journaux d'enfants, journaux pour rire*, Paris, Centre d'Activités Pédagogiques, 1955, 160 p.

³² Dont un livre doit paraître en 1956.

³³ En particulier, dans les colonnes de *Recherches Sociologiques*.

Etat des recherches de caractère sociologique à l'Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques depuis 1950

A. GIRARD

(Chef de service, Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, Paris)

DÉMOGRAPHIE ET SOCIOLOGIE

L'Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques ne saurait, en aucune manière, être assimilé à un centre de recherches sociologiques. Organisme d'Etat, créé par l'Ordonnance du 24 octobre 1945, et rattaché au Ministère de la Santé Publique et de la Population, il poursuit avant tout des objectifs pratiques; sa mission est d'éclairer l'action du gouvernement, en même temps que d'assurer la diffusion des connaissances démographiques, et d'informer l'opinion. Uniquement institut de recherche, et déchargé, à ce titre, de toute tâche administrative, la nature même des problèmes de population le conduit souvent à entreprendre des travaux dont les résultats peuvent apporter une contribution à l'avancement des connaissances sociologiques.

Science sociale, placée au centre des sciences sociales par la description statistique qu'elle donne des populations et de leur structure, la démographie n'est pas entendue à l'I.N.E.D. au sens étroit de démographie pure, mais au sens le plus large. Son étude ne saurait être séparée de l'économie, avec laquelle elle a été longtemps confondue. Les faits démographiques sont des faits sociaux, et en tant que tels ne sauraient être saisis indépendamment des facteurs sociaux et culturels qui les déterminent dans une large mesure. Cette orientation de la pensée à l'I.N.E.D. est attestée :

(1) Par l'ouvrage de son directeur, Alfred Sauvy, " Théorie générale de la population ", dont le premier tome porte en sous-titre *Economie et Population* (1952), et le deuxième *Biologie sociale* (1954), ce qui met en lumière le souci de l'auteur de montrer l'influence des facteurs sociaux et psychologiques sur les phénomènes de population ;

(2) Par la présence à l'I.N.E.D., dès l'origine, d'une section de psycho-sociologie, fondée et dirigée par Jean Stoetzel, professeur de psychologie sociale à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. L'existence de cette section spécialisée ne signifie nullement qu'elle est seule concernée par l'aspect social des faits démographiques. Une telle préoccupation est, en réalité, présente chez tous les membres de l'Institut.

L'ETENDUE DES RECHERCHES

Entendant ainsi sa mission en un sens très large, l'I.N.E.D. a entrepris dès sa création quelques grandes études. Certaines ont

déjà fait l'objet de publications, mais ne sont pas closes pour autant, d'autres sont en cours. Toutes seront poursuivies et le simple énoncé de leur objet atteste l'ampleur du champ de recherches :

—Evolution en France et dans le monde des tendances démographiques, natalité, mortalité.

—Le vieillissement des populations et le sort des personnes âgées.

—Migrations internationales et migrations internes. Dépeuplement et peuplement rationnel. Exode rural.

—Les facteurs sociaux de la fécondité. Les attitudes et le comportement. La fécondité différentielle.

—Les facteurs sociaux de la mortalité.

—Les théories de la population. L'eugénique.

—La population européenne.

—Les pays sous-développés.

—Le logement.

—L'alcoolisme.

etc., etc.

Dans tous ces domaines, l'I.N.E.D. suit de très près les travaux analogues dans le monde, et sa revue fait état des résultats obtenus à l'étranger comme par des organismes internationaux.

FORMATION DES CHERCHEURS

Les chercheurs rassemblés à l'I.N.E.D. sont toujours de formation universitaire, mais de discipline différente, mathématiques, histoire sociale, géographie humaine, sociologie, médecine. Leur rencontre dans le même organisme atteste la vocation polyvalente de la démographie.

L'I.N.E.D. assure lui-même la formation de son personnel et recrute, dans la mesure de ses moyens, de jeunes chercheurs appelés, par la suite, à collaborer avec les anciens, voire à les remplacer dans l'avenir.

Il ne fait pas d'enseignement, mais, conformément à sa mission, il s'est efforcé de développer l'enseignement de la démographie au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur. Dans cet esprit, il donne un cours libre de démographie à la Sorbonne, et plusieurs de ses membres font des conférences ou un cours notamment à l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration ou à l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques de l'Université de Paris. Il est à l'origine de la création d'Instituts d'études démographiques dans plusieurs Universités de province (Bordeaux, Caen, Lille, Lyon, Nancy, Strasbourg, Toulouse).

Il reçoit, en outre, des stagiaires français et étrangers, étudiants ou jeunes professeurs, désireux de s'initier aux travaux poursuivis et aux méthodes des recherches en cours.

L'I.N.E.D. publie une revue trimestrielle, *Population*, et une collection de "Travaux et Documents", qui comporte 24 volumes au 1er octobre 1955. Il a, en outre, publié 4 volumes hors collection.

APERÇU DES MÉTHODES

Les méthodes qui président aux travaux de l'Institut sont très diverses, et toujours adaptées à l'objet des recherches entreprises. Mais toutes s'inspirent du souci de l'observation concrète et de la mesure des faits, susceptibles de fonder des perspectives rigoureuses. La publication des résultats originaux est toujours accompagnée de la description des méthodes utilisées.

(1) *Utilisation et interprétation des statistiques existantes*

La première activité de l'I.N.E.D. consiste à élaborer les statistiques existantes, recensements, mouvements de population, etc. . . . qu'il n'a pas pour fonction d'établir, et il apporte ainsi une importante contribution à la description de la société et de ses structures.

(a) Exploitation systématique des données de base sur un problème particulier (analyse de certains phénomènes selon les diverses catégories sociales : mortalité, mortalité infantile ; nuptialité ; progrès technique et répartition professionnelle de la population).

(b) Elaboration de nouveaux instruments de mesure permettant de préciser certaines données démographiques et de mettre en lumière des facteurs sociaux susceptibles de les éclairer (élaboration d'un taux nouveau de mortalité infantile distinguant entre mortalité endogène et mortalité exogène ; un nouvel indice de la fécondité).

(2) *Enquêtes*

L'I.N.E.D. procède à des enquêtes de types très divers, dont la méthode est chaque fois élaborée en fonction de l'objet de la recherche.

(a) Etablissement de données de base par l'élaboration de nouvelles statistiques (fréquence et variations régionales des divorces et séparations de corps—mesure de la consanguinité et de l'endogamie).

(b) Monographies diverses de caractère économique ou social (étude sur le dépeuplement de régions déterminées—l'avortement dans la région parisienne).

(c) Enquêtes par sondage—La section de psycho-sociologie est à même de pratiquer des enquêtes par sondage, destinées à rechercher aussi bien des faits que des opinions ou des attitudes.

Dans le domaine des faits (étude des budgets de famille selon le nombre d'enfants dans les diverses classes sociales—recherches sur le logement des jeunes ménages dans la région parisienne—l'éloignement entre domicile et lieu de travail dans la région parisienne).

D'autres enquêtes portent surtout sur les attitudes collectives, notamment à l'égard—du problème démographique—de l'âge de fixation de la retraite—des étrangers—de l'alcoolisme.

Certaines recherches impliquent le recours simultané à plusieurs méthodes, notamment sur le niveau intellectuel des enfants d'âge

scolaire, l'orientation et la sélection des enfants d'âge scolaire, l'adaptation des immigrants, la mobilité des travailleurs et les problèmes sociaux de réadaptation, où se trouvent parfois associées des techniques de sondage et des monographies, l'analyse statistique et des techniques psychologiques.

APPLICATIONS À DES PROBLÈMES INTÉRESSANT LA SOCIOLOGIE

Morphologie sociale et structures sociales

L'analyse des structures urbaines et rurales se heurte souvent à une difficulté, qui tient à la définition même de la ville: le critère administratif ne rend pas toujours compte de la réalité vivante ou dynamique d'une agglomération urbaine. L'I.N.E.D. a proposé une *contribution à l'étude des agglomérations françaises* et dressé une liste des agglomérations groupant plus de 5.000 habitants, en fixant, dans chaque cas particulier, l'ensemble des communes qui peuvent être regardées comme constituant un ensemble (1952, 1 et 3).¹

Une étude sur *la répartition des sexes à Paris et dans le département de la Seine* (1952, 3), avec quelques données sur d'autres grandes villes, a montré que la proportion des femmes est plus élevée dans les villes qu'ailleurs. D'autre part, les variations de cette proportion dans les différents quartiers sont en corrélation positive avec l'élévation du degré d'aisance. Il y a là un fait que la science politique, la sociologie électorale et la sociologie religieuse ne sauraient négliger dans l'interprétation de leurs observations. La *localisation de diverses professions*, le corps médical, par exemple, obéit également à certains facteurs socio-économiques (1953, 3).

En outre, toute enquête directe, qu'il s'agisse d'observer des faits, ou des attitudes, à propos des différents problèmes qu'étudie l'I.N.E.D., présente une analyse des données selon les diverses catégories sociales. Certes, il s'agit le plus souvent de catégories sociales très larges, et l'on connaît les difficultés inhérentes aux recherches sur la stratification et à toute définition précise des classes sociales. Mais il n'est pas douteux qu'un rapprochement systématique de toutes les données observées dans les diverses catégories, tant par l'I.N.E.D. que par d'autres organismes de recherches, apporterait un éclairage utile sur ces questions.

La famille

Sans préjudice des travaux statistiques sur l'évolution de la nuptialité, de la natalité, de la fécondité, ni des recherches sur les budgets familiaux, les besoins des familles ou le temps de travail de la femme mariée dans les agglomérations urbaines, l'I.N.E.D. a consacré un ouvrage au *Renouveau des idées sur la famille* (18, 1954).² Des hommes venus de divers horizons, historiens, juristes, administrateurs responsables de la politique familiale, y procèdent à une coupe à la fois dans le temps et dans l'espace, retraçant l'évolution en France des structures familiales,

de la famille traditionnelle à la famille conjugale, en décrivant les transformations en cours dans d'autres cultures. Un chapitre terminal expose les changements survenus dans les fonctions de la famille, du fait des transformations techniques du monde moderne, la collectivité tendant de plus en plus à assumer pour la protection des individus, des fonctions antérieurement dévolues à la famille. Il montre, en outre, qu'en dépit de ces changements, la famille est restée très stable dans le monde occidental et demeure l'une des institutions les plus solides.

Niveau intellectuel, orientation et sélection des enfants d'âge scolaire

Confrontée avec des problèmes de croissance, du fait de la reprise de sa natalité, la France aura à réaliser, dans les prochaines années, l'intégration d'un plus grand nombre de jeunes dans son économie. C'est pourquoi les questions d'orientation et de sélection requièrent l'attention, afin d'adapter, sous l'effet de la poussée démographique, les méthodes traditionnelles d'enseignement à des structures économiques et sociales en voie de rénovation.

De nouvelles études à partir de la grande enquête de 1944 sur *le niveau intellectuel des enfants d'âge scolaire* (13 et 23, 1950 et 1954) permettent d'avancer qu'avec le test utilisé dans l'examen de 100.000 enfants, la France est dotée d'un instrument apte à déceler les aptitudes des élèves dès les premières années de leur vie scolaire, et susceptible, en conséquence, de rendre de grands services. L'analyse a été poussée de manière à étudier l'influence des facteurs constitutionnels, familiaux et sociaux sur la réussite à l'examen psychologique. Des normes établies non seulement pour l'ensemble des enfants, mais encore pour sept milieux socio-économiques différents, permettent de classer les sujets sans qu'ils subissent le handicap de leurs origines sociales.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le très faible effectif dans les Universités d'enfants d'ouvriers et de cultivateurs n'est pas uniquement le résultat d'empêchements d'ordre économique. En tout cas, le véritable obstacle ne se situe pas au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur, mais bien plus tôt. L'orientation se fait, en réalité, vers 11 à 12 ans, au moment du passage dans l'enseignement secondaire (1953, 4; 1954, 4). En outre, un nombre appréciable d'enfants dont les aptitudes sont attestées par la réussite scolaire, sont mis directement au travail à la fin de la scolarité obligatoire, alors qu'ils pourraient tirer parti d'une instruction plus poussée (1955, 4). Les différences à tous ces niveaux sont très sensibles selon le milieu. Certes les obstacles économiques ne sauraient être minimisés. Toutefois l'observation directe révèle une influence sensible des facteurs psychologiques et culturels: l'instruction donnée aux enfants correspond, dans une large mesure, au niveau d'aspiration des parents, très variable selon les groupes sociaux. Les normes culturelles accusent parmi certains d'entre eux, un retard par rapport à l'évolution nécessaire des structures.

MOBILITÉ SOCIALE, MIGRATIONS INTERNATIONALES, MOBILITÉ INTERNE

Les études de mobilité sociale entreprises à l'I.N.E.D. avaient pour objet de vérifier une hypothèse souvent émise sur les causes de la dénatalité française. La société s'étant ouverte, au XIXe siècle, à un large courant de mobilité, les couples auraient limité leur descendance pour sauvegarder leur niveau de vie et pousser le plus haut possible leurs enfants. Un sondage portant sur la profession d'un échantillon représentatif de la population masculine adulte, et sur la profession des deux générations précédentes, parents et grands parents des personnes interrogées (1950, 3), a montré que les chances de s'élever dans la hiérarchie sociale d'un enfant appartenant à une famille restreinte sont effectivement un peu plus élevées que celles d'un enfant appartenant à une famille nombreuse. Des constatations analogues résultent d'enquêtes effectuées dans des milieux sélectionnés, élèves des lycées, étudiants des Facultés : les chances de monter pour un enfant d'ouvrier, déjà faibles, sont presque nulles s'il appartient à une famille nombreuse (1951, 1). L'objectif limité de ces recherches a été l'occasion d'apporter une contribution à l'étude de la mobilité dans la société française contemporaine, en mesurant l'importance au cours de trois générations.

Sollicité par l'UNESCO, dans le cadre de ses recherches sur les tensions, intérieures ou internationales, l'I.N.E.D. a conduit des études sur *l'adaptation culturelle des immigrants* qui ont fait l'objet de deux volumes, *Français et Immigrés* (19 et 20, 1953 et 1954). La notion d'assimilation rend mal compte des processus psychologiques qui se déroulent dans la conscience des immigrants. Ceux-ci se trouvent en fin de compte placés dans une situation psycho-sociale particulière, à mi-chemin entre leurs compatriotes restés au pays d'origine, et les autochtones au milieu desquels ils sont appelés à vivre. Le problème est pour eux de s'adapter. Des observations analogues ont été faites dans d'autres pays et il en est fait état notamment dans *Etudes Européennes de Population* (1954), publiées à l'issue d'une rencontre internationale provoquée par l'I.N.E.D.

Un rapport encore inédit, remis en 1955 à la Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier, sur *la mobilité des travailleurs et les problèmes sociaux de réadaptation*, étudie les obstacles qui s'opposent à une plus grande mobilité interne. S'il en est de physiques et de matériels, les moins graves ne sont pas ceux d'ordre psychologique et social : l'individu, inséré dans un groupe, est appuyé dans sa résistance au changement par la résistance du milieu professionnel, religieux, politique, régional, qui se défend contre le départ de ses membres. Des problèmes sociaux se posent également dans les milieux d'arrivée, et il semble, en définitive, qu'une action individualisée dans toute la mesure du possible donne les meilleurs résultats pour agir sur des milieux et déclencher un mouvement d'essence collectif. Là encore la préoccupation pratique, immédiate, est évidente, mais elle n'empêche pas d'approcher une connaissance plus précise des interactions sociales.

AUTRES ETUDES ET PERSPECTIVES DE RECHERCHES

L'endogamie et ses conséquences génétiques

Sans multiplier les exemples, il y a lieu d'insister sur un tout autre type de recherche. En liaison avec la génétique de population, les enquêtes sur *les effets de la consanguinité et de l'endogamie* (1953, 4 ; 1954, 4 ; 1955, 4) ont permis d'apporter des précisions chiffrées sur l'ampleur du phénomène de "l'éclatement des isolats". Le nombre moyen de personnes parmi lesquelles un individu peut choisir son conjoint (isolat) s'accroît sans cesse, grâce sans doute au développement de la mobilité. Ainsi se trouve entretenu, ou même augmenté, l'hétérogénéité des populations, ce qui a pour effet d'élever leur niveau qualitatif. Nombreux et de faible dimension dans l'Europe d'autrefois, les "isolats" ont éclaté dans une période récente. Des enquêtes dans deux départements permettent de préciser à quelles époques et à quels niveaux de concentration d'habitat s'est produit ce phénomène. Il appartiendrait à des sociologues de considérer les résultats observés pour en chercher l'explication.

Le choix du conjoint

Ce n'est pas à dire que les possibilités de choix du conjoint soient devenues illimitées dans la société contemporaine. L'I.N.E.D. se propose de conduire des recherches par interviews d'échantillons de population pour étudier ce problème, en observant la distance géographique, professionnelle, religieuse, culturelle au sens le plus large qui existe entre les conjoints.

Attitudes à l'égard de la natalité et de la structure familiale

Dans un autre ordre d'idées, il a déjà en cours des études sur la conjoncture démographique en relation avec les attitudes. Même dans une population non malthusienne, le nombre des naissances est commandé, dans une large mesure, par la conjoncture et par des traits de mœurs. A plus forte raison, dans une société malthusienne, les couples obéissent à des considérations de sécurité personnelle ou de niveau de vie, comme à des normes sociales, et limitent leur descendance selon les règles admises à l'époque et dans le milieu où ils vivent. Connaître cet ensemble de circonstances et de conventions, et l'influence des courants d'idées qui se font jour aux différents moments du temps, dans un espace donné, permettrait au démographe de mieux suivre l'évolution démographique, et de mieux apprécier la portée des hypothèses qu'il formule pour établir des prévisions. Le développement de la recherche psycho-sociale semble, sur ce point, de nature à lui apporter d'utiles informations.

CONCLUSIONS

Il n'est sans doute pas utile d'insister à nouveau en terminant sur les liens étroits qui unissent les diverses sciences sociales, en particulier la

démographie et la sociologie. Ces liens existent et créent une interdépendance entre elles. Les exemples présentés ci-dessus tendaient à montrer comment, par la nature même des choses, les recherches menées à l'Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques intéressent la sociologie et la psychologie sociale, souvent de manière très directe, et peuvent concourir à leur développement, grâce, en particulier, aux informations quantitatives qu'elles apportent.

Toutefois, on ne saurait le considérer sans abus de langage comme un institut d'études sociologiques. L'étude des faits sociaux qui le concernent n'y est pas entreprise en tant que telle, dans un but de connaissance désintéressée. Institut scientifique, il tend néanmoins à des objectifs pratiques. L'I.N.E.D. accumule au cours de son travail des connaissances d'ordre sociologique, qui n'excluent pas les possibilités d'une élaboration théorique ni d'une synthèse plus vaste.

RÉSUMÉ

L'Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques ne saurait être assimilé à un centre d'études sociologiques. Organisme public, il poursuit des objectifs pratiques et sa mission est d'éclairer l'action du gouvernement, en même temps que d'assurer la diffusion des connaissances démographiques et d'informer l'opinion. Après quelques indications sur sa structure, la formation des chercheurs et les méthodes de recherche, cet exposé indique le sens très large dans lequel est entendue la démographie à l'I.N.E.D. et l'étendue des études entreprises. Certaines intéressent plus particulièrement la sociologie et il est donné quelques précisions sur des travaux concernant notamment la morphologie et la structure sociales, la famille, le niveau intellectuel, l'orientation et la sélection des enfants d'âge scolaire, la mobilité et les migrations internationales, l'endogamie et le choix du conjoint, etc. . . . Les travaux de l'I.N.E.D. apportent en tout cas sur un ensemble de faits sociaux des éléments d'information quantitatifs susceptibles de préciser les cadres de recherche pour une investigation sociologique.

NOTES

¹ Une date suivie d'un chiffre de 1 à 4, renvoie à un numéro de la revue *Population*, en indiquant l'année et le trimestre.

² De tels numéros entre parenthèses renvoient à la collection des Travaux et Documents de l'Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, avec l'indication de la date de parution.

Trends in British Sociological Research Since 1950

JOHN MADGE

(Honorary General Secretary of the British Sociological Association)

The period of five years on which I have been asked to report is too short to reveal striking developments or shifts of emphasis in sociological research ; many research items which began before 1950 are still in progress. Most of the current research of which reports are available is conducted under the auspices of some institution and there is a remarkable sameness, from year to year, in the work in hand.

There is also the difficulty that a number of very different criteria of importance can be adopted. At the start of a research project the headlines tend to go to the items that have attracted the largest funds or the most impressive steering committees. At the other end of a piece of research the most eminent ancestry may on occasion leave the quality of the offspring in doubt, whereas some newcomer with a thesis may have produced some work which is unexpectedly worth while. In preparing this paper I have attempted to cover both beginning and end of the research process.

There remains the question of trends in the research process itself. I think that definite trends are discernible, but there is no space here for a general consideration of how far the techniques of research and the instrumental concepts of researchers have been developed or refined within the period under review.

With some slightly invidious telescoping it is possible to collect the subjects of sociological research under ten separate headings. This is an empirical grouping and is clearly assailable on points of detail, but it can be justified on grounds of convenience. The headings which I have chosen are :

- (1) Social Concepts, Theories, Systems etc. (22, 24, 25, 30.)
- (2) Methodology. (23.)
- (3) Social Structure. (31-36.)
- (4) Sociology of Work (including Industrial Sociology). (51.)
- (5) Educational Sociology (including studies of broadcasting and other social media). (45.)
- (6) Political Sociology. (39, 41.)
- (7) Medical Sociology (including problems of youth and age). (61.)
- (8) Social Disorganisation. (61.)

- (9) Economic Sociology and Social Inquiries for Administrative Purposes. (38, 52, 62.)
- (10) Race Relations. (37.)
- (Numbers in brackets relate to the classification used in "Current Sociology")

For each of these I have attempted to ascertain

- (a) The research programmes launched, as reported in the "Register of Research in the Social Sciences", published annually by N.I.E.S.R., and as given in replies to my circular to selected members of Universities and other institutions.
- (b) The end products in the form of articles in the two journals covering the general sociological field in the U.K., namely the *Sociological Review* and the *British Journal of Sociology*.
- (c) The end products in the form of books reviewed in the two same journals.

In order to limit the field I have firmly, and some will think unfairly, excluded all items of research relating primarily to other countries and other times and all books and articles originating in other countries. It is to be assumed that the latter will be noted in other national reports. In spite of these exclusions, I am very conscious that exigencies of space have forced me to omit many valuable items. I can only beg the indulgence of those who have thus been unjustly excluded.

(1) SOCIAL CONCEPTS, ETC.

A search of the entries of the Register of Research reveals few items designed to clarify social concepts or social theory. In Britain at least, the research grant is not widely used as a method of encouraging this kind of clarification.

In contrast, analysis in terms of articles published in the two sociological journals or in terms of books reviewed in the same two journals might suggest that the extension of social philosophy was the primary activity of sociologists.

The truth is perhaps that the category is too wide to be manageable. First we have the recurring fresh analyses of the central ethical issues of mankind—the ideas of freedom, progress, liberty. These seminal ideas may well reflect and redirect all our thinking, but it would be quite inappropriate to survey such contributions here as though they constituted a form of research. Nor is it in context to discuss integrative accounts of sociology, social anthropology or social psychology, or books designed to win fresh support for the social sciences.

This drastic narrowing of the field leaves a few items that cannot be excluded. First comes Professor T. H. Marshall's realistic commentary on modern equality, *Citizenship and Social Class* (O.U.P., 1950). Mr.

Donald G. MacRae, also of *L.S.E.*, has been engaged on a long term analysis of the development of science as a social institution. At another level, Dr. Josephine Klein of *Birmingham University* has been at work on the question of group structure, and her report *Small Group* has been accepted for publication. Mention should be made of Mr. Julius Gould's work on terminology and definitions in the Social Sciences, undertaken under the ægis of a committee set up at the request of the Department of Social Sciences at U.N.E.S.C.O.

There remain some papers that are evident offspring of deep thought fertilised by empirical work. Three examples, taken from the old-style *Sociological Review*, are J. E. Goldthorpe "An examination of the concept of need" (*Sociol. Rev.*, 42, 179), born in the normative maze of the hospital atmosphere, Michael Argyle "The Concepts of Rôle and Status" (*Sociol. Rev.*, 44, 39), the product of a scholarly fusion of sociological and psychological modes of thought, and G. Duncan Mitchell "The relevance of group dynamics to rural planning problems" (*Sociol. Rev.*, 43, 1).

(2) METHODOLOGY

It is perhaps natural that few research projects have methodology as their primary object. It could well be argued that too much concentration on points of method unstimulated by the need for answers to questions can lead to sterile and unrealistic results. It is certainly true, on the other hand, that although much puerile enquiry persists there is in Britain a rapidly growing sophistication in sociological research method, partly as a result of infiltration from allied disciplines and partly through the existence for the first time in Britain of a substantial corps of empirical sociologists, whose experience though not always committed to paper is being transmitted by word of mouth. Furthermore, British reports on empirical research findings do now generally include a section on methods used, which is a sign of grace even if the section in question may at times be rather dull and uninspiring.

One prominent exception to this disinterest in method is the work of the *Division of Research Techniques* at the *London School of Economics*, in which a team of statisticians under Professor M. G. Kendall is working on a sequence of problems concerned with the efficiency of interviewers, the adequacy of quota sampling and the expense of any other kind of sampling. The results of this important work have been reported in a series of papers to the Royal Statistical Society. While much of value has emerged, the research techniques so far explored appear somewhat narrowly based, concentrating as they do on the statistical sampling and administrative problems of mass interviewing and displaying rather little curiosity about the art and science of asking questions or of the other methods of inquiry open to sociologists. The *Government Social Survey* has contributed substantially to the theory and practice of sampling technique in social investigation. The

resolute rejection by this body of the quota sample gives an almost unique rigour to their statistical findings. This work has been reported, for example, by P. G. Gray and T. Corlett in "Sampling for the Social Survey", *J. Roy. Statist. Soc.*, 113 (2), 150, but the Social Survey has produced no similarly rigorous publication on the science of asking questions.

The pages of the journals are rather bare of methodological findings, though it must be borne in mind that many papers with relevance to sociological research occur in other journals, particularly in those concerned with statistics and philosophy. The only fully relevant essay in the Journal is L. F. Richardson's "Is it possible to prove any general statements about historical fact?" (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 3, 77) while the *Sociological Review* celebrated its rebirth in 1953 with articles by Professor Simey, D. J. O'Connor, and E. F. O'Doherty. It has since lapsed into silence on this topic.

I shall immodestly mention my own book, *The Tools of Social Science* (Longmans, 1953), and I can call attention to Mr. C. A. Moser's forthcoming *Methods of Social Surveys* to be published by Heinemann in 1956. It is perhaps surprising that the volley in recent years of American textbooks on social research methods has found no louder echo over here.

(3) SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Under this heading, following the International Bibliography, I am grouping demography, ecology, culture, social groups, social stratification, and family studies.

Of all the branches of social science normally linked with sociology, demography is undoubtedly the most advanced in its method. The statistical and other techniques appropriate to the material handled are rigorous and powerful beyond the dreams of sociologists working in many other fields.

Current research is naturally concentrated at the *London School of Economics* which has had Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders as Director of the School and D. V. Glass as Professor of Sociology. Since the special studies occasioned by the needs of the Royal Commission on Population, the work has tended to centre on problems of social class and social mobility. The first major report on this work was recently published as *Social Mobility in Britain*, edited by D. V. Glass (Routledge, 1954) and represents one of the most important books in the sociological field published in the period under review. The various enquiries are unified by the investigation by the *Government Social Survey*, on behalf of the *L.S.E.* project, of a sample of 10,000 adults in Britain, whose social origins, education and occupational achievements are examined. The analysis, by D. Caradog Jones and John Hall, necessitated the construction of the so-called Hall-Jones scale of occupational prestige, in which a large number of 'rankers' placed each of a list of occupations into one of seven standard classifications.

Other related issues were studied by a strong team, drawn from the talent available at *L.S.E.* F. M. Martin describes two subsidiary field studies, one concerned with the meaning of class to different social strata and the other (derived from the wider study of Secondary Education and Social Mobility reported elsewhere) with parents' preferences as between the different secondary streams. Mrs. J. E. Floud analyses the main survey material in terms of the educational background of the adult sample and Dr. H. T. Himmelweit reports an independent survey into the relationship between the different types of secondary school and the aspirations of their adolescent products. This theme has since been expanded by A. N. Oppenheim. Other sources are raided and the sample material is put to additional uses in various tangential studies of social mobility described by R. Mukherjee, R. K. Kelsall, J. Berent, T. Bottomore, R. C. Chambers and others. This is professedly an interim report in which no final attempt has been made to draw threads together, but it already constitutes an extremely substantial source of information on social mobility.

This major project tends to overshadow the other demographic studies undertaken in recent years. Work has been proceeding on the *Population Investigation Committee's* Scottish Mental Survey, and a follow-up survey of the sample of 1,200 children has been completed. This covers developments in the intelligence and attainment of the children between their 11th and 18th birthdays. Dr. John D. Nisbet at *Aberdeen* has been examining the influence of family environment on the development of intelligence. Dr. Girling of *Edinburgh* has been applying the methods of social anthropology to a study of adolescents in two urban areas in order to isolate the factors affecting social mobility. Finally, in a use of census data which is novel for this country, Dr. J. Moge, of *Oxford*, encouraged by Professor W. F. Ogburn, has been adapting the Chicago technique of ecological analysis by census tracts to the needs of his social survey of Oxford, having been given special facilities for this purpose by the General Register Office.

Problems of ageing and retirement are receiving attention by various workers. C. Fleming at *Sheffield* has completed his demographic survey of workers in the iron and steel industry. A. R. Emerson at *Edinburgh* is researching into the relation between retirement and physical and mental illness, by interviewing a cohort of 65-year-olds at six months intervals. Dr. I. M. Richardson at *Aberdeen* is carrying out a systematic medical assessment of older men to ascertain their fitness to continue employment after 65. G. Duncan Mitchell at *Exeter* is concerned with the retirement decisions of those who settle in the N. Devon coastal resorts, and in the way in which community life is affected by the consequent abnormal age structure of some such areas. These retirement studies may be considered against the background of the massive inquiry undertaken by the Ministry of

Pensions and National Insurance and published as *Reasons given for Retiring or Continuing at Work* (H.M.S.O., 1954). The investigation required the collation of existing record information with the questioning by interview of some 26,000 applicants for retirement pension and the collection of additional data from 5,500 employers.

Apart from the direct study of social mobility, there have been some useful recent essays on social class by Professor G. D. H. Cole, *Studies in Class Structure* (Routledge, 1955), and some more descriptive work on various aspects of social stratification. R. Lewis and A. Maude's first book was published before 1950 but their second, *Professional People* (Phoenix, 1952), sustains their scholarly if somewhat peevish commentary on the decline of the material and social standing of the middle classes. Professor T. H. Pear in his *English Social Differences* (Allen & Unwin, 1955), exhibits an impressive sensitivity to the nuances of British class distinction, a topic which has also in its higher linguistic reaches been engaging the attention of Miss Nancy Mitford, the novelist, and of Professor Ross of *Birmingham*. There is a discussion of the concept of class and a short comparative study of class structure in T. B. Bottomore, *Classes in Modern Society* (Ampersand, 1955).

Our period also admits a number of other books prepared within the propitious culture of *L.S.E.* and concerning themselves with the changing norms of the professional and middle classes. Examples are J. A. Banks' *Prosperity and Parenthood* (Routledge, 1954) and R. K. Kelsall's *The Higher Civil Service* (Routledge, 1955).

Mention should also here be made of D. G. MacRae's useful and erudite *Trend Report and Bibliography on Social Stratification*, issued as Vol. II, No. 1 of *Current Sociology*. This should serve to remind us what a small portion of the western world's outpouring on social class emanates from the British Isles.

The next major topic is that concerned with urban and rural sociology. Immediately after the war there was a very considerable effort of research applied to the problems of urban and rural reconstruction of particular localities. This was mainly of a geographical or planning nature, but as time went on the need for sociological concepts and methods of inquiry appeared to be becoming recognised. By 1950, however, local planning authorities were busily engaged in fulfilling their new statutory obligation to prepare development surveys and plans for their areas, and the interest in this field displayed by universities and other research institutions was correspondingly moderated. Sociological research tended more to concentrate on general findings, even though the fieldwork was normally localised. The two main books on this topic published during the period were: L. Kuper (Editor), *Living in Towns* (Cresset Press for the University of Birmingham, 1953), the major part of which is concerned with the Coventry Social Survey, and G. Duncan Mitchell, Mark W. Hodges *et al.*, *Neighbourhood and Community: an Inquiry into Social Relationships on Housing*

Estates in Liverpool and Sheffield (University Press of Liverpool, 1954), the sub-title of which describes its scope. Also worthy of mention are Dr. Dennis Chapman's study in Dudley C. B., *Social Aspects of a Town Development Plan* (University Press of Liverpool, 1951); the same author's recent *The Home and Social Status* (Routledge, 1955); H. Orlans *Stevenage* (Routledge, 1952), a thesis on the genesis of a new town by a visiting American; T. Brennan *et al.*, *Social Change in South-West Wales* (Watts, 1954); and J. Highet, *Dumfries Speaks Out* (Glasgow University Extra-Mural Education Committee, 1951). Reports are awaited from various workers, including Ruth Glass *et al.*, of *University College, London*, on the Lansbury Pilot Social Survey, from E. Goffman of *Edinburgh University* on Interaction Norms in an Isolated Community, and from D. H. Allcorn of *Manchester* on Social Activities of Young Men in a London Industrial Suburb. In connection with their health survey of a London suburban housing estate (see Medical Sociology) the *London School of Hygiene* are examining various social and domestic aspects of life on the same estate. Tom Brennan is now at *Glasgow University* directing a Social Survey of Govan; the initial emphasis of his enquiries is on the local authority rehousing programme. Sir Charles Kimber and Mrs. M. Stacey of *Birmingham University* have been conducting a sociological survey of Banbury. Dr. F. Henriques of *Leeds University* has been directing a series of investigations into the social structure and leisure pursuits of selected communities, in mining areas in Yorkshire and Derbyshire and in a Yorkshire textile community. The first mining study is to be published in 1956. R. W. Drinkwater in *Hull* is similarly examining the social structure of the Hull fishing community.

Specific studies of shopping habits have been undertaken by *Birmingham* and *Bristol Universities*. Janet Madge studied Worcester, and John Hall S.E. Birmingham. F. S. Brooman has been investigating retail distribution in Bristol. The late Dr. F. D. Klingender of *Hull* made a study of the pattern of life of 100 small shopkeepers relating the character of the shop to the local neighbourhood. It is hoped to follow up this study.

Another recent tendency has been the emergence of family and community studies. One landmark was Professor Adam Curle's participant study in a Devon village. The Social Survey of Oxford by Dr. John Moge of *Oxford University* has been largely devoted to a comparative study of family and community structure in old and new parts of the city, and work on family relationships is proceeding in *Birmingham* and *Nottingham*. Dr. A. T. M. Wilson and his associates at the *Tavistock Institute of Human Relations* have joined with the *Family Welfare Association* in a study of the relationships of normally adjusted families. V. G. Sheddick of *Newcastle* is studying a small rural community in Northumberland in order to isolate the basic units of intense social relationship which may be common to all societies. Finally, Michael Young, the first Director of the *Institute of*

Community Studies, which was founded two years ago, has set his course towards the study of the kinship system in Bethnal Green in East London.

Two general cultural Surveys published during the period require a mention. The first was the late B. Seebom Rowntree and G. R. Lavers, *English Life and Leisure* (Longman, 1951), which set out to present a living picture of contemporary English life, largely derived from informal interviews with nearly 1,000 men and women. Over two hundred "case histories" collected in these interviews are reproduced. The other book is Geoffrey Gorer's *Exploring English Character* (Cresset Press, 1955).

Some sociological research is being undertaken by housing and planning authorities. A unit at the *Building Research Station (D.S.I.R.)* is conducting a succession of sociological inquiries into the extent to which different features in the design and equipment of dwellings and other buildings meet the needs of users. Miss M. Willis of the *London County Council* is the only Local Government officer in the British Isles employed to conduct sociological research, but a little work is being done at certain of the new towns. A more fundamental examination of the physical planning process is involved in the current analysis by Ruth Glass, of *University College, London*, of town and country planning as a "social institution", in which particular attention has been paid to the social and administrative principles which planning authorities apply. A similar motive may have prompted Dr. Peter Collison now of *Oxford University* to adopt "The rôle of the neighbourhood idea in current town planning" as the subject for a thesis.

(4) THE SOCIOLOGY OF WORK

In recent years it seems that the most willing sponsorship of sociological research has been attracted to problems in the industrial field. This is perhaps a not surprising consequence of living in an industrial society, and in a society which is constantly made aware of imperfect human relations within, and between, industrial institutions. The initiative for much that has been started has come from official and semi-official sources, but it is also probably the case that the more or less disinterested sponsorship of scientific research in general is an act more customary among industrialists than among other groups.

Since 1950 it is possible to discern some tendency towards a shortening of the focus of this research. Whereas earlier social studies tended to be concerned with such broad classical issues as the function of trade unionism or industrial co-partnership, there has been a shift of emphasis towards more detailed direct field studies of localised problems or even of individual factories which had previously been left mainly to occupational psychologists. This trend is epitomised in Elliott Jaques, *The Changing Culture of a Factory* (Tavistock Publications, 1951); J. F. Scott and R. P. Lynton, *Three Studies in Management* (Routledge, 1952); W. H. Scott, *Industrial Leadership and Joint*

Consultation (University Press of Liverpool, 1952); Liverpool University Department of Social Science, *The Dock Worker* (University Press of Liverpool, 1955), and in a series of studies of nationalised industries undertaken by T. E. Chester and others of the *Acton Society Trust*. All these books, and a number of smaller-scale papers, are based on fieldwork expressly conducted for the purposes of investigation. In the case of the first named, in accordance with the practice of the *Tavistock Institute*, the research and therapeutic functions were integrated, and in all cases the investigators encountered unfamiliar but surprisingly superable difficulties in becoming third, and necessarily neutral, parties to the institutionalised conflict between management and man.

This knowledge that we too in England could conduct sociological research in an authentic industrial setting was most opportunely stimulated in 1953 by the institution jointly by the Government Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Medical Research Council, of a committee on Human Relations in Industry. British public funds were made available to support research projects submitted by Universities and other bodies, but the hands of the committee were further strengthened by the very substantial Conditional Aid funds which began to flow in 1953 in sponsorship of studies designed to lead to higher industrial productivity. Some of the money was allotted to studies of problems of individual efficiency, but there remains a substantial sum available for sponsoring projects on subjects within the scope of human relations in industry.

Among the current studies, most of which are sponsored in the manner indicated, a number are of direct interest to sociologists. One is Professor P. Sargent Florence's examination at *Birmingham University* of Incentive Schemes and their Effect on Productivity, which is concerned to discover how far incentive payments can over-ride existing social conventions and other impediments. In another study, in which the concepts of social anthropology are being applied to our native problems, the social determinants of production norms are being investigated by T. Lupton (himself a sociologist) under Professor Max Gluckman at *Manchester*.

The industrial setting as a social situation has been and is being examined by a number of workers. Dr. T. T. Paterson of *Glasgow* with F. J. Willett has contributed twice to the *Sociological Review*, on Unofficial Strike (43, 57) and on an experiment in the reduction of accidents in a colliery (43, 107). Dr. Paterson is pursuing his typology of forms of authority, both theoretically and in empirical and experimental studies. Glasgow anthropologists are also studying work communities. One participant study, made by A. J. M. Sykes, is of a printing firm, an industry of interest because of the noticeable cohesiveness of its T.U. membership; Sykes went on to study the opposite extreme of a gang of navies on a civil engineering site until an industrial accident cut short his investigation.

Several projects are concerned with adaptation to technological change. These include two under Professor Simey at *Liverpool*, both concerned with the relations between technological change and social organisation; one under Tom Burns with G. M. Stalker at *Edinburgh* which is concerned with the adaptation, particularly at management level, of three factories that are going over to a new product; a fourth under Dr. A. T. M. Wilson of the *Tavistock Institute* devoted to a comparison of the social concomitants of three technologically different methods of coal-getting. From *Cardiff*, Professor Michael Fogarty will examine the connection between community and occupational background on the one hand and adaptability to the dictates of the highly mechanised Abbey Steel Works in Margam.

Management studies have been sponsored in several centres. Some of these are concerned with the relationship between different groups in the managerial hierarchy. Joan Woodward, now at the *S.E. Essex Technical College*, is inquiring into the relationships between line management and functional specialists. The *Acton Society Trust* is concerned with the relations between office staff and factory workers. Another type of management study is one organised by Tom Burns at *Edinburgh*, in connection with his study of adaptation already mentioned, in which certain executives themselves keep a detailed and standardised record of their activities during working hours.

Another set of projects is concerned with the selection and training of executives. Jane Lidderdale at *P.E.P.* has been studying the passage of graduates into industry from the viewpoints of the graduates themselves, of the universities and of industrial undertakings. Dr. Charlotte Erickson of *N.I.E.S.R.* is examining the social origins of industrial and commercial managers in certain United Kingdom industries. The *Acton Society Trust* is inquiring into the management selection and promotion policy of certain large firms. Dr. Cyril Sofer of the *Tavistock Institute* is making a special study of the effectiveness of the training offered by the Department of Management and Production Engineering at Acton Technical College, and F. A. Heller of the *Regent Polytechnic* is attempting to detect changes in the attitudes or behaviour of those exposed to his own Department's course on "The Social Skills of Management".

Finally, attention is increasingly turning to certain prominent social problems concerned with the relation of industrial work to society as a whole. Professor R. M. Titmuss of *L.S.E.*, with Pearl Jephcott and others, is studying the total implications of the part-time employment of married women in a London factory, and Dr. Cecil Gordon in *Edinburgh* is investigating the social, psychological and physiological barriers to change of job with advancing age as exhibited in the case of railwaymen.

Results from the newly sponsored studies are generally required within three years. It will be very interesting to discover in another year or two how far this massive new effort leads to a solid advance in

our grasp of the problem of industrial productivity. It can already be asserted with statistical support that the incentives offered have spurred a surprising number of individuals and institutions into a fresh or renewed awareness of the scope for research in this field.

(5) EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

As centres of learning, preparing many of their graduates to be teachers, Universities naturally take a substantial interest in the methods and implications of education. The earlier University Departments of Education have now been supplemented by Institutes of Education, and one or other of these has very often constituted the kernel of sociological thought and activity, particularly in the newer Universities. Concurrently, sociologists in other Departments have quite often addressed themselves to the problems of schooling and further studies.

Many of the topics studied represent a social extension of the psychological concept of intelligence. Professor P. E. Vernon of the *London University Institute of Education* is seeking the environmental and other determinants of attainment by studying a group of London primary schools, and the relationship between ability and attainment is also the primary concern of much of the research of the *National Foundation for Educational Research*, of which Mr. Ben Morris is Director and Mr. Alfred Yates the Senior Research Officer.

Attention has also been given to the relationship between the changing educational system and the attitudes and values adopted by teachers, parents and schoolchildren. Professor R. A. C. Oliver of the *Department of Education at Manchester University* has been at work devising scales to measure the attitudes of adults to educational issues. Dr. Himmelweit at *L.S.E.* has transferred her attention from problems of student selection (reported in the *Brit. J. Sociol.*, 1, 328 and 2, 59) to the question of attitudes, and has, on the one hand, been comparing the outlook of adolescent boys from different socio-economic backgrounds and, on the other hand, been relating the background and professional standing of a sample of school teachers to their reactions to the recent changes in educational policy.

Another important topic has been studied by Mrs. J. E. Floud, formerly of *L.S.E.* and now at *London University Institute of Education*. This is concerned with the relation between social class and educational opportunity based on fieldwork in two widely differing areas of England; the results are in the press and Mrs. Floud is now engaged on a follow up. Mrs. Floud also undertook the analysis of the data on education in Professor D. V. Glass' report *Social Mobility in Britain* (see Demography section). Dr. A. Tropp of *L.S.E.* has completed a study, soon to be published, of the emergence since 1800 of the "elementary" teaching profession.

Various problems of transition from school have been studied. One such problem concerns the passage from school to work. A small survey on this subject is described by Emily G. Sykes of *Bristol*

University Institute of Education under the title "School and Work", (*Sociol. Rev.*, 1, 29), and Thelma Veness of *Birkbeck College* reported on "The Long-Term Aspirations of Young Persons in Transition from School to Work" in *Youth Employment* for Winter 1954.

Several studies have been undertaken to obtain more systematic knowledge of the social background of today's University students. One such study is reported by R. W. Drinkwater of *Hull University*. Small surveys were conducted by *P.E.P.* for 1952-3 for comparison with a pilot study of five years earlier (*Broadsheet No. 373*, Nov., 1954). As mentioned above, educational experience was examined as part of the *L.S.E.* social mobility inquiry. There has also been some delving into historical records, but the obvious need for comprehensive information is only now being met by an investigation planned by Professor D. V. Glass on behalf of the *Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals*.

The question also arises as to the consequences of University education. Mention has already been made of the *P.E.P.* inquiry into graduates in industry. There is also Mrs. Judith Hubback's questionnaire survey of graduate wives, put out by *P.E.P.* as *Broadsheet No. 361*, Apr., 1954, not to mention the *British Sociological Association's* own series of surveys into the subsequent history of sociology and social anthropology graduates, the first fruits of which were described by J. A. Banks as "The Employment of Sociologists Graduates (sic), 1952 and 1953" (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 5, 161).

There has been some volume of work on social relationships within groups of children and adolescents. In these, the classroom or the playground have perhaps been chosen primarily for their convenience as a locus for questioning or observation, and the educational context may then be incidental. Examples of such work are given in *Studies in the Social Psychology of Adolescence*, edited with a foreword by C. M. Fleming (Routledge, 1951), which contains several experiments and observations focused on problems of inter-personal relationships. One form of analysis employed is the sociogram, and this was also used by L. Silberman and B. Spice in their study of *Colour and Class in six Liverpool Schools* (University Press of Liverpool, 1950), which uses school populations for a study of race relations. Again in this category is the fundamental experiment in group dynamics by Mrs. Eleonore L. Herbert of *Manchester University* and E. L. Trist of the *Tavistock Institute*, reported as "The Institution of an Absent Leader by a Students' Discussion Group" (*Hum. Rel.*, 6, 215).

From among inquiries directed primarily to the problems of adolescents and youth work mention should be made of P. H. K. Kuentzler's studies at *Bristol University Department of Education* of the adult in youth work, preliminary results of which have been published by the University of London Press, Educational Publications, No. 5, *Voluntary Youth Leaders*. A survey of the Youth Service in Birmingham was conducted by *Westhill Training College* and published as

Bryan H. Read, *Eighty Thousand Adolescents* (Allen & Unwin, 1950). Dr. Doris Rich has surveyed the activity of Birmingham students at leisure and at work, and Pearl Jephcott has studied grouping propensities of adolescents in Nottingham.

It will be noticed that at the time of writing no major book reporting fresh research on educational sociology has appeared since 1950, but that one or two are in preparation. It is, however, natural that a time of rapid evolution of educational policy should be reflected in books of interest to sociologists. Among these may be mentioned Brian Simon's thoughtful piece of polemic, *Intelligence Testing and the Comprehensive School* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1953).

In addition to studies of formal education, increasing attention is being given to broadcasting, the cinema and other potential forms of mass persuasion, with particular emphasis on their effects on children and adolescents. W. D. Wall of *Birmingham University Department of Education* has examined the emotional effects of the cinema on adolescents, and the library reading habits of young children. The impact of C.O.I. and other films has been studied by the *Government Social Survey*. There is considerable work on broadcasting, notably by Professor Rex Knight of *Aberdeen* and by J. Coatman of *St. Andrews*, who has practical experience of broadcasting administration. Diana Scott of *University College, London*, made a special comparative study of the Dick Barton programme, and A. J. Flook of *St. Andrews* has been examining the factors responsible for the popularity of radio broadcasts. More recently, Dr. Himmelweit of *L.S.E.* has begun a substantial study of the impact of television on children. Finally, the effect of propaganda on road safety has been studied in two inquiries. One was conducted by the *Roads Research Laboratory (D.S.I.R.)* and the other by Mass Observation (*Shock Posters*, Bulletin No. 52, 1955).

(6) POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

In the spring of 1955, the *British Sociological Association* joined with the *Political Studies Association* in organising a Conference on Political Behaviour in Contemporary Democratic Society. To me at least, the sessions of this conference brought two surprises. The first was that self-professed sociologists in Britain appear to have devoted little attention to consideration of the nature of the democratic process and not much more to empirical studies of its operation in practice in the British Isles. The second was that the methods of sociological inquiry have already been used by quite an impressive number of political scientists in studies of voting and other forms of political behaviour.

Recent elections have been quite widely, if erratically, studied. In the general election of February, 1950, Mark Benney and Phyllis Geiss subjected a sample of voters in Greenwich to repeated interviews on the Lazarsfeld model; a preliminary article on the results appeared in the *Brit. J. Sociol.*, 1, 310. At the same election A. H. Birch and Peter

Campbell were, with the help of 30 students, surveying Stretford near Manchester; they reported on Voting in a Lancashire Constituency in the *Brit. J. Sociol.*, 1, 197. The same election was treated more generally in a volume from *Glasgow University*, comprising a series of essays edited by Dr. S. B. Chimes, and by H. G. Nicholas of *Nuffield College, Oxford* in his *The British General Election of 1950* (Macmillan, 1951).

The 1951 election was more copiously studied. Perhaps the most important contribution was D. E. Butler's *The British General Election of 1951* (Macmillan, 1952), which supplements a national account of the campaign by field reports of the election campaign in seven constituencies. A more localised study, concentrated in the constituency of Bristol, North-East, was conducted by R. S. Milne and H. C. Mackenzie, and published under the title *Straight Fight* (Hansard Society, 1954). Mr. Bonham has made use of material collected by Dr. Henry Durant's *British Institute of Public Opinion* to analyse the voting behaviour of the middle classes, published as *The Middle Class Vote* (Faber, 1954). E. J. Cleary and H. Pollins are the authors of a paper on Liberal voting at this election in the *Sociol. Rev.*, 1, 27. It will be clear from the examples given that this kind of political analysis is increasing in scale and intensiveness. D. E. Butler has already published his *The British General Election of 1955* (Macmillan, 1955) and other studies cited above are known to have been repeated to cover the General Election of 1955.

Although the ballot itself is secret, it is clearly possible to learn a great deal about voters, both individually and *en masse*, and about their voting propensities. F. M. Martin in "Social Status and Electoral Choice" (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 3, 231) uses some *L.S.E.* material to relate these factors. Earlier, Wilma George (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 2, 255) aimed to demonstrate a close relationship between social conditions and the Labour vote. An important contribution is Professor H. J. Eysenck, *The Psychology of Politics* (Routledge, 1954), a rigorous study of the effect of personality on political persuasion. Perhaps in this same category may be included Professor M. G. Kendall's courageous adumbration of the cube law as a means of predicting election results on the basis of party voting estimates (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 1, 183 and elsewhere).

Candidates themselves and their parties must expect to be exposed to the searchlight, and the knowledge thus amassed has provided the basis for various inquiries. Notable among studies are one concerned with the *social structure of the political elite* (W. L. Guttsman, *Brit. J. Sociol.*, 2, 122, and 5, 12); one on the foci of power in political parties (R. T. McKenzie's important *British Political Parties*, Heinemann, 1955); in trade unions (V. L. Allen, *Power in Trade Unions*, Longmans, 1954), and one on the statistical prospects of women candidates (J. F. S. Ross, "Women and Parliamentary Elections", *Brit. J. Sociol.*, 4, 14.)

Finally, for lack of a better niche in my classification, I will here include Mass Observation's quite elaborate coverage of the 1953

Coronation. The Coronation of 1937 occurred in the very early days of Mass Observation, and this fresh survey has been designed *inter alia* to provide comparable material.

(7) MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY

At its 1953 Conference on *Social Policy and the Social Sciences*, the *British Sociological Association* was able to assemble a strong group of medical men and others to describe and discuss investigations in social medicine. By 1954, Professor Titmuss could report that during the previous five years at least nine books had been published in Britain on the theme of social medicine, and that in recent years eight or so new Chairs, in social and preventive medicine, public health and human ecology, had been created. There is no doubt that the medical profession and the public are alive to the social and psychological factors which influence the health of individuals.

Apart from the general summaries, much specific work has been done by the various agencies researching in this field. The *M.R.C. Social Medicine Research Unit*, directed by Dr. J. N. Morris, has been surveying infant mortality in its full social setting, investigating the family and other circumstances underlying the onset of duodenal ulcer in young men, examining the relation between coronary heart disease and physical activity, and making an intensive survey of one General Practice in West London. In addition to their intrinsic medical interest, these studies have evoked some acute observations on the texture of contemporary suburban life—see R. F. L. Logan and E. M. Goldberg, "Rising Eighteen in a London Suburb," *Brit. J. Sociol.*, 4, 323, and Lulie A. Shaw, "Impressions of Family Life in a London Suburb," *Sociol. Rev.*, 2, 179.

Professor J. H. F. Brotherston of the *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London*, has been directing a long-term study of the health of families in a housing estate near London. This is related to the structural analysis of the same housing estate referred to under Social Structure. Dr. L. Stein and S. Sklaroff of *Edinburgh University Department of Public Health and Social Medicine* have made two studies of living conditions and family life in interwar housing estates, reported as "The Health of an Urban Community", *Brit. J. Soc. Med.*, 6 (2), April, 1952. The housing conditions of growing families in Aberdeen were surveyed by Barbara Thompson as part of the very considerable work done in that city by the combined resources of the *Social Medicine Research Unit* and the *Obstetric Medicine Research Unit* of the *Medical Research Council* and the *University Department of Midwifery*. By carefully contrived teamwork a concentrated attack has been made on the sociology of reproduction. Raymond Illsley is the sociologist on the team, and Griselda Rowntree was called in at one stage to make a survey of *The Finances of Founding a Family*.

The sample of mothers and children studied in the exemplary report on *Maternity in Great Britain* prepared by a joint committee of the *Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists* and the *Population Investigation Committee* are being followed up at *L.S.E.* under revised auspices. Dr. J. W. B. Douglas, in spite of his translation to *Edinburgh University*, continues to conduct the survey. At the same time in *Edinburgh* he is studying the social consequences of prematurity, by comparing 700 premature children with a matched sample of 700 normal birth children.

The first stage of the survey initiated by the late Sir James Spence has been completed (James Spence *et al.*, *A Thousand Families in Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, O.U.P. for Nuffield Foundation, 1954). The emphasis in this was on the social factors underlying the illnesses of children.

Also in *Newcastle*, the *University Department of Industrial Health* is conducting a social survey of a Tyneside shipyard town in order to get an overall picture of the health of the community. Similarly, Dr. G. Herden of the *Department of Preventive Medicine at Bristol University* is making a morbidity survey for Bristol and its environs.

Special studies of the problems of age have been maintained. This has been one of the interests of Professor T. Ferguson at *Glasgow*, of Dr. Welford at *Cambridge* (A. T. Welford *et al.*, *Skill and Age*, O.U.P. for Nuffield Foundation, 1951). The *Government Social Survey* also investigated the problem for the Ministry of Labour (G. Thomas and B. Osborne, *Older People and their Employment*, C.O.I., 1951). The *Oxford Social Medicine Unit* in conjunction with the Dorset County M.O.H. has made a socio-medical survey of 1,000 old people in that county. Some items on the problems of ageing have also been mentioned in Section 4, *Sociology of Work*.

A variety of administrative problems connected with health have been studied. The new *Department of Human Ecology at Cambridge* under Professor A. L. Banks is engaged on various area studies from a more strictly medical point of view.

The *Government Social Survey* for some years conducted a continuous Survey of Sickness, now suspended, which provided a unique sample census of morbidity. The *Government Social Survey* has also assessed by survey the demand for the Medresco hearing aid, and Mr. P. G. Gray is at present conducting a repeat survey. *Mass Observation* have undertaken a survey to discover as much as possible about the factors and barriers associated with recruitment to dentistry. Dr. J. Tizard at the *Maudsley Hospital* has been examining the social training of mental defectives with a view to absorbing them in employment. Dr. Kathleen Jones of *Manchester* has studied the Mental Health Services; the first part of her work was published as *Lunacy, Law and Conscience* (Routledge, 1955).

The hospital service has received much attention. Two studies sponsored by the *Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust*, the *Hospital*

Job Analysis and the Investigation into the Functions and Design of Hospitals, contained a sociological component. The *Acton Society Trust* included the hospitals service in its review of the problems of large-scale organisation.

Professor T. E. Chester, now of *Manchester*, has recently started a comparative study of regional hospital boards to ascertain whether the expected benefits of regionalism have been attained. B. Abel-Smith of *N.I.E.S.R.*, with Professor R. M. Titmuss as consultant, has analysed the cost of the first five years of the health service. The report, *The Cost of the National Health Service in England and Wales* (C.U.P., 1956), pays much attention to the social factors in hospital demand. Dr. Henry Durant, Director of the *British Gallup Poll*, surveyed a random sample of Corby inhabitants to discover their hospitalisation experiences, to provide a background for the diagnostic health centre sponsored by the *Nuffield Trust*. Dr. Durant also surveyed a sample of women in the Manchester region to discover their attitudes towards cancer.

Joan Woodward, while at *Liverpool University*, examined *Employment Relations in a group of hospitals* (Institute of Hospital Administrators, 1950) and H. Maddox of *Liverpool* reported on "The Work and Status of Mental Nurses" (*Sociol. Rev.*, 2, 195). H. D. Willcock and L. T. Wilkins of the *Government Social Survey* are at present concerned on behalf of the Ministry of Health in an experiment on the effects of changing the nurse assignment system in hospital wards.

There is thus ample evidence that the empirical methods of the social sciences are proving useful to the medical profession and are improving our control of health. It is, however, a little doubtful how far medicine has as yet benefited from sociological thinking. The 'intuitive' idea of normality with which medical men operate could possibly be clarified by sociological perspective, but progress in this direction is incomplete, in respect both of physical and of mental norms. An exception is found in Professor Aubrey Lewis' brilliant paper on Health as a Social Concept (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 4, 109).

(8) SOCIAL DISORGANISATION

Dr. Barbara Wootton is at present engaged on behalf of the *Nuffield Foundation* on a five-year review of current British social research, with special reference to the field of problems of social irresponsibility. In due course we may therefore hope for an integrated and creative assessment of the results so far established. The section which follows must be regarded merely as a curtain raiser.

The complaint has sometimes been made that too much attention is paid to abnormal social conditions and not enough to the normal. The criticism is probably much less justified than it was, but it remains true and natural that sociological research and analysis are still often directed at current social problems, such as those of crime, delinquency and family breakdown.

Much of the early work in this field was grounded on the psychological axiom that personality disorder was the determinant of anti-social behaviour. Much valuable work along these lines continues. A proportion of the work of the *Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency* is concerned with such points as the rôle of low intelligence in delinquency (Miss M. Woodward) and the psychological significance of the use of oestrogen for sexual offenders (Dr. D. Rumney).

Other studies of the *I.S.T.D.* place emphasis on the social as well as the emotional background of offenders. Miss Woodward's classification study of cases of cruelty to children and the study by Dr. J. C. Spencer and Dr. T. Grygier on the place of the Probation Hostel in the treatment of young offenders are of this type. So also is the prediction analysis by Dr. H. Mannheim of *L.S.E.* and Mr. L. T. Wilkins of the *Government Social Survey* into the chances of success or failure of Borstal treatment, published as *Prediction Methods in relation to Borstal Training* (H.M.S.O., 1955). This was the first of what is continuing as a series of prediction studies; a second study applied to Approved School Boys is now in progress, and a third on Probationers is being planned.

In addition to these psychologically based researches there is a growing interest in a more sociological approach, derived from the theory that at least in some instances those guilty of conduct regarded as anti-social by their society as a whole are in fact conforming too carefully to the norms of their own restricted membership group. This approach underlies the work recently reported from *Liverpool* (J. B. Mays, *Growing up in the City: a study of Juvenile Delinquency in an Urban Neighbourhood* (University Press of Liverpool, 1954), and that undertaken at *Nottingham* by Pearl Jephcott under Professor W. J. H. Sprott's guidance. Professor Simey at *Liverpool* has now started a survey of the ecological distribution of various forms of social defect. Dr. Peter Sainsbury of the *Maudsley Hospital* has recently completed a monograph on the ecology of suicide in which he sets out to unravel the psychological and sociological correlates (*Suicide in London*, Chapman and Hall, for the Institute of Psychiatry, 1955).

Perhaps as a further stage beyond this, there is a line of development epitomised by Dr. John Spencer's *Bristol Social Project* in which an area of the city exhibiting certain social weaknesses is receiving co-ordinated attention by voluntary social organisations and social investigators, and is being used as the site for various social training projects and community experiments. Mr. John Mack of *Glasgow University* was one prime mover in the 1951 Bristol Workshop which gave rise to the Social Project, and he has recently been behind similar developments in his own city. Another related operational project is being run jointly by *Hull University* and the local *Council of Social Service*, to examine the possibility of preventive and remedial

services with particular reference to matrimonial breakdown. A further social project is described in *Ship Without Sails* (University of London Press, 1951) by M. Lloyd Turner, who tells of the successful outcome to his practical activity of organising a club for unclubbables.

The *Eugenics Society* is making the interesting experiment of trying to find a means of recognising "promising families" whose children are particularly likely to develop into exceptionally useful citizens.

There have been many noteworthy recent books on social disorganisation. At the beginning of the period under review, *Delinquency and Human Nature*, by D. H. Stott (Carnegie U.K. Trust, 1950) was published. This was based on his four years' experience as a participant observer in a senior approved school, in the course of which he set out to identify the socio-psychological origins of delinquency in the boys. The contribution of personality and of circumstances to anti-social behaviour has also been the theme of several other books, including Alex Comfort's *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State* (Routledge, 1950); *Psychological Factors of Peace and War*, edited by T. H. Pear (Hutchinson, 1950); Dr. Norval Morris, *The Habitual Criminal* (Longmans, 1951), based on an investigation of 300 cases; *Problem Families: Five Enquiries*, edited by C. P. Blacker (Eugenics Society, 1952); D. V. Donnison, *The Neglected Child and the Social Services* (Manchester University Press, 1954); T. Grygier, *Oppression* (Routledge, 1954); J. Spencer, *Crime and the Services* (Routledge, 1954); Dr. B. M. Spinley, *The Deprived and the Privileged* (Routledge, 1955). Professor T. Ferguson of Glasgow supplemented his earlier youth sample to produce *The Young Delinquent in his social setting* (O.U.P., 1953).

The study of socially disapproved forms of sexual behaviour continues sporadically. Dr. Hermann Mannheim of *L.S.E.* has been conducting a long-term study of prostitution, and a psychologist was appointed by the *British Social Biology Council* to conduct a three year survey into the same subject. Her report, edited by C. H. Rolfe, was published as *Women of the Streets* (Secker and Warburg, 1955). Dr. Ivy Pinchbeck has studied "Social Attitudes to the Problem of Illegitimacy" (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 5, 300).

Sociological inquiries have also been made into certain aspects of the administration of justice. Prominent in this field is the work by Dr. Mannheim and Dr. Spencer on the sentencing policy in Metropolitan juvenile courts.

(9) ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGY

Social inquiry in Britain began with poverty studies, and much practical fieldwork is still concentrated on the questions of earning, saving and spending. Many surveys of direct administrative concern are at present conducted, predominantly by the *Government Social Survey* which makes inquiries on behalf of British Government Departments and occasionally on behalf of other reputable bodies. Some

surveys have been continuous, such as the *National Food Survey, Domestic Food Consumption and Expenditure, 1950* (Ministry of Food, H.M.S.O., 1952). Others have been repeated from time to time to supplement initial information and to disclose trends. For example, P. G. Gray, of the *Social Survey* in conjunction with officers of the *Building Research Station* (D.S.I.R.) has conducted two National Inquiries into Domestic Expenditure on Heating. But the majority of surveys have been undertaken to obtain rapid answers to specific questions. In some instances the resulting reports are published: examples are *Betting in Britain, 1951*, by W. F. F. Kemsley and David Ginsburg; *The Purchase of New Bread, 1951* by Geoffrey Thomas; *A Forecast of the Effects of Economics in London Telephone Directory Services, 1951*, by D. L. Lamberth.

Current work being undertaken by the *Social Survey* not mentioned elsewhere includes a fourth Survey of Personal Savings by J. E. Fothergill; and a study of road safety in Slough, run by H. D. Willcock using controlled observations and interviews.

Other economic surveys involving fieldwork have been undertaken by both Oxford and Cambridge. In the *Cambridge Department of Applied Economics*, now directed by W. F. Reddaway, J. E. C. Utting is collecting information on the economic transactions of a sample of Cambridgeshire residents. At the *Oxford Institute of Statistics*, H. F. Lydall has completed a first national survey of incomes and savings (published as *British Income and Savings* (Blackwell, 1955) and is now engaged on a repeat survey.

Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, Mr. D. C. Jones and Mr. C. A. Moser of *L.S.E.* are engaged on a fresh study of the Social Structure of England and Wales.

Professor C. Madge and Mrs. M. Bennathan at *Birmingham* have completed an intensive study of family budgets. Also relevant is Michael Young's review of knowledge from a variety of sources on the Distribution of Income within the Family (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 3, 305). There have been various other empirical studies of the operation and the economics of one or more of the social services. A. T. Peacock of *L.S.E.* was author of *The Economics of National Insurance* (Hodge, 1952) and editor of *Income Redistribution and Social Policy* (Cape, 1954) both of which are concerned with the nature and consequences of contemporary social insurance.

There are undoubtedly other research items which most people would judge as only slightly less sociological than the ones cited. What are perhaps rarer are researches in which economic transactions are placed in a sociological frame. A model for this was suggested in the late Franz Steiners' "Notes on Comparative Economics" (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 5, 118), suggesting principles which while based on anthropological material apply not only to simpler economies. More substantially grounded on British data is Dr. Barbara Wootton's, the *Social Foundations of British Wage Policy* (Allen & Unwin, 1955).

(10) RACE RELATIONS

I believe that a trend report such as this prepared five years ago would not have contained a section devoted to the problem of race relations within Britain. To-day this area of study, while naturally still small, is well established. The most active centre is *Edinburgh*, in Dr. K. L. Little's *Department of Social Anthropology*, whose staff have made studies of Asiatic and of Afro-West Indian communities in Cardiff, in Liverpool, and of student assimilation into British Universities in Manchester, in East London, in N. and S. Shields. Anthropological methods of unstructured and guided interviewing and participant observation have been conjoined with documentary research.

Publications from this school include Dr. Little's own *Race and Society* (UNESCO, 1952); Michael P. Banton, *The Coloured Quarter* (Cape, 1955) on recent immigration into East London; Anthony H. Richmond, *Colour Prejudice in Britain* (Routledge, 1954) based on a survey among West Indians in Liverpool conducted while the author was still at that University; Anthony H. Richmond, *The Colour Problem* (Penguin Books, 1955) and S. Collins, "Social Processes Integrating Coloured People in Britain" (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 3, 20).

From *Liverpool University*, L. Silberman and B. Spice applied sociometric and other techniques to the study of race and class relations in six Liverpool schools (see Education section). Further studies of the native born Negro population are under way in *Liverpool*. P.E.P. have been studying the attitudes of colonial British subjects temporarily living in Britain.

Dr. J. H. Robb, using Rorschach tests and interviews, seeks the origins of anti-semitism in *Working Class Anti-Semite, a Psychological Study in a London Borough* (Tavistock, 1954). A recent volume, edited by Maurice Freedman and called *A Minority in Britain: Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish Community* (Vallentine Mitchell, 1955) includes contributions from Maurice Freedman himself and from Howard M. Brotz. Dr. James of the *London Institute of Education* engineered the small experiment of introducing two West African teachers into a secondary school near London. In addition to observations, children were interviewed by Dr. Tenen before and after, and the results showed a marked shift of opinion towards Negroes in general. This story is well told in H. E. O. James and Cora Tenen, *The Teacher was Black* (Heinemann, 1953).

The whole field of race relations has recently been critically reviewed by Maurice Freedman (*Brit. J. Sociol.*, 5, 342).

Recent Trends of Development in Sociological Research in Israel

S. N. EISENSTADT

(The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel)

I

In this report we shall try to describe briefly some of the main trends of development of sociological research in Israel in the last three or four years. First we shall very briefly indicate the main developments of the various research projects which were reported for the Liège Congress.¹ Most of the institutions mentioned in that report continued to develop various aspects of their researches. The Central Bureau of Statistics has continued to make many basic demographic and economical surveys, among them a basic survey of manpower in Israel. The projects on the demographic and economic aspects of the absorption of new immigrants, undertaken by the Departments of Demography and Economics of the Hebrew University, in co-operation with the Central Bureau of Statistics under a grant from the Ford Foundation, are now in the process of final analysis. The "Tensions Project" undertaken on behalf of Unesco is now already completed and reports on "Problems of Economic Adjustment of Oriental Immigrants to Industry", by Professor A. Bonné of the Hebrew University; "On Intergeneration Tensions" by S. N. Eisenstadt and J. Ben David (The Hebrew University), on "Development of Leadership" by S. N. Eisenstadt and "On an Immigrant Community" by Mrs. J. Shuval (The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research) have been prepared. These reports sum up some of the main lines of interest and research reported for the Liège Congress.

The Szold foundation has continued its work on various problems of youth, and has executed several surveys on youth-services and problems among new immigrants, in various types of institutional homes, etc. It has also completed a study, by Mrs. Faitelson-Schor, on the patterns of socialization in the Kurdish group in Israel.

The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research has also continued in the execution of several surveys, mostly in the field of industry. Its scientific director, Dr. Louis Guttman, has continued in working on various methodological problems of factor analysis, the "radex", etc., and several of his papers dealing with these problems have now been published.²

An important new development in social, albeit especially in the economic research, in Israel has been initiated by the establishment of the Falk Project for Economic Research in Israel, which began

work in 1954. While most of its researches are in the purely economic field, it has also sponsored a research project on Social and occupational Mobility, executed by the Department of Sociology of the Hebrew University, The Eliezer Kaplan School of Economics.

Additional new projects of the Department of Sociology are:³

(A) A research project on behalf of the Israeli Air Force, on problems of training of air crews ; and

(B) Research on immigrant youth; this research was planned to add comparative material on immigrant youth to existing material on youth movements and secondary school pupils the overwhelming majority of whom come either from locally born families or from families who immigrated to Palestine before 1948. In the first instance the whole youth population (altogether about 250 boys and girls) between the ages of 13-18 of a Jerusalem quarter was investigated. Half of these were interviewed, and about most of the rest a detailed schedule was completed by field workers on the basis of information, informal talks and observation. The interview schedule comprised as far as possible the same questions as the one employed with the youth movements, but there were also questions pertaining to immigration and to absorption in the country.

Participant observation of youth activities was also widely used in this study; in addition, a complete survey was made of the social, educational and health services, and of the public institutions operating in the quarter.

This study is now being extended to two semi-urban and a few agricultural settlements of recent immigrants.

Most of these new projects of the Department of Sociology—with the partial exception of the project on occupational mobility—continued with the main line of interest of the Department—namely the investigation of the various forces which influence the extent and direction of integration of Israeli society. Thus the Department has continued intensively with the project on Communication, Leadership and Mobility,⁴ which was enabled by a grant by the Ford Foundation and which investigated some of the basic processes of integration or mal-integration of Israeli society at its different levels. As already mentioned above the project on youth movements and youth groups which investigates the continuity of the society through generations, is being in part finished,⁵ while in other parts it is extended to new fields. The project on social differentiation in co-operative settlements which investigates one of the most significant and specific aspects of Israeli society has been also extended on a much wider scale. The research on professions has been completed in its first stage.

As indicated above an entirely new venture of the Department was the project on occupational mobility. The purpose of this project was to start intensive investigations in one of the major institutional spheres

of Israeli society—namely the economic one. It was thought that such investigations may be of special interest as:

A. Zionist ideology has laid great emphasis on the development of manual, industrial work, and on a re-creation of an entirely new, self-supporting economy.

B. At the same time bureaucratic structures have become more and more predominant. A great deal of power and influence became centred around them, they attract more and more people and their prestige became accordingly enhanced.

Accordingly several occupational groups which seemed to be of strategic importance from this point of view were chosen. The first groups were the Israeli Civil Service and the public employees of the Histadruth (The General Federation of Labour in Israel), while the second were several groups of industrial workers.⁶

The main aspects analysed here were the following:

- (a) Attitude towards employee's specific job and task.
- (b) Attitude towards the main principles of bureaucratic or identical organisation and division of labour—responsibility, discipline, etc.
- (c) Attitudes towards external pressure groups and evaluation of their importance in the structure of the bureaucracy and its workings.
- (d) Evaluation of Civil Service (or Histadruth) jobs or of identical work in relation to other occupations in the country.
- (e) Aspirations to occupational mobility and their direction, whether within the Civil Service or within the industry or outside of it, and if the latter, to what occupations; the reasons for these aspirations, whether they lie in the general evaluation of the work, or in the internal working conditions, rates of pay, social security, etc.
- (f) Internal working relations in the office or factory, with supervisors, fellow-workers, etc.
- (g) Attitudes towards the grading system and changes within it.
- (h) Among professional people, evaluation of the professional opportunities within the Civil Service or Histadruth.

It is hoped that through the combined study of these three sections it will be possible to analyse:

- A. The organisation and bureaucratic and managerial structure of these institutions;
- B. The influence of this structure on the occupational structure, on the motivations of the employees and their evaluation of their occupation;
- C. The place of these occupations in the occupational structure and social hierarchy of the Yishuv.

The study of Jewish Social history, undertaken at the Department of Sociology, by Dr. J. Katz, has also taken shape and has been focused on the question of the structure of traditional Jewish society and its

institutions, and their disintegration at a time when European society was undergoing a metamorphosis from the second half of the XVIII century.

In these researches it is postulated that Jewish society was not an integral section of European society even in the pre-modern era. It performed certain economic functions in society and maintained itself through an exchange of services with non-Jewish society. In all other spheres, religion, law, education, family, social relations, etc.—it constituted a closed society. This autonomy found expression in the maintenance of special institutions in all these spheres.

The research project will describe this society and its institutions as economically and politically dependent, but autonomous in the religious and social fields.

It will then concern itself with the recrystallisation of Jewish social forms following their previous disintegration, the process of assimilation, its extent, and the development it took.

Lastly, consideration will be given to the rise of modern nationalism. In this respect the hypothesis is that nationalist crystallisations were not the result of any reaction to anti-semitism, but were rather in the nature of an ideological transmutation of traditional Messianism.

The interest of these fields of research lies not only in its intrinsic worth and contribution to the understanding of Jewish society, but also from a broader comparative point of view. It throws light on the structure of different traditional societies, on the extent of cultural and social heterogeneity they allow, and on the nature of integration of different subcultures and heterogeneous groups within them.

II

In the foregoing pages we have enumerated and briefly described the main developments of sociological research in Israel in the last 3-4 years. But beyond the intrinsic interest of these developments, each in its own field, one can find in some of them at least some specific characteristics. While it would be idle to talk about the existence of any special Israeli sociology—as of any other “national” sociology in this period of growing international contacts and unification of outlook in this field, it may yet be that because of some of the sociological characteristics of Israel itself, sociological research in it tends, in some cases, to special selectivity in its problems and approaches. Two such approaches can perhaps be discerned more vividly than others. The first is the relatively small gap between “pure” and “applied” research. The second, which is obviously connected with the first, is the possible utilization of the results of “local” studies as starting points for wider comparative research.

Many of our researches have been initiated on behalf of various public bodies interested in the solution of practical problems. This applies mainly to the various studies on absorption of immigrants,

and the more recent studies on social mobility. The interesting thing that happened in most of these researches—if they went beyond the pure and simple “survey” stage—was that it was found that no adequate solution to the various practical problems could be found unless the most basic, “theoretically pure” problems were tackled. Thus even the “simple” question of the adjustment of different immigrants to different vocational rôles could be more or less adequately answered when basic problems of status-image, ego strength, collective identification, etc., were solved. The practical problem of development of different types of agricultural settlements could be solved only after some basic components of group structure—internal cohesion, division of rôles, the place of leadership and communication, etc.—were investigated. The examples could be multiplied, but the general trend seems to be discernible in many of these researches.

It is quite possible that the main reason for this state of affairs is the fact that Israeli society—and especially that section of it which is composed of new immigrants—is still in a state of constant flux, of relatively low degree of integration, so that every practical problem involves basic questions. Not only this, but the very existence of a society in a state of flux sometimes enables the sociologist to pose some basic questions on the nature of integration of social systems, etc.

If that is so then it should obviously apply also to other societies in a state of rapid change, especially perhaps many of the colonial and post colonial societies, and perhaps it may be worth while to enquire at some stage whether any common problems could be defined and worked out.

This brings us to our second point. Because of all the reasons outlined above, as well as because of the co-existence, in a relatively small country and within a small population, of very diverse forms of social organisation, many of the basic problems of integration, of structure of these groups are often easily utilisable as starting points of wider comparative research. Let us take two examples. About five years ago a small monograph which compared the structure of youth groups in co-operative and communal settlements was published.⁷ Already in that monograph some questions of the significance of different types of adult-youth relations for social continuity were alluded to. From this starting point general hypotheses about the social conditions age groups and youth movements under which arise: (1) the reasons for differences in the structure of these groups, e.g., the type of tasks they perform, the age span they cover, the extent of their formalization, and the relation of all these differences to the social function of the age-groups; (2) the conditions under which these groups fulfil integrative or deviant and disintegrative functions in the social structure, were worked out, and a comparative investigation based on about 200 societies was analysed.⁸

A second example can be found in the study of professions. The analysis of professions in Israel has several implications for comparative studies, especially in underdeveloped countries and countries which

have recently attained political independence—i.e., countries in which collective orientations are of great importance in the shaping of professional organization and ideologies.⁹

Additional examples could be given from the study of social differentiation in communal settlements, from the study of the patterns of communication in different types of communities, the problem of economic adjustment of immigrants coming from underdeveloped countries, the study of traditional Jewish society mentioned earlier, etc. But even these examples should suffice to indicate this general trend.

Obviously enough these are but two directions in which research in Israel is going—but they seem to be the most closely connected with the social background of sociological thought and research in Israel.

NOTES

¹ See S. N. Eisenstadt, "Sociology in Israel," *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology*, I.S.A., 1954, vol. I, pp. 26-32.

² See in P. Lazarsfeld, *Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences*, Glencoe, 1954.

³ The Department of Sociology of the Hebrew University has published a Special Pamphlet describing its main lines of research in 1950-55. This report has also been summarized in the I.S.A.'s first *Newsletter*. Because of this we shall mention all these projects only briefly here.

See *Report on Research Activities*, Department of Sociology, The Eliezer Kaplan School of Economics, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1955.

⁴ See *Sociology in Israel*, *op. cit.*, and the *Report on Research Activities*, *op. cit.*

⁵ See J. Ben David, *Report on Research Project on Youth Movements in Israel*; within this general project new sub-projects dealing with the structure of the political élite, with developments of associations* and activities and of ethnic associations were developed.

* See, in greater detail, *Report on Research Activities*, *op. cit.*

⁶ For greater details see, *Report on Research Activities*, *op. cit.*

⁷ S. N. Eisenstadt, *Age Groups and Social Structure, A Comparison of some Aspects of Socialization in Communal and Co-operative Settlements in Israel*, Jerusalem, 1950.

⁸ See S. N. Eisenstadt, "African Age Groups, A Comparative Analysis, *Africa*, April, 1954, and S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation, Age Groups and the Continuity of Society*, Free Press, Glencoe, 1955.

⁹ See J. Ben David "The Sociological Structure of the Professions in Israel", *Scripta Hierosolomitana*, vol. III, Jerusalem, 1955, in print.

The Institute for Social Research, Oslo : A Brief Summary of Activities 1950-55

STEIN ROKKAN

(Programme Director, Institute for Social Research, Oslo)

BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT

The Institute for Social Research was formally established in Oslo on 9 February, 1950.

The Institute did not start from scratch on that date, however: an informal organization of research workers and students at the University of Oslo had existed for several years and had provided a basis for joint investigations of various sorts before 1950. The Institute was set up to strengthen the organizational framework for these studies, to ensure joint planning of continued research, and to provide the basic facilities required in such work.

The Institute was financed through a series of generous donations from a group of Norwegian industrial firms. It was set up under the sponsorship and with the co-operation of the Norwegian Government and the University of Oslo, but has remained an autonomous body. Of the five members of its Governing Board, two are appointed by the University of Oslo, one by the Norwegian Ministry of Education, and two are members-at-large co-opted to the Board.

The Institute was conceived from the outset as a centre for interdisciplinary research in the social sciences: its members have received their University training in such disparate fields as sociology, psychology, economics, political science, law and philosophy. These differences of background and orientation have had a definite impact on the development of the Institute but have been largely overshadowed by a convergence of interests on problems of basic theory in the sciences of man and society, on the conduct of concrete empirical research and on the building up of a stable framework for active co-operation and communication across the lines that divide the disciplines.

Despite the variety of research interests represented, the Institute has maintained its operational unity during its five years of existence and has been able to expand its activities considerably in several directions.

As of November, 1955, the Institute counts twenty university-trained social scientists on its staff, two American visiting scholars in residence, as well as a number of clerical and statistical assistants. All these members are engaged in full-time research work. Three of them have permanent positions in the University of Oslo, two hold 5-year lectureships and the remainder have their salaries either from the Norwegian

Council for Research in Science and the Humanities, from the Norwegian Productivity Agency, or from special research funds.

Of great importance in these developments have been the assistance and advice received from American Fulbright scholars in residence at the Institute. Since 1948, the following U.S. social scientists have worked with the research staff in Oslo: Paul F. Lazarsfeld of Columbia University, David Krech of the University of California, Herbert Hyman of Columbia University, Daniel Katz and Eugene Jacobson of the University of Michigan, Burton R. Fisher of the University of Wisconsin, John R. P. French, Jr. of the University of Michigan. For the academic year 1956-57 arrangements have been made to have in residence at the Institute Else Frenkel-Brunswik of the University of California and Stanley Seashore of the University of Michigan.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Methodologically, the work of the Institute has been characterized by the predominance of the newer techniques of data gathering and data analysis: there has been much emphasis on *sample interview inquiries*, some on *attitude and personality testing*, some on *group experiments and observation studies*, and a scattering of attempts at *content analysis* of available documentary materials.

A neat classification of the substantive projects undertaken at the Institute is not possible: there has been a considerable amount of work on the boundaries between established fields and quite a bit of overlap between projects and programmes. The divisions indicated in the ensuing survey of fields and projects are not at all as clear-cut as they might appear in a schematic presentation of this kind:

<i>Fields, projects, personnel</i>	<i>Methods, subjects</i>	<i>Publications¹</i>
I. Basic Processes of Behavior		
A. Theoretical work		
1. Analyses of interpretations of "freedom of decision" H. Ofstad	—	(29) (30)
2. Theoretical foundations of psychology J. Smedslund	—	(50)
3. Concepts in learning theory J. Smedslund	—	(46) (47) 49)
4. Models and operational anchoring in psychological research R. Rommetveit	—	(43)
B. Empirical research		
1. Experiments on multiple probability learning J. Smedslund	Laboratory exp.	(49)

¹ References are made to the list of major publications below.

<i>Fields, projects, personnel</i>	<i>Methods, subjects</i>	<i>Publications</i>
II. Personality		
1. Validation of Norwegian version of Rosenzweig picture-frustration test B. Christiansen	Attitude scales and personality tests adm. to 180 cadets	(13)
2. Personality and international attitudes B. Christiansen		Report to be published in 1956
3. Children in father-absent (seamen's) vs. in father-present families D. Lynn P. O. Tiller	Structured doll play test, observation, interviews	In progress
III. Communication		
A. Theoretical work		
1. Usages of term "type" H. Tønnessen	—	(52)
2. Usages of "law", "valid law", etc. H. Ofstad	—	(26) (28)
3. Disc. of empirical approaches to "meaning" I. Gullvåg	—	(20)
B. Empirical research		
1. Social differences in interpretation of "free enterprise" H. Tønnessen	Interviews	(51)
2. Interpretations of arguments in the debate over the treatment of ex-Nazis H. Tønnessen	Interviews 100 lawyers	(53)
3. Testing "definiteness of intention" for various words and phrases I. Gullvåg	Tests adm. to c. 100 students	(20)
IV. Norms and roles		
A. Theoretical work		
1. The problem of the objectivity of norms H. Ofstad	—	(27)
2. Concepts of "norm" and "role" R. Rommetveit	—	(42)
B. Empirical research		
1. Parents vs. age mate pressures in the formation of religious beliefs R. Rommetveit	Questionnaires adm. to school children	(38)
2. Further studies of the formation of religious beliefs and of sex role conceptions R. Rommetveit	Questionnaires adm. to school children	(42)

<i>Fields, projects, personnel</i>	<i>Methods, subjects</i>	<i>Publications</i>
3. OCSR group experiments, effects of threat on group intolerance of deviance S. Schachter (co-ordinator) R. Rommetveit G. H. Vedeler	Experiments, 200 school boys. Tests (F-scale) adm. to 600 more	(44) (45)

V. *Sociology of law*

A. Theoretical work

- | | | |
|---|---|---------|
| 1. General discussion of problems in the field
V. Aubert | — | (1) (5) |
| 2. Manifest and latent functions of punishment
V. Aubert | — | (7) |

B. Empirical research

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Attitudes to rationing and price control
V. Aubert | Interviews, 72 businessmen, shopkeepers | (2)
(3)
(4)
(6) |
| 2. Effects of legislation for domestic labour
V. Aubert
T. Eckhoff
K. Sveri | Interviews, 220 pairs of housewives and maids | (9)
(8a) |
| 3. Sex differences in criminal tendency
S. Brun-Gulbrandsen | Questionnaires, school children | Report in progress |
| 4. Court reactions to conscientious objectors
V. Aubert | Content analysis of 249 court cases | Preliminary report
<i>Dagbladet</i>
Oct. 1955 |

VI. *Attitudes, ideologies, political behaviour*

A. Theoretical work

- | | | |
|--|---|-------------|
| 1. Dimensions and determinants of nationalist ideology: definitions, hypotheses
C. Bay
I. Gullvåg
H. Ofstad
H. Tønnessen | — | (12) |
| 2. Psychol. and social prerequisites for the maintenance of "freedom of expression"
C. Bay | — | In progress |
| 3. Analysis of usages of "democracy" in current ideology conflicts
A. Naess
S. Rokkan | — | (36) |

<i>Fields, projects, personnel</i>	<i>Methods, subjects</i>	<i>Publications</i>
4. Alternative models in research on ideologies S. Rokkan	—	(32)
5. Institute Prize Contest: relevance of social research in action for international peace I. Gullvåg E. Rinde	—	(31)
B. Empirical research		
1. Relationship between attitudes to economic planning and electoral behavior, 1949 elections A. H. Barton E. Rinde	2600 interviews nationwide sample	A. H. Barton, Ph.D. diss. Columbia Univ., 1954
2. Nationalist attitudes and their determinants C. Bay I. Gullvåg H. Ofstad H. Tønnessen	Interviews, 600 Oslo sample	(12)
3. OCSR survey of attitudes to international problems and domestic policies, a study in 7 countries E. H. Jacobson (Co-ordinator) B. R. Fischer S. Rokkan V. Aubert P. O. Tiller	400 interviews in each of 7 W. European countries, teachers in primary and secondary schools	(10) (11) (33) (34) (37)
4. Women's conceptions and use of their political rights E. Grønseth	Interviews, 500 Oslo sample	(16)
5. Effects of intercultural experience: attitudes, stereotypes and adjustment problems of exchange students S. Lysgaard	Interviews, 200 Norwegian Fulbright students	(21) (23)
6. Geographical and occupational recruitment of nominees for Norweg. Parliament elections H. Valen	Analysis of records	In progress
7. Ecological analysis of Storting elections 1949 and 1953 H. Valen	Analysis of official statistics and other records	In progress
8. Studies of political behaviour during election campaign S. Rokkan H. Valen	Sample surveys, community studies	In preparation

<i>Fields, projects, personnel</i>	<i>Methods, subjects</i>	<i>Publications</i>
VII. Occupational, organizational and industrial studies		
1. Attitudes of representatives and representees in industry H. Gullvåg N. Bay E. Grønseth	Interviews, 600 workers in Oslo factories	(17) (18) (19)
2. Class determinants of "deferred gratification pattern" S. Lysgaard	Questionnaires, U.S. school children	(22) (52)
3. Organizational structure and group formation H. Gullvåg S. Lysgaard D. Sivertsen	Case study: participant observation, interviews, analysis of records	In progress
4. Factors in occupational choice: recruitment of seamen V. Aubert E. Grønseth K. Herredsvela	Interviews	In progress
5. Factors affecting reactions to change in an industrial organization J. R. P. French Jr. J. Israel D. Aas	Field experiments, interviews, analysis of records	In progress

It will be evident from this listing of fields and projects that the Institute has attempted to cover a very wide range of problems in the behavioral and social sciences. In any larger country, such disparate research activities would normally be assigned to a series of separate institutions. In the Norwegian setting, it has been found to be a great advantage to assemble in one institutional set-up representatives of so many different disciplines in the University. There are too few workers and too narrow a base for co-operation within each discipline taken by itself: only a joint Institute for a wide range of disciplines could foster the type of environment and provide the kinds of facilities that were needed in the Norwegian setting.

Within this joint set-up, a number of long-term research programmes have gradually taken shape and provided the basis for some degree of structural differentiation within the Institute. Thus far two Divisions have been set up as separate units within the general framework of the Institute, one for Industrial and Organizational Studies, another for International Studies. Further divisions will be set up as programmes develop and needs arise.

The Division of International Studies continues the work undertaken by the Organization for Comparative Social Research (33)(37): this organization represented an attempt to develop cross-national studies in the fields of social psychology and sociology and involved altogether

14 teams in Western Europe in the collection of data on comparative lines. The Institute plans to continue its efforts to promote comparative research, particularly in the Scandinavian countries. In the present phase, attempts are being made to launch a series of secondary analyses of survey materials from the different countries in Scandinavia: particular emphasis will be given to relationships between social class, communication processes and political behaviour.

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On the Programme of Research on the Formation of New Worker Milieus in People's Poland

JULIAN HOCHFELD

(Professor of Sociology, University of Warsaw and Chief of the Social Research Centre, Institute of Philosophy, Polish Academy of Sciences)

Detailed social research on the period of building socialism in People's Poland was put forward as an important task during the preparations for the First Congress of Polish Science in 1951.¹ The preliminary step towards the implementation of that task was a discussion in *Myśl Filozoficzna* on methods of social research.² In the discussion an attempt was made first to criticise the theoretical assumptions underlying the relatively scanty social research that was conducted by Polish sociological centres between the two world wars. In this connection the doctrine of Znaniecki's school was dealt with in the first place. Next, the experience and directives of the classics of Marxism concerning detailed research on the working class were recalled. The participants in the discussion, from the position of Marxist sociology (understood as the general theory of social development and as the methodology of the social and historical sciences) rejected the theoretical assumptions of "small-scale sociology" as a discipline different from history and lacking materialist philosophical foundations, dealing with types of subjective interpersonal relations, social structures and patterns. In their intention to carry out social research as a specific form of historical research on the contemporary period, they also dealt with the problem of locating social phenomena as to "social type". They recalled that Marxist typology was subordinated to the definite location of social phenomena in history; such location begins with the definition of the decisive rôle of economic changes in the whole of historical processes, is based on the Marxist concept of socio-economic formation, and takes class relations as its central point. The specific character of such research, historical by its very nature, on contemporary or recent periods, was defined during the discussion by two facts: first, it resorts to that way of describing social processes which Engels called the "logical method"³ (which, however, is used to some extent in all historical research), secondly, the decisive rôle in such research is played by specific research techniques and specific possibilities of "creating" sources, comparing them, and verifying the results.

The discussion had essential shortcomings, the principal one being its too general character. This in turn was due to the deplorable fact that the participants in the discussion lacked their own research centres in

which they might carry out social research in a new way, in conformity with their theoretical assumptions, and thus gain new experience.

By the end of 1952 a seminar conducted by the present author with the co-operation of S. Nowakowski had engaged in utilising fairly numerous memoirs describing the situation of workers in pre-war Poland. We decided to work on this material from a particular point of view, namely an analysis of the process of formation of revolutionary consciousness of workers in pre-war Poland. In doing so we had two goals in view. First, by criticising the so-called personal documents method, characteristic of Znaniecki's school, we wanted to define the conditions and limits of utilising memoirs in conformity with Marxist methodological assumptions. Secondly, we wanted to dissociate ourselves from the tradition connected with such research in pre-war Poland, where the proletariat in the best case appeared as a mass of destitute individuals who simply suffer and make futile attempts at rebellion.⁴ We wanted to show the workers as members of the class whose objective position determines, in an equally objective way, its historical mission of abolishing capitalism and building socialism. We thought that the memoirs, properly utilised and elaborated, completed by and compared with other sources, might serve as a starting point for research on the conditions under which the workers' consciousness was shaped, and on the interconnections between the social psychology and the social ideology of the working class in pre-war Poland.

By the end of 1953 we had published in *Myśl Filozoficzna*⁵ a report on the first phase of that research work, devoted to methodological and technical problems. At present, ten partial reports of fair size are awaiting synthesis. We now know, however, that for various reasons—including the fact that the memoirs are not of the best kind—the result of our work is rather poor, or anyhow not very suitable for research on class changes in People's Poland.

Yet research on these changes seems to be of extreme importance for every one who recognises the need for analysing transformations connected with the building of socialism in People's Poland. Research on the formation of the working class, on changes in its structure, on its dynamics and the prospects of its development, as well as on its class consciousness, come to the fore since the working class is the principal force of the society that has undertaken to build socialism. In spite of the difficulties—the most serious one being the lack of a sufficient number of research workers experienced in the social research technique—we should not delay any longer the implementation of our programme.

The statement that the new working class being formed in the period of building socialism is, in a sense, a class unknown, seems paradoxical. And yet this paradox reflects well the striking gaps in our understanding of the numerous aspects of the complicated class transformations that follow the building of socialism, in particular their subjective side, i.e., the consciousness of the workers. So far, the mechanism of the

phenomenon has been better known to us from one aspect only, namely, the leading role of the working class Party. The relationship between the working class Party and the working class itself influences decisively both the way in which the working class carries out its historical mission and the possibility of an effective policy being implemented by the working class Party. Yet the character of this relationship is by no means a simple thing.

It is not simple already under capitalism and in that setting also, it requires special studies and analyses. But there at least the working class as such does not undergo such violent changes in its structure and numerical strength. This applies at least to developed industrial countries, since there the numerical growth of the proletariat and the internal changes in its structure have, as a rule, not been turbulent for decades, and have rather taken the form of stratifications around a more or less stable core of workers with long working class traditions. This picture is quite different under working class rule, where socialism is being built, especially in those countries which, like Poland, were backward and little industrialised under capitalism. Here the nationalisation of key industries, the introduction of a planned economy, the progress of socialist industrialisation and the promotion of all forms of economic union between socialist industry and agriculture (which is still mostly based on small holdings but has just entered the road of collectivisation) all result in powerful and violent changes in social structure, of a scale and scope unknown in the history of even the greatest industrial revolutions in the capitalist period.

Here are some figures which testify to the scope and intensity of that phenomenon in Poland. The number of people gainfully employed in the national economy outside agriculture is now (i.e., in 1955) approaching the six million mark, which is over 225 per cent. of the 1938 level. In this connection one must bear in mind that the population of the Polish State was in 1938 some 35 million, whereas in 1955 it was about 27 million. As can easily be guessed, this immense rise in the number of people gainfully employed in the national economy outside agriculture did not occur gradually over the whole period of 17 years. It took place only in People's Poland, and in a very turbulent manner. Under the Three-Year Plan (1947-1949) the increase in the number of people gainfully employed in the national economy outside agriculture was over 1.1 million, and under the Six-Year Plan (1950-1955) about 1.9 million⁶; this increase includes chiefly workers employed in heavy industries and in the building industry.⁷ In 1946 the average monthly excess of the registered unemployed over the number of people directed to work was still 35,154, but in 1948 the Employment Offices registered more vacancies than job-seekers, which means that during the years 1947-1948 unemployment, the scourge of pre-war Poland, practically ceased to exist.⁸ In 1950 the rise in employment (about 490,000) exceeded the increase in the population (about 400,000), so that organised recruitment of manpower became a necessity.⁹

The above data forcefully show the trend and intensity of changes in the class structure of society in People's Poland. They indicate a rapid numerical increase in the working class, and the birth of a new working class. This new working class is being formed of peasants, young people and women; it has rapidly absorbed manpower reserves which existed not only as fluid unemployment but also as immense latent and chronic unemployment whose pathological dimensions were so characteristic of the economic situation of pre-war Poland.¹⁰

But this was bound to be, and has actually been, accompanied by the rise of problems whose investigation and solution is of extreme importance not only from a theoretical but also, and above all, from a practical point of view. Some of them will be mentioned as examples.

The new working class has grown, and continues to grow, by rapidly absorbing large numbers of people chiefly of peasant and petty bourgeois background, in any case people who lack industrial and political proletarian experience, industrial traditions, habits and qualifications of workers, and working class mentality. Sometimes they retain a close connection with their former backgrounds, and sometimes they are suddenly pulled out of their traditional milieus and traditional social bonds, and separated from the influence of traditional opinions and norms, without, however, ridding themselves of the ballast of traditional petty bourgeois ideology. This gives rise to difficulties of taking root in the working class by new workers, of acquiring by them definite and relatively constant characteristics, of organising ideological and cultural activities not of some abstract working class in general, but of definite factory staffs and worker milieus which are still in the process of formation. What is taking place in that respect and what can be observed has so far been for the most part spontaneous, and conscious political activity must very often resort to groping in the dark.

This gives rise to another question. Under our conditions, when the helm of the State is in the hands of the working class and its revolutionary Party, the numerical increase of the working class is accompanied by the fact that best members of that class go to the State and Party machinery, to various managerial posts in industry etc. Those workers who have the most political experience, the best intellectual endowments, the widest knowledge and the best professional qualifications—i.e., the old, pre-war core of the working class, and also its new core—are becoming government or local government officials, members of staffs of political and social organisations, managers of socialised enterprises, technicians, etc. In other words, they go outside their class as such. Does the new working class, which is growing so rapidly, stratify round the remaining elements of the former working class, that is, probably round workers who mostly have less experience and less intellectual endowments, and who are often politically backward? Probably not. Then round whom? Probably round the cells of the proletarian Party which, according to the well-known definition,¹¹ is the driving force in the machinery of the people's rule, in the system of

the proletarian State, i.e., the proletariat organised as State. And probably also round the best managers and technicians who are connected with the working class, are themselves often of working class origin, but have gone outside that class as such. How is this stratification of new groups of workers taking place? This is a problem of immense practical importance, and yet we do not know much about it. Consequently, here, too, conscious political activity must often resort to groping in the dark.

One more example. It has been stated above that very frequently members of the new core of the working class go outside their class as such. Therefore the question arises, whether, to what extent, and in what respect the new working class of the period of building socialism is a mobile class. We know that for a peasant child in pre-war Poland, to learn a trade and to become a worker meant a specific social promotion which, when achieved, seldom gave birth to the ambition of leaving the working class and entering the intelligentsia.¹² This phenomenon, which belongs to the field of social consciousness, was objectively conditioned by the economic situation then existing. To-day, on the contrary, we know that in very many cases the road of social promotion, conditioned by the whole system of facilities and stimuli resulting from the needs, possibilities and trends of development of the socialist economy, leads the unskilled worker of peasant origin, through raising of qualifications, to a political or managerial post. Such roads and prospects of social promotion are the foundation of formation of definite life patterns and aspirations. The problem is worth investigation on the basis of detailed data, since the forms and directions of ideological and cultural action may depend on the results of such research.

The above examples were quoted to substantiate the apparently paradoxical statement that the new working class in People's Poland is in a sense an unknown class. Better understanding of the details of the formation and development of the new rôle, new position, new structure and new consciousness of the class which is the leading force of the society that is building socialism, thus becomes an imperative practical task, inseparably connected with the task of getting control over processes which so far have been largely spontaneous although they are a result of planned and regular socialist industrialisation.

The processes whose understanding and control are concerned here, belong above all to the subjective side of social life. Yet they can be understood and controlled only in so far as we can grasp their true connection with objective conditions, the working of the economic laws, class relations, the objective aspect of the class struggle. And it is not enough to refer to well-known general laws and to their general operation, which can be statistically formulated, although this is indispensable too. General analysis of relations between the new socialist economic system and the new socialist social institutions on the one hand and the numerical increase of the working class and the changes in the rôle,

structure and consciousness of the proletariat on the other; elucidation of the connections between socialist industrialisation and class transformations; statistical formulation of the general dynamics of these connections in People's Poland—all this is indispensable. But one must also realise that better knowledge of the subjective aspects of the formation of the new working class requires the examination of definite milieus. For it is in such definite milieus that the new class is being formed and is developing, although, of course, all this takes place on the general basis of new social relations whose concrete historical sense must be for us the point of departure. These milieus will naturally be most varied, but the most characteristic are those which have been and are being born in the new big factories under construction in the process of socialist industrialisation. It is here that the new working class is being formed, from a mass of peasants, young people and women, from the local population and from people who came from other parts of the country, who all gather around Party activists and members of the technical staff, often themselves new arrivals from other building sites. It is here that these most heterogenous elements, beset with difficulties of all kinds, give rise to definite factory staffs and teams with definite structures and characteristics that impress their marks on the formation of the industrial habits, mentality, mores, culture, and political consciousness of the new workers.

That is why research on the working class in People's Poland cannot do without monographic studies of definite worker milieus, above all studies of staffs of big socialist projects. It follows from the assumptions of the Marxist dialectical method that such studies should not grasp just one aspect or one section of the processes taking place in the milieus in question; they should try to grasp these processes in their entirety and in their interconnections, and also to locate them properly in history, i.e., to refer them to well-known regularities and more or less known characteristics of social and political changes in People's Poland.

This type of monograph is extremely labour-absorbing, it requires considerable means and large staffs of research workers. In principle it provides information only about the definite milieu under investigation. This argument has even been raised as an objection to wasting efforts on such research. This argument, however, is fallacious. A thorough investigation of the worker milieu in a big factory built during the last few years will give us knowledge not only of the unique character of such a milieu, but also of the limits and conditions in which our results and methodological experience, gained during such studies, can serve in future investigations and in practical activity. Needless to add that the examination of several such milieus in different parts of the country, and—for comparison's sake—of some milieus formed on the basis of old factories, will be of particular value.

Such are our plans. They require adequate preparations on our part. We must prepare our research staff, which is insufficient. We have

started our work from the study of the worker milieu which is being shaped in a big factory recently built in Warsaw—under specific difficulties that are very characteristic and, in a sense, even typical.

Without entering into the details of research techniques, we shall confine ourselves to giving in conclusion a systematic enumeration of the complex problems on which our research has been centred:

1. Description of the factory and its place in the socialist industrialisation of Poland. The history of its organisation and development. Its present state and prospects for the future.

2. Factory staff: its formation, present structure, trends of development. Composition and stratification of the staff in various respects (background, ways and sources of recruitment, age, sex, family status, education, trades and qualifications, industrial experience, Party membership, TU membership, membership in the youth organisation, etc.). History of the composition and stratification of the staff, in those respects. The core around which the staff has grown. Connections of staff members with their former milieus and difficulties in taking root in the new milieu. The problem of so-called peasant workers. The problem of the mobility of the staff.

3. Living conditions of the workers. Housing. Food and supply. Conditions of work. Wages. Sanitary conditions at work and at home. Health. Care taken of the families, mothers and children.

4. Cultural life of the milieu and its organisation. House of culture, cinema, theatre, concerts, lectures, reading habits, etc. Reception of culture. Mechanism and results of organised cultural action on culture habits, both traditional (i.e., inherited from the former milieu) and new, spontaneously formed under the influence of various patterns prevailing in the new milieu and under pressure of outside factors. Difficulties in the formation of new culture. Sport and its rôle. Other pastimes and their influence on the culture habits of the workers.

5. Roads, patterns, opportunities and prospects of social promotion of staff members. Cultural influence and the problem of promotion. Improvement of trade qualifications. Training and studies. Rôle of work competition and the movement of rationalisers and innovators. Forms and scope of promoting workers to responsible administrative, technical and political jobs. Analysis of a number of cases of social promotion. Analysis, as far as possible, on the strength of detailed data, of the problem, whether, to what extent, in what respect and in what sense the new working class is mobile.

6. The workers and the management. The workers and the factory's technical personnel.

7. Forms of bonds between the factory staff and the peasants. Description of the "union with the country" movement. Forms of the leading rôle of the working class with regard to the peasants.

8. Forms and manifestations of bonds between the staff and the city (i.e. Warsaw). Economic, political and cultural connections. Participation of staff members in the life and local government of Warsaw.

9. Formation of new mentality, new customs, new morality and new world outlook. Attitude towards work. Attitude towards social property. Social interest and individual interest. Influence of economic stimuli on the formation of the new mentality and new attitude towards work and social property. Causes of hooliganism. Sexual morality. Family mores. Attitude towards religion and the Church.

10. Formation of new political ideology. Ideological training: its influence on work habits, every-day life, political activity. Patriotism and nationalism. Internationalism. Roads of developing socialist views.

11. Young people in the factory.

12. Women in the factory.

13. Rôle of the TU branch and the youth organisation in the factory. Rôle of other social organisations active in the factory and in the staff's milieu.

14. Problems of the leading rôle of the Party cell and its links with the staff (on the strength of the analysis of all problems specified under preceding headings).

This list of problems is, of course, preliminary and will probably be modified during the research work which was started only in September 1955. This, however, what should be obvious in it and what we wish to emphasise, is that we intend to conduct our research on problems of cultural, ideological and political consciousness in close connection with an analysis of the structure of the milieu in question, its history, its place in the life of the country and in the life of the city to which it belongs, and also against the general background of social and political changes, of which the history of the factory concerned and of its staff form an integral part.

NOTES

¹ Cf. Hochfeld, "For a Scientific Generalization of Experience Gained in Building Socialism in Poland" (in Polish), *Życie Nauki*, 1951, no. 5-6; Schaff, "Tasks of the Philosophical Front in the light of Resolutions of the First Congress of Polish Science" (in Polish), *Myśl Filozoficzna*, 1951, no. 1-2; Chalasiński, "Report of the Social and Humanistic Sciences Section" (in Polish), *I Kongres Nauki Polskiej*, Warsaw, 1953, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

² Cf. Chalasiński, "Some Problems of the Methodology of Social Research" (in Polish), *Myśl Filozoficzna*, 1951, no. 1-2; Hochfeld, "On Some Aspects of the Opposition between Historical Materialism and Bourgeois Sociology" (in Polish), *Myśl Filozoficzna*, 1951, no. 1-2; Szczepański, "Problems of Methodology of Social Research in Some Works of Marx and Engels" (in Polish), *Myśl Filozoficzna*, 1952, no. 2; Schaff, "The Personal Documents Method and Social Research" (in Polish), *Myśl Filozoficzna*, 1952, no. 3; Hochfeld and Nowakowski, "Remarks About Utilising Memoirs in Studying the Consciousness of the Proletariat" (in Polish), *Myśl Filozoficzna*, 1953, no. 4.

³ Cf. Marx, "Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie, Anhang" (Engels, "Karl Marx. Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie"). Berlin, 1947, Verlag JHW Dietz Nachf., pp. 218-21.

⁴ Cf. "Memoirs of Unemployed" (in Polish), Warsaw, 1933, *Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego*, pp. v-xiv, (Preface by L. Krzywicki).

⁵ Cf. Hochfeld and Nowakowski, "Remarks About Utilising Memoirs in Studying the Consciousness of the Proletariat" (in Polish), *Mysł Filozoficzna*, 1953, no. 4.

⁶ Calculated from data quoted by Kulesza in "The Population Law of Socialism and Its Working in People's Poland. Materials and Studies of the Social Sciences Institute at the PUPW Central Committee" (in Polish), vol. II (economic series), Warsaw, 1955, *Książka i Wiedza*, pp. 203-04.

⁷ Cf. Kulesza, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

¹⁰ According to official data the number of the registered unemployed in Poland in 1938 was 459,000, but Święcicki in "Reproduction of Man Power and the Population Phenomena" (in Polish), *Ekonomista*, 1953, no. 2, p. 125, calculated that the actual number of the unemployed at that time had been 1,003,000. To this must be added latent unemployment of the rural population, which was estimated in various ways, the lowest estimate, based on the data of *Instytut Puławski*, being 5 million. In the 1930's, 55.2 per cent. of men in the 18-19 age group in the Polish rural areas were jobless. Of course, not all rural unemployment in Poland has been eliminated through the development of industry; the land reform and the settling of peasants in the Regained Territories have played an important part. Yet it is to be borne in mind that the percentage of the population engaged in agriculture has fallen in Poland from 60.6 in 1931 to 48.7 in 1950; and the percentage of town inhabitants has increased from 27.5 in 1933 to 36.2 in 1950 and to 43.0 in 1956 (I.I). So much about the rural areas. As far as women are concerned, in 1952 they constituted 32 per cent. of all people gainfully employed in Polish socialized economy outside agriculture (cf. Wasilkowska, "The Participation of Women in the Polish Nation's Fight for Peace and the Six-Year Plan" (in Polish), *Nowe Drogi*, 1952, no. 9, p. 114.

¹¹ Cf. Stalin, "A Contribution to the Problems of Leninism" *Collected Works* (in Russian), vol. 8, Moscow, 1950, pp. 32-35.

¹² This has been fully confirmed also by the above-mentioned memoirs which we started to work on in 1952.

Current Trends in Swedish Sociology

GUNNAR BOALT

(Professor of Sociology, University of Stockholm)

and

GÖSTA CARLSSON

(Lecturer in Sociology, University of Stockholm)

THE SITUATION IN GENERAL

When we discuss the present status of sociological research in Sweden we should never lose sight of the fact that sociology did not become an independent subject at the universities with its own teachers before the middle of the 1940's. This is not to say that no sociological research was undertaken before that time. It only means that the investigations were labelled somewhat differently; and referred to the domains of political science, economics, statistics or demography. The internationally best-known study from the 1930's and early 1940's, *An American Dilemma*, was done by an economist, Gunnar Myrdal.

One other circumstance makes it still more misleading to equate sociological research in Sweden with the work done by university teachers and research workers called sociologists. As in many other countries a great deal of research in the field of the social sciences, including sociology, has been and still is carried out by agencies and persons outside the universities. What is perhaps more characteristic of Sweden than many other countries is the rôle played in this respect by investigating government commissions or committees. For these bodies a "social problem" forms the point of departure, and their research is designed to provide state and local authorities with the knowledge necessary to form a line of action. At the turn of the century, the yearly loss of a large number of people in Sweden because of emigration was felt as a threat against the social and economic stability of the country, and accordingly an investigating body was appointed. In this the famous statistician Sundbärg took a leading part, and found it necessary in the course of his work to go into the problem of national character. To take a more recent example, the population problem was studied, both in the 1930's and the 1940's. Some of the data gathered in this connection have been presented to an international public by Alva Myrdal in *Nation and Family*. Sundbärg's dubious generalizations about Swedish national character will hardly serve as a model for sociological research nowadays, but the work done by later commissions has generally been of a high quality as far as scientific methods are concerned. It has therefore been

influential in shaping the kind of research sociologists do, particularly research with a practical aim. To this contributes the fact that some of the present sociologists have themselves been active in such commissions.

If we return to the university scene, it may be noted that the first teaching positions in sociology were given to people whose own training was partly or mainly in the discipline known in Sweden as practical or social philosophy. Some had picked this subject simply because at that time it gave the best opportunity to study sociological problems. This philosophical heritage has not been without its consequences, and is probably one of the reasons for the keen interest in methodological problems shown by many of the contemporary Swedish sociologists. It may also explain their interest for semantical problems, and social norms and value-systems.

The first batches of students, however, who took up sociology when it became an independent subject, came from different fields of study and their work reflects a somewhat more varied set of interests and specializations. In the beginning the number of teachers was small, and the number of students also lower than today. However, quite a few of those students continued their academic work and took higher degrees. They had the stimulating feeling that this was a field of study in expansion which meant among other things career opportunities. The lack of Swedish scholars with the necessary training made it natural to invite for some time prominent foreign scholars. Thus Thorsten Sellin and George Lundberg made much appreciated contributions to the spread of interest for, and information about, sociological research by teaching the subject for fairly long periods in Sweden.

So much about what may be called the institutional background. We may next turn to the research work itself, the result of the arrangements described above. Has there been any change in the type of research projects undertaken between those early days of the middle forties, and the present day?

It would be wrong to say that any major shift in approach and emphasis is noticeable. Under all circumstances, ten years is scarcely enough time for such changes to become clearly visible. However, there are a few tendencies that appear to have become more pronounced during this period and that are not altogether unimportant.

First of all, an increased stress on sampling methods, and the importance of adequate sampling technique, is observable. The coming into existence of a sampling and interviewing organization, operated by the state Central Statistical Bureau, has made it possible to carry out nation-wide studies based on rigorous probability sampling procedures. As a consequence, other and more makeshift methods, like quota sampling, are falling into disrepute.

In Sweden, the sampling of respondents is much facilitated by the existence of a fairly well integrated system of population registration.

Still, the actual interviewing of a great number of people, picked from something like 50 or 100 districts, well spread over the entire country, is necessarily a costly business even if the sample is kept as small as one or a few thousand people. Therefore, sociologists have been forced to learn how to utilize the different registers and archives and get information about their subjects without actually asking them any questions in person. Occupational and educational careers can be followed in this way, albeit with some difficulty. The military registration system makes it even possible to get an index of intelligence from the major part of the male population within certain age brackets. Such sources of data are being used to an increasing extent.

A sampling and interviewing organization, like well kept registers and archives, can, of course, be misused to collect all kinds of information, the real pertinence of which is doubtful. There is a temptation to start the research machinery without any clear objective simply because one knows that the machinery will run smoothly, with the indefinite hope that something will come out of the process. Sociologists will always have reason to guard themselves against this tendency, but the danger appears smaller now than formerly. There is an increasing awareness of the need for guiding hypotheses to be tested by the empirical data, and for the necessity of fitting the empirical findings into some kind of theoretical framework. This functions as an antidote to any inclination towards indiscriminate data-collecting.

Research methods are obviously influenced by what is being taught at the universities. Now, much of the teaching at the Swedish universities is done by the printed rather than spoken word. The reading list forms a very important part of the curriculum. In the beginning, American text-books were used extensively, and they still can be said to form the back-bone of the reading course. Subsequently, a number of text-books written in Swedish by Swedish sociologists have been published. It is perhaps less the language difficulties of the university students which is the motive than the desire to introduce in the texts a line of reasoning and supporting examples better suited to the Swedish scene. Although the number of copies of each book that can be sold is necessarily limited to a few thousand, the publishers seem willing to back up such enterprises rather than translations of American text-books. Of the latter category the translation of Lindesmith and Strauss's work is an isolated instance. The following are some of the Swedish text-books in the field of social psychology, and general and industrial sociology:

Boalt, *Socialpsykologi* (1950); Lindblom, *Socialpsykologi* (1951); Georg Karlsson, *Den moderna sociologien* (1951); Gråby, *Sociologi* (1954); Gösta Carlsson, *Socialpsykologisk metod* (1954); Boalt and Berner-Öste, *Grupper, medlemmar och ledare* (1956).

In what follows some special areas of sociological research will be dealt with in a somewhat more detailed manner. As we are restricting

ourselves to research done at the universities and explicitly labelled sociological, there is not more than some ten years' development to cover. As has been remarked before, this makes it very difficult to demonstrate changes and trends in a certain direction. Therefore, we shall limit ourselves to a description of what actually has been and is going on and make no efforts to say in what direction the character of Swedish sociology is changing.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY; THE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGY

In a study by Segerstedt, *Social Control as a Sociological Concept* (Uppsala, 1948), the phenomenon of uniform behaviour provides the starting point. In so far such uniformity is not biologically (physiologically) conditioned, Segerstedt seeks the explanation in social norms. If a number of people show uniformity of behaviour conditioned by social norms, and if these norms can be traced to one and the same source, which in turn is regulated by norms, then they make up a social group.

Gösta Carlsson's *Dimensions of Behaviour* (Lund, 1949) tackles the problem of choice and definition of fundamental variables in the behavioural sciences (sociology and psychology). No particular solution is offered; the mode of treatment is abstract and formal. The general requirements an empirical theory must fulfil, and the problem of verification, are discussed. The notions of causality and explanation, and the rôle of certain statistical devices are likewise dealt with.

In a work of a similar character, Zetterberg, *On Theory and Verification in Sociology* (Uppsala, 1954), the advantages of "verificational studies" are stressed. In other words, every study should be designed to determine whether a certain theory is probable or improbable. Zetterberg distinguishes between several steps in the research process. Hypotheses are formulated and the concepts used in them are given nominal definitions. Next these nominal definitions are furnished with operational translations of such a type that empirical verification can be carried through. After verification the results have to be translated again into nominally defined concepts.

COMMUNITY STUDIES

The three studies reported above in the theory section are all in English as is indicated by their titles. Dahlström's *Trivsel i Söderort* (Stockholm, 1951) is in Swedish although it contains a fairly long summary in English. The title of the work can be translated roughly as "Satisfaction with Life in a Southern Suburb". It is based on interviews with people living in a newly developed housing district. Their likes and dislikes with respect to a great number of things are investigated, like satisfaction with the district as a whole, the individual houses and flats, etc. As a special problem the adjustment problems of Estonian refugees are taken up.

Pfannenstill, *Sociologisk undersökning av Augustenborgområdet i Malmö* (Malmö, 1953) is of a similar type although on a smaller scale than Dahlström's investigation. When interviewing the people Pfannenstill emphasized the individual flats more than Dahlström.

There is a third study, likewise in Swedish, that may be referred to this section although it might perhaps also be classified as belonging to the field of social or cultural anthropology. This is Hanssen's *Österlen* (Ystad, 1952). It differs from the previous enquiries principally by taking up past rather than present conditions, although the author is planning to carry the study through to our times. Österlen is a part of eastern Scania and Hanssen utilizes available sources to throw light on the social life and community relations in this district during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He tries to exhibit what might be called different "styles of life" between urban and rural parts, different social strata, and so on. Pictorial and graphical representation is used extensively.

GROUP DYNAMICS

At the University of Stockholm, Israel is working on a study of the rejection of deviants, and superior and inferior persons in a group. The analysis is based on experiments on a fairly large number of groups recruited and manipulated for the sake of the experiment. Sociometric analysis of relations between pupils in a school has been reported by Johannesson, *Studier av sociala relationer mellan barn i folkskoleklasser* (Lund, 1954). The relation between choice of friends and factors like intelligence, school-merits, age, route to the school from the home, and family income are determined. The choices and the popularity rank of a child in the class are fairly highly correlated with I.Q. and school-merits. Those who are older than the rest are mostly those who have failed the previous year and have to make this particular school-grade once again, and they are rated low by the other children. Economic factors do not appear important.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE FAMILY

Carin Boalt and Gösta Carlsson in *Mor och barn* (Stockholm, 1949), tried some new ways of studying family life and the environmental conditions of young children. They had observers record the behaviour of the mother during one day, they took inventories of the material possessions of the families, studied the way the flat or house was utilized, etc. In character, this is a small-scale pilot study designed primarily to test new empirical approaches.

Georg Karlsson, *Adaptability and Communication in Marriage* (Uppsala, 1951), consists of several parts. In the first, the author creates his theoretical frame of reference in which the concepts of social "act" and "rôle" are important. Earlier studies are used for the verification of certain hypotheses, and the author then proceeds to test

these hypotheses on data which he has collected himself by interviewing 200 married or divorced couples. The empirical study is, to a large extent, a replication of a study done by Locke in the U.S.A. Locke's results are confirmed throughout.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

In his investigation *Skolutbildning och skolresultat* (Stockholm, 1947), Boalt was able to utilize for his purposes existing records and files and was thus able to follow the scholastic careers of the entire group of children in Stockholm, who were in the fourth grade in 1936. Social data like parents' occupations and incomes were gathered, and also information on success in various schools. Boalt shows how the social factors influence choice of school career and success in the career picked. For this purpose he introduces and defines in statistical terms the concept of "social handicap".

Somewhat similar problems are treated by Husén in two investigations, *Begåvning och miljö* (Stockholm, 1948), and *Testresultatens prognosvärde* (Stockholm, 1950). Husén employs the test scores obtained in military testing, and correlates these scores with various background and environmental factors, one of which is education. In the latter of the two works a group of boys tested at the age of 10 and then again when entering military service at 20 have been followed. Husén uses this unique material to determine the influence of school training on test results. He concluded that a secondary school education affects the I.Q. and tends to push it upwards.

Moberg in *Vem blev student och vad blev studenten?* (Lund, 1951), also takes up the topic of selection for higher education. He examines the social background and later career of all who took the leaving certificate of the senior secondary schools ("studentexamen") certain chosen years.

SOCIAL CLASS AND STRATIFICATION

The importance of this topic need hardly be stressed. If not more studies are mentioned under this heading, one of the reasons is that many investigations dealing with important aspects of the class system have been included elsewhere. Thus, most of the studies mentioned in the previous section, that on education, are concerned directly or indirectly with social mobility.

The concept of "class" is discussed by Croner in *Tjänstemannakåren i det moderna samhället* (Uppsala, 1951). The bulk of his study is devoted to the middle class white collar employees. He concludes, on the basis of his theoretical analysis, that these groups form a social class. He also depicts, by means of questionnaire data, their social origin and situation.

Gösta Carlsson is carrying out a study of social (occupational) mobility between generations. For this purpose a small or medium scale interview study will be carried out in the immediate future. The

possibility of utilising population registers for this purpose in the future will be investigated.

INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

One of the major contributions in this field is undoubtedly the two volumes published by Segerstedt and Lundqvist under the common title of *Människan i industrisamhället* (Stockholm, 1952 and 1955). Satisfaction and adjustment of industrial employees in two small towns of a somewhat different character has been determined by means of questionnaires. In the first volume the theoretical approach is set out, and data on adjustment to the work situation are presented. In the second volume Lundqvist deals with adjustment in the home and the community; and leisure time activities. Segerstedt discusses the problem of class-consciousness in an industrialized society, and sums up the results in general. A summary in English will be published shortly as a separate booklet.

A very different type of study, both with respect to objectives and methods, is reported by Westerlund in *Behaviour in a Work Situation with Functional Supervision and with Group Leaders* (Stockholm, 1952). Here we have a planned experiment in the manipulative sense of the word. Methods of supervision were varied in one department of the telephone station in Stockholm. Group leadership was substituted for the traditional functional leadership, and effects on work achievement and other indices of behaviour were measured. Group leadership appeared superior in some but not all respects.

The concepts of formal and informal groups are in the centre of the study by Boalt, *Arbetsgruppen* (Stockholm, 1954). One of the aims of the study has been to check some of the results obtained in the famous Western Electric investigation. Therefore, the same mode of analysis as in the American study was applied in the Swedish case. However, when this analysis was carried through by two independent analysts, there was little agreement between them.

Dahlström, *Tjänstemännen, näringslivet och samhället* (Stockholm, 1954), deals with the relations between industrial employees, particularly white collar employees and certain institutions or organizations, like the enterprise or political and trade (employee) organizations. Here too, the problem of social classes is discussed.

Pfannenstill in *Begreppet arbetstrivsel* (Lund, 1955), takes up the concept of morale or adjustment for discussion, and reports some results from a field study.

On this point one remark should be added. Industrial sociology does not by any means appear to be a particularly easy field of application for sociological reasoning and sociological research techniques. Despite this, we find that sociologists have moved perhaps more frequently into this than any other area. The reason is, of course, that it has proved possible to get financial and other support from business and industry.

OTHER AREAS

In Sweden the so-called popular movements play an important rôle in the social life of the country. One of them, the athletic movement, has been made the object of a recent study in which sociological methods were used: von Euler, *Idrottsrörelsen av idag* (Stockholm, 1953). The recruitment and composition of the sports or athletic organizations, factors that govern their spread, and their influence on members are treated in this study.

A criminological study of Stockholm has been carried through by Janson and is in the process of being written up. Data from small districts have been gathered on the incidence of criminal behaviour, and such data correlated with social characteristics of the same districts for further ecological analysis.

Current Progress in the Sociology of Cooperation

HENRIK F. INFIELD

(President of the International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation and Director of the Group Farming Research Institute, Inc., U.S.A.)

SCOPE AND METHOD OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF COOPERATION

The Sociology of Cooperation, in the specific sense in which this term has come to be used in recent years, is a relatively young discipline. Although the number of research centers and social scientists who are now cultivating this new field is growing at a good pace, it has not yet gained the general attention it deserves. Before reporting on its current development, it might be well, therefore, to say a few words about its scope and method. Speaking most generally, sociology of cooperation is a discipline that uses the methods and techniques of sociology to explore the specific social processes that are cooperative in nature. What interests us in particular is the application of such methods and techniques to the historically definable economic and social reform movement known as the cooperative movement. The study of the social aspects of this movement is by no means new, but it has remained, so far, incidental to economic interpretation. It is only in singling out interpersonal relations as the crux of cooperative association that a more independent systematic approach could be developed. This approach is practised by what we may call the General Sociology of Cooperation. The Specific, or Experimental Sociology of Cooperation, without necessarily neglecting the general approach, concentrates attention on groups in which the social and socio-psychological effect of cooperation manifests itself most decisively. We have in mind groups of people who, in our competitive society, unable to satisfy some of their basic needs, instead of resigning themselves to frustration, decide to abandon competition and to resort to cooperation. If they do so in a degree comprehensive enough to imply a total change in their social situation, they display a behaviour that follows a pattern which, we believe, holds a clue to what constitutes a genuinely sociological experiment. Such an experiment, in general, can be described as action undertaken by a number of people who are bent on exploring jointly new and untried ways of satisfying needs they find impossible to satisfy in a more conventional manner. Action of this kind is usually occasioned by adverse conditions which the individual finds himself incapable of mastering when acting alone. He may then decide to join forces with others who like him believe that where they failed alone they may succeed by acting together. Voluntary and deliberate group action thus is the general characteristic that distinguishes sociological from any other experiment.

Specifically, the sociological canon of experiment will imply the following six steps : (1) A sense of dissatisfaction experienced strongly enough by people whose number is sufficiently large to make possible the crystallization of an experimental group. (2) Implicit or explicit adoption of a general assumption, or working hypothesis, as to what modification, if introduced into the existing situation, will produce the desired satisfactions. (3) Consent as to the order in which the changes decided upon are to be introduced and readiness on the part of each member of the group to experiment with the changed situation and with himself in it. (4) In contrast to practice observed by natural science, the control of the experiment does not rest with certain factors, or variables, held constant. It consists rather in the extent of mutual consent that precedes and is maintained by the participants in the course of exploration. A sociological experiment, we might say, is "out of control" when and to the degree such consent is weakened. (5) Similarly immanent is validation. It is related to the degree of agreement reached by the participants with regard to the satisfaction derived from the effected change. If this agreement is unanimous and negative, the change, and with it possibly the whole experiment, may become "invalidated" and be abandoned. If there is no unanimity, only those who dissent may quit, while the others accept the modification. If agreement is unanimous and positive, the modification becomes "validated" and instituted as part of the group's modes of behavior. (6) Institutionalization of effected change arrived at in this manner constitutes, so far as the group is concerned, the ultimate validation of each phase of it and of the experiment as a whole.¹

RECENT PROGRESS

This pattern of the sociological experiment is derived from the observable behavior of experimental groups of the specific kind known as modern cooperative communities, such as the Israeli Kibbutzim, the Saskatchewan cooperative farms, or the French Communities of Work. It constitutes merely a generalization of the rules of such behavior in sociological terms. It is evidently in the nature of sociological experiment that the people who initiate it serve at the same time as the very substance of its conduct. Such personal involvement is virtually incompatible with the requirement of scientific detachment. Experimental operation itself is only one, though the most essential, part of the experiment. Its full value will hinge upon attention to other requirements of the experimental method, such as formulation of a consistent theory from which the initial assumption, explicitly or implicitly, can be derived ; close observation and faithful recording of each step in the progress of the experiment ; pertinent interpretation of results obtained ; and all the logical, statistical or other mathematical manipulations that lead to the predictive generalizations which form the ultimate goal of all experiment. It is hardly possible even for the best qualified members of the group to attend to these

requirements. The trained expert will have to be called upon to satisfy them.

It is in the light of the part he plays in the sociological experiment conducted by cooperative groups that the sociologist of cooperation views the progress of his discipline. The sociology of cooperation can develop only at the rate the groups of people who resort to cooperation develop in size and variety. The fact that real progress has been made in the last few years might be taken as indicative of a growing trend. The experimental approach to social invention appears to be spreading. The modern cooperative community, in this sense, may represent a pioneer vanguard, as yet perhaps of only marginal significance, but announcing a significant change in the attitude we take toward our social environment. We are, it seems, becoming aware of our faculty to shape our social existence on the basis of clearly definable principles and in accordance with rational purpose. "Social engineering" is a term gaining currency at present. Practised for the sake of purely material gain and implying manipulation of people for deceptive ends it is justly viewed by many with suspicion. Oriented towards the common good in the sense of the operational definition of cooperation as "equitable participation", as for instance in cooperative communities, and exercised in the pursuit of an ethically committed society, it should prove beneficial to the development of mankind. It is on this premise that the sociologist of cooperation rests his case.

It is, at any rate, in working with groups that explore the validity of this premise that he can hope to advance his discipline. For over a decade research in this field was carried on by one single, relatively small, moderately endowed agency, the *Group Farming Research Institute* (G.F.R.I) in the U.S.A. Only within the last three years or so, several other research bodies have entered the field. These are: the *Bureau d'Etudes Coopératives et Communautaires* (B.E.C.C.), the *Sektion für die Soziologie des Genossenschaftswesens of the Institut für Selbsthilfe*, Germany, and the *Centro di Sociologia della Cooperazione*, Italy. All these research centers are united in the *International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation*, established in Geneva, in 1953. Their activities can be taken as indicative of the progress the sociology of cooperation has been able to make in recent years. The following brief and necessarily summary description of these centers suggests the nature and the extent of sociological experimentation of which they form a constituent part.

The G.F.R.I., U.S.A., The activities of this agency reflect the progress of sociological experimentation in America. It was established, under its original name of Rural Settlement Institute, in 1941, by the late Edward A. Norman, acting on the advice of leading officials of the Farm Security Administration, a Section of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which, in line with the policies of the New Deal, was exploring the possible usefulness of cooperative farming as a relief

measure for destitute, or "low-income", farmers. These officials felt that a privately endowed research agency could prove of value in helping to observe and objectively interpret the development of the new projects. Consequently, the first studies carried out by the Institute were devoted chiefly to a scientific analysis of the F.S.A. "cooperative corporation farms". More than twenty of these farms came into existence between 1937 and 1942 when, because of the war boom in agriculture, they seemed to have become superfluous, and were liquidated. However, it was assumed at that time that the need for cooperative group farming would become acute again when, as had happened before, depression followed the war boom. This assumption having proved wrong, the overall policies of the Institute had to be reformulated and its research organized along more general lines. A consequence of this reorientation was the incorporation of the Institute in December 1949, and the adoption of the present name. At the same time its activities were extended to include areas outside the U.S.A. While maintaining contact with the few experimental groups in the country, the G.F.R.I. concentrated its attention on significant developments abroad, carrying out field studies in Israel, Canada, France and Mexico. Findings obtained from these studies were disseminated chiefly through its Bulletin, *Cooperative Living*, now in its seventh year, as well as by means of other publications, in the form of books and monographs.

It is only with the "discovery" of a therapeutic cooperative community, Gould Farm, that the attention of the Institute has become centered again on the American scene. The implications of this discovery illustrate two main factors that tend to condition decisively the work of the sociologists of cooperation. The one has to do with the fact that, within the context of our culture which is even more competitive in practice than in its beliefs, resort to comprehensive cooperation constitutes social innovation. Like all innovation, it has to be born of urgent necessity if it wants to find more than a passing and limited vogue. In this respect the American "intentional" communities, of which there are in existence at present about ten, with a total population of some 350 people, offer the sociologist something of a puzzle.² Virtually all of their members come from middle-class backgrounds, and most of them hold a college diploma. In other words, they are people whose background and education should enable them to secure their full share of the substantial rewards offered by the American economy of plenty to all who are able and willing to fit into its scope. It must be assumed then that their reason for joining a communitarian project has little if anything to do with economic motives which, in the American mental climate more than elsewhere, means it has little to do with easily understandable and acceptable motives. "Intentional", the name they have chosen, suggests that they themselves are aware of the lack of any easily definable need in the American situation to which they may relate themselves. It is true that they are

acting out of opposition to the iniquities of the existing system and out of a desire for a better, an ethically committed society. But unlike the case in other countries, resort to cooperation for them is not, as it was for instance in the origin of the Kibbutzim, a matter of sheer survival, nor, as in the case of underdeveloped countries, a matter that may make a difference between increased food production or malnutrition, if not outright starvation. In this sense, their venture seems to lack compelling or evident motives and to be something of a "luxury".

That it is more than that is suggested by two significant aspects. The intentional communities are more or less receptive to scientific methods, both on the social as well as on the economic level; and, as the Fellowship of Intentional Communities which they established already in 1950 indicates, they do not favor isolation. Nevertheless, in the light of sober analysis, their chances for attracting more than a small number of people must be considered as weak, and their prospects for growth or even survival as dim. Under these circumstances there appeared to be only one way in which the intentional communities could hope to reach firmer ground and to begin to exert a stronger impact on the American scene, namely by discovering and relating themselves to some of the urgent needs that remain unsatisfied in present-day America. As has been said before,³ among needs of this kind most pressing appears to be one that arises from what might be called "the American Paradox". Material plenty for everyone is one of the dreams cherished by people everywhere, especially by those who, as the great majority of the world's population, always were and still are unable to eke out even a bare subsistence. It was believed, most fervently by such utopists of the nineteenth century as, for example, Bellamy, that once the dream of plenty came true, mankind would enter into a state of perfect bliss. With due allowance for the possibly irreducible areas of marginal pauperism, plenty has become a reality for virtually all the citizens of the U.S.A. The standards of living prevailing in this country today exceed anything of the kind ever known before and elsewhere. The U.S. is probably the first society in which the dread of gaining weight from overeating has become common and the fear of going hungry virtually unknown. Autos, frigidaires, television sets, and all the host of other elaborate comfort gadgets are, in one price-range or another, at the disposal of virtually everyone.

However, the actual effect of this plenty upon the mental state of the population appears to be in stark contrast to all the utopistic expectations. It certainly is far from producing unmitigated bliss. For, with all that has just been said, there seem to be no other people who are so beset by anxieties as are the people of the U.S.A., so prone to hysteria, and so plagued by what politely is being called "mental breakdown".

One way of coping with the problem lies in what is being called "group-psychotherapy". This method allows not only for a more

economic use of personnel but, what probably is more important, it adds to the existing therapeutic devices a new and potent one, the curative effect of the group situation itself.

Fashionable and widely used as this method has become in recent years, its application proves to be not always effective. The number of patients who do not respond to or are even adversely affected by group therapy appears to be larger than is generally admitted. To cope with the problem presented by such cases, greater awareness will be needed of the sociological implications of group formation. Techniques developed in small group investigation, especially of the sociometric kind, should offer some help here. However, such techniques alone will not be able to solve what becomes discernible as a basic weakness of the new method, the artificiality of the groups usually formed for therapeutic purposes. The only solution would seem to lie in a step forward to the genuine, naturally grown group, the therapeutic community, a community that, in order to be able to offer therapy as a service and not for profit, would have to be cooperative in function if not in name.

At this point, the second of the factors mentioned came into effect. Having assumed, by way of deduction, the need for the therapeutic cooperative community, the sociologist, it seems, could do nothing further than to sit back and hopefully wait for such a community to come into existence. The realization that it already existed came, therefore, as a pleasant surprise. The community in question derives its income neither from agriculture nor from the production of goods and commodities, but from the care it offers to people in need of physical and mental recuperation. Founded, by William Gould, in 1913, and since his death, in 1925, managed by his wife and a group of some 15 associates, Gould Farm is located near Great Barrington, in the State of Massachusetts. It owns 600 acres of mostly wooded land, a Main-House with sleeping accommodation for 32 people, and some 25 cottages, barns and smaller structures. Some of the people it accepts may be in need only of rest or a change of environment, but most of them suffer from more serious troubles and are being sent from mental hospitals, by their physician, a welfare agency, a church group, and so on. What makes the community effective, especially with regard to cases suffering from "personality problems", is a spirit of good-natured but by no means careless informality, so distinct from any mental hospital or sanatorium. The growing number of guests, averaging some 600 a year, who join the community for a stay of from two weeks to six months, can be taken as proof that by using community as an instrument of therapy Gould Farm serves to satisfy a need that, unfortunately, is becoming more urgent the more troubled grow our times.

Thus, basing community on a kind of service that cannot be rendered at all, or at least not as well, by individual action, Gould Farm suggests the form in which cooperative community in America can spell out

its intention in terms of actual necessity and so assume the significance it has lacked so far. The part an Institute like the G.F.R.I. can play in this process is indicated by its nature. By helping the group to assess its own strength and weakness objectively, it can enhance its own effectiveness and at the same time gain insight that should be of value to those who want to emulate Gould Farm's example. This has been done in a study, carried out in 1954.⁴ By holding itself at the disposal of groups which want to organize therapeutic communities, it can try to do its share in steering the development in a sound direction. This is the task the G.F.R.I. faces in the years ahead and which it has already begun to attack by stimulating attempts to organize, in connection with Gould Farm, training facilities for people who desire to enter this field.

The B.E.C.C., France. Another significant step forward in the field of the sociology of cooperation was made when the G.F.R.I., invited by the Federation of the French communities of work, the *Entente Communautaire*, carried out, in 1951, a study of these communities. The leaders of the *Entente* had learned about the work of the G.F.R.I. through an article written for their magazine, *Communauté*, by Claire Huchet Bishop, author of *All Things Common*, the first comprehensive description of the new movement. It appears that they were intrigued by the description of the set of tools we had developed as an aid in our investigations of cooperative communities. Limitations of space, unfortunately, permit a mere naming of these tools. They form a battery of sociological tests and related devices consisting of: the cooperative potential and obstacles test; the biographical group interview and the personal questionnaire; and a sociometric test adapted to the use in "open" groups. The interest the leaders of the *Entente* took in the battery was far from academic. Unlike the Kibbutzim, where each works according to his abilities and receives from the group what he needs, most of the French communities have adopted a differential, though of course equitable, scale of remuneration. The uniqueness of this scale derives from an ingenious communitarian reasoning that assigns each member a value not only on the strength of his professional performance but also according to his worth to the community as a person. To make remuneration truly equitable, utmost precision is required. It is relatively easy to comply with this requirement as far as "professional value" is concerned, for instance, by employing, in a different, communitarian spirit, methods developed by industry, such as the Bedeaux system. Evaluation of a person's "social value" is quite a different matter and one for which there exists no precedent. Several formulas had been devised for this purpose by different communities, but none seemed to solve the problem. The leaders of the *Entente*, therefore, were eager to see what light the social scientist and his tests could throw on the subject.

We at the G.F.R.I. welcomed the occasion for the following reasons. The attempt to establish cooperative communities in urban areas, if

successful, obviously would constitute a significant extension of the field of the sociology of cooperation. It is true that industrial production cooperatives were not unknown. They have their history and they are doing fairly well, especially in France where their number is not inconsiderable. They remained, however, segmental cooperatives. Cooperative communities hitherto had hardly attempted and certainly not succeeded in evolving a "formula" that would make them fit for the habitat and the occupation of the industrial worker. If, as our information indicated, the French workers had succeeded in doing so, they would have performed a feat of historic significance for the communitarian movement. Our study was carried out in the spring and part of the summer 1951. The assistance of Mme. Bishop and her intimate acquaintance with the movement proved of invaluable help in applying the tests to eight of the groups selected by the secretariat of the *Entente* as representative of the rest. The results of the study have been so far published only in part.⁵ We may offer here a brief summary of the results, based on the tentative appraisal of the findings at the conclusion of the study.⁶ In general, it seemed to confirm the essential solidity of the new development. Of the more than hundred projects that had sprung up in the cities of France and other countries of Western Europe, the number of those that had been able to survive the first rush of enthusiasm for the new "formula" did not exceed fifty, of which only some twenty were considered to be sound and really well established. Their rate of growth in the few years since the first of them, Boimondau, was founded, nevertheless, compared well with other such developments. On the strength of the test findings, this was assumed to be due chiefly "to the substantial increase in the satisfaction of basic needs, material and social as well as spiritual", which the French workers apparently were able to derive from their experimental urban community.

"This should not be taken to mean", it was said then, and it is still valid, "that the eventual success of the development is beyond dispute. There are many difficulties that beset even the most promising of the groups. These difficulties seem to arise mainly from the kind of overall goal the Community of Work sets itself. This goal is comprehensive cooperation. Unlike a producer's cooperative, the Community of Work intends to prove that cooperation can include effectively both the economic as well as the social aspects of urban existence. In other words, it intends to demonstrate that urban cooperative communities are feasible. This demonstration requires the group to attend to two essential tasks simultaneously. Not only must it learn to handle effectively a new type of economic organization, but it must also prove itself capable of coping with its social implications. Even under the most favourable conditions it would be difficult to keep a fair balance between the two tasks . . . We were pleased to find that, in all the groups visited, the more community-minded members seemed to derive considerable encouragement from the results of our study."

The sense of this encouragement induced some of the communities to apply, while the study was still in progress, the cooperative potential test to the processing of new applicants. These and other groups turned to the secretariat with the request to continue this kind of testing and to make it the concern of a special agency to be formed for this purpose. The B.E.C.C., established by the *Entente* in March 1953, was designed to comply with this request. Since then the B.E.C.C., under the indefatigable leadership of H. Desroche, General Secretary of the I.C.R.S.C. and *Chargé de recherches* at the C.N.R.S., has been instrumental in opening in France new avenues for the sociology of cooperation. It has made a number of field studies and has accumulated a body of knowledge that, as its publications show, is of truly pioneering nature. Indicative of the benefit the communities themselves derive from the work of the B.E.C.C. is the increasing use they are making of its services. The direction in which the communities now are moving appears to be towards a more sober, sociologically-oriented experimentation, a trend to the strengthening of which the Bureau is making a significant contribution.

Sektion für die Soziologie des Genossenschaftswesens des Instituts für Selbsthilfe, Germany. Comprehensive cooperation is generically related to all other forms of cooperation. As practised by the modern cooperative communities it differs formally only in degree from the practise of segmental cooperatives, such as consumer's stores, marketing and purchasing cooperatives, credit unions, and so on. It marks, as it were, the upper end of a scale which ranges from simple, through multi-purpose, to all-purpose cooperation.

This being so, the sociological understanding of segmental cooperatives should be of equal importance with that of cooperative communities. It is only because in the latter the "cooperative effect" manifests itself in the fullness of its implications that the sociologist tends to concentrate his attention on them when he first enters this field. This explains why new research centres are so largely occupied with the study of communities. The German *Sektion* offers in this respect a notable exception. By no means minimizing the significance of comprehensive cooperation for sociological research, but functioning in a country that apparently has produced no sociological experimentation of this kind, it naturally has to apply itself to the more common type of cooperatives. By cultivating and developing the general aspects of the sociology of cooperation it offers a valuable complement to the work of the other research centres.

In doing so the *Sektion*, in collaboration with two related Institutes of the University of Cologne, the Institut für *Genossenschaftswesen* and the Institut für *Sozial and Verwaltungswissenschaften*, succeeds in covering a truly vast territory, ranging from studies of membership relations in housing cooperatives to the testing of a multi-purpose cooperative village. In reporting on the work of the *Sektion* to the First General Assembly of the I.C.R.S.C. (September 1954),

Dr. Gerhard Weisser, President of the Selbsthilfe Institut and Professor at Cologne University of *Sozialpolitik*, included within this range activities such as: planning and organizing of two pilot cooperative workers' enterprises (*Arbeiterunternehmen*) for displaced persons, and similar enterprises for the physically handicapped; studies designed to improve existing cooperative legislation; a comparative study of the policies of fiscal agencies in different countries concerning consumer's cooperatives; studies exploring possibilities for better integration of the cooperative sector into German economy; and finally, investigations aiming at greater clarity in cooperative terminology. Since then, several other studies have been added to the program of the *Sektion*, among them one concerned with institutional and pedagogic measures applicable to the economic and social rehabilitation of the physically and mentally handicapped; and a second, concerning experience in other countries with industrial workers' self-managing enterprises. Last but not least, the *Sektion*, joining its forces with the two other Institutes mentioned, carried out a study of the "cooperative village", Hütschenhausen.⁷

This sociological analysis of a village, the first such known to have developed in Germany a network of cooperatives covering virtually all of its economic and most of its social activities, was to serve at the same time as a pilot study designed to assess the applicability of our battery to German conditions. The results of this study, made under the direction of Professor René Koenig, of Cologne University, have not yet been published. From what is known of it at the time of this writing, the excursion into the field of experimental sociology, for reasons that remain to be clarified, seems to have been less successful than expected.

The Centro di Sociologia della Cooperazione, Italy. The Sociology of Cooperation claims to have discovered in the modern cooperative community the prototype of the genuine sociological experiment. The results of such experimentation are subject to the general criticism levelled against results of all small group investigation, that the discrepancies between the deliberately created laboratory situation and the conditions of society at large are such that the findings of the one do not apply to the other. This criticism undoubtedly raises a legitimate issue. It must be admitted that there is a question of whether, and if so, in what manner, the findings of small-group investigation can be applied to issues of our large-scale, complex society of today. This is the kind of question that defies mere opinion and one that the sociologist of cooperation likes to explore in a more factual fashion. To do so in this instance, he would have to come across a sociological experiment on a scale far surpassing anything that can be attempted by single groups.

Fortunately, the attempt to undertake an experiment on such a scale is being made today. It is such an attempt that, in our view, forms the substance of the Italian communitarian movement, the *Movimento*

Comunità. This movement, initiated by Dr. Adriano Olivetti, takes as its experimental unit not a single group, but a whole region. Like all the modern communitarian movements, the *Movimento* aims at creating an ethically committed society based on the equitable participation of all, and is actively engaged in transforming existing society in this sense. Accepting the region as the naturally and historically given unit, it must, in doing so, direct its attack at all areas significant for the social existence of men, the political as well as the social, economic and cultural. In the particular conditions out of which the movement grew in Italy at the end of the second World War, clarification of the political intent appeared to be the pre-eminent task. To make it amenable to communitarian conduct, politics was redefined as public action for the sake of satisfying the needs of all, instead of for the benefit of a few and their ambition for power. To gear such action to the needs of the people themselves, it became necessary to reactivate their sense for common action. The second step in the development consisted thus in the organization of social and cultural community centres, taking as the main target the area in Northern Italy around Ivrea, where the factory is located. Once this area, the *Canavese*, after initial doubts and hesitation, had been won over and became dotted with some thirty-five such centres, the *Movimento* was ready to advance on the remaining, and perhaps most critical, the economic front.

It is here that the experience of the French communities could serve as useful precedent. To utilize it, a personal liaison was established with the B.E.C.C. in Paris through the services of Mr. A. Meister, who, having worked together with M. Desroche, was well equipped to take charge of the newly established *Centro di Sociologia della Cooperazione*, at Ivrea. One of the first activities of the new centre, organized along the lines of the other centres, was to participate in the organization, in a village near Ivrea, of a community of work based on the production of typewriter covers.

Since then the ground has been laid for several other such communities of work. The communitarian spirit has begun to make strides also among the workers and employees of the Ivrea plant itself. About one third of the some seven thousand workers and employees have in recently held elections to the Factory Council given their votes to representatives of *Movimento* trade unions.

As can be seen, the Italian communitarian experiment differs significantly from other such experiments. By basing itself not on a single group but on a whole regional unit, it carries sociological experiment a methodological step forward and applies it directly to issues of society at large. In this sense it marks a new and significant stage in sociological experimentation of the communitarian type.

In this connection, it might be well to devote a few words to the question that might be, and has been, raised as to the claim the *Movimento* has to being called a genuine sociological experiment. The

fact that it was initiated by one man, and the leading employer of the region at that, Dr. Olivetti, seems to contradict what was stated as the canon for such experiment. What needs can a man like Dr. Olivetti have in common with his workers or, better yet, with the unemployed, that he is unable to satisfy in the present situation? The answer can be found in the precedent offered by those French capitalists who transformed their factory into a community of work of which they themselves became a member. Their reason for doing so was that the capitalism they knew proved to them, in a different way and on different grounds, to be just as frustrating as it was to their workers. With the exception, possibly, of the basic economic needs, the sensitive employer may find himself just as unable as are his poorer compatriots to cope satisfactorily with all the other concerns.

The International Council. A few words, in conclusion, may be added about the International Council. Its obvious purpose is to coordinate the research activities of the different centres and to serve as an instrument of intercommunication between the significant developments in different parts of the world. If federation is the sign of a healthy and realistic communitarian intent, such inter-communication may be seen as the expression of true scientific concern. There is much talk today about international cooperation. The modern cooperative communities, like the cooperative movement of which they form the most comprehensive instance, are by their very nature committed to such cooperation. Involved in the most absorbing kind of experimentation, they may not be able to spare the time and energy to keep in touch with kindred movements elsewhere. This, among its more scientific services, is one the International Council is glad to render. It avails itself for this end of periodicals such as the G.F.R.I. Bulletin, *Cooperative Living*, the French *Communautés et Vie Coopérative*, the Italian *Comunità*, and the German *Archiv für Öffentliche und Freigemeinschaftliche Unternehmen*; of the monograph series issued by the different centres, such as the G.F.R.I. *Sociology of Cooperation Monograph Series*, the B.E.C.C. *Documents*, and the *Centro Documenti*; and, finally, of the more ambitious *International Library of the Sociology of Cooperation*, which publishes more voluminous studies in four languages, English, French, Italian and German. Thus, in its own modest way, but on a level that is significant because it concerns the "grass roots" of human society, the International Council fosters a spirit of international cooperation which is the indispensable prerequisite of the enduring peace that may make all the difference between destruction or survival of human civilization.

NOTES

¹ The above is an elaboration of the canon of sociological experiment discussed in this author's *Utopia and Experiment*, New York, 1955, Fr. Praeger, pp. 20 f.

² The discussion that follows is based largely on H. F. Infield, *The American Intentional Communities*, G.F.R.I. *Sociology of Cooperation Monographs No. 2*, Glen Gardner, 1955, pp. 111 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 114 ff.

⁴ See Gould Farm, *op. cit.*, p. 73 ff, where also further details will be found describing the functioning of the group.

⁵ See H. F. Infield, "The Community of Work Clermont," in *Cooperative Living*, vol. III, no. 2, winter 1951-52, also in *Utopia and Experiment*, ch. 13, "Experimental Group and Sociological Counselling," p. 283 ff.

⁶ See "Field Study of the French Communities of Work", *Cooperative Living*, vol. III, no. 1, Fall 1951. The following quotes are taken from this report.

⁷ See H. F. Infield, "A German Cooperative Village," *Cooperative Living*, vol. V, no. 2, Winter 1953-54, reproduced in *Review of International Cooperation*, March 1954, and *Cooperative Productive Review*, September 1955.

Before and After Sociology¹

KURT H. WOLFF

(Associate Professor of Sociology, The Ohio State University, U.S.A.)

"Before and after sociology" is a phrase which veils complex relations among the referents of the four words that make it up. In addition, each of the referents has more than one meaning. In part because of this complexity, the title of the present paper may, in retrospect, come to have almost the character of a pun. Yet "almost": because, more than a play on words, it *is* the announcement of the arguments to be developed. They can be developed, however, only to a modest extent; they cannot be fully elaborated in any of their numerous ramifications.

1. "BEFORE SOCIOLOGY": "SURRENDER"

"Before" refers, first, to the pre-scientific phase of the process through which the student of sociology² goes in making a study. In this sense, "before" is processual, not historical, not even temporal.

When engaging oneself in a study, it is possible to suspend the pre-conceived notions concerning subject matter, method, and theory that one has received in one's special training and throughout one's life. The extent to which such a divestment is possible is theoretically very limited; but practically and psychologically, it is so considerable that it may involve the most profound change in oneself, one's study, and one's philosophy of study. The occasion on which received notions are shed and, perhaps, subsequently questioned, modified, or replaced is not, of course, necessarily the embarkation upon a particular study but may (or may not) present itself at any time. Typically, the suspension or shedding of received notions occurs in a "total experience."

"Total experiences"

claim the whole being of the person and . . . change it. They have been described in the fiction, religious literature, poetry, and philosophy of many periods and cultures; terms like "conversion," "transformation," "enchantment," and "mystical union" are among those that hint at them. But . . . empirical instances, no matter which, can be argued: "All that can be proved can also be disputed. Only the unprovable is indisputable."³ The reader may have had such "total experiences" while listening to music or a speech, while seeing a play or movie, in contact with an idea, a landscape, a book, a painting, a person, a face, a body, in love, or in another "extreme situation," perhaps in a concentration camp; or caught, "confused," by a profound moral, religious, or esthetic moment. These are only examples, however, of "total experiences," which at the same time call to mind some of the

occasions on which we have many reports that such "total experiences" occur—the occasions cannot be exhausted, since "the wind bloweth where it listeth." . . . as the word "total" suggests, the totality of such experiences also contains everything negative, such as uncertainty, danger, evil, death; and to appreciate this fact is to have a realistic conception of "total experience"—of the kind of experience which only man can have . . . and hence to appreciate it, is to be man in the full sense of the word. . . . Die so you may live; perish so you may be born; despair so you may be able to hope. Although this dialectic, from the negative to the positive, can be expressed in many ways, essential to it is the unreserved readiness to come face to face with the extreme negative; for otherwise the dialectical process could not be completed since the positive would not be possible. . . . causes or contents (including ideas) which vitiate the surrender by their presence, in however various ways this presence may make itself felt—such ideas, such causes or contents, are "not true." The implication, of course, is that under other conditions they *can* be true: namely, when they exist, not *against* the surrender, but *because* of it, when they are the "catch" in consequence of the surrender, when they are "come upon," "come into," "invented."⁴

This quotation places us, as it were, at the starting point of a number of roads that may be followed. This number must remain unspecified because only one of the roads has been marked out by the intent of this essay: the one which leads to the relevance of "surrender" as a pre-scientific phase in the student's preoccupation with his study. On this road, the idea of "surrender" appears of importance as suggesting a conception of sociology in which this idea is incorporated as an attitude toward a projected study, toward projected studies. This attitude is characterized by the faith that study is possible but must be ventured without the aid of the received tools—postulates, assumptions, concepts, theories—which are designed to aid in studies "of this kind," whatever the kind may be in the particular case. That is, in consequence of "surrender"—both the experience and the concept—a projected study is conceived to be, not "of a kind," or "general," but "unique."⁵ Existing (received) tools of study, therefore, must withstand the surrender, must be tested by it, and out of it they emerge either legitimated by re-invention or modified, or in consequence of it they are replaced.

The function of surrender in the process of scientific inquiry, then, is that of a crucible for the tools of an inquiry "of this kind." Having passed this crucial stage, the inquiry proceeds with the help of such tools; and, from a logical and methodological standpoint, it proceeds as it would without antecedent surrender.⁶ "Surrender" has no implications for science as a method but only for the scientist's conception of the function of science, for his selection of studies, and for his interpretation of findings.⁷

2. "BEFORE SOCIOLOGY": "CREATIVITY" AND SOCIAL SCIENTISM

"Before" means, second, "pre-theoretical"; and in this second sense, it is historical.⁸ Unlike its first meaning, this second refers to a particular,⁹ though very powerful, kind of sociology: the predominantly American, positivistic, scientific, administrative yet "value-free" kind.

A social-scientific investigation was the occasion upon which the ideas of "surrender," the "unique," and related notions and attendant procedures were originally developed. These fuse in a complex that has tentatively been called the "study of man." As the preceding section of this paper must have suggested, the "study of man" is critical of the conception of sociology which prevails, at least in the United States, today; it is especially critical of the image of man¹⁰ that is implied by it; and it proposes a different conception and a different image of man.¹¹ To associate the prevailing sociology with smugness, false security or false certainty, ritualism or ceremonialism, routinization, the elaboration of the status quo, conservatism, group idolatry or group tyranny is to suggest some of the different but interrelated lines of argument along which this critique can be developed. One of the crucial features it is directed at is the "pre-theoretical," that is, the "not yet theoretical," character of this sociology. But this is a feature which it shares with the "study of man."

In what sense are the prevailing sociology and the "study of man" (which was developed, also, in reaction to that sociology) not theoretical? The "study of man" is not, in the sense (among others) that the inquiries which follow its approach are not directed by a theory but, on the contrary, suspend theory (though in order to develop, in their own course, a more viable one). But how can contemporary American sociology, which devotes so much attention to theory—notably and, in a certain sense, uniquely on the part of Talcott Parsons—be said not to be theoretical? The answer is: because it lacks inspiration by a historical theory of society.¹² On the view that both the "study of man" and the prevailing sociology are not theoretical only for the time being, that their non-theoretical character is transitory or historical, they may be called "pre-theoretical."

They are pre-theoretical in the same sense in which two other contemporary phenomena are pre-theoretical. These two phenomena, which are otherwise very different, even contradictory, are interest in "creativity," on the one hand, and the practice of social scientism, on the other. The former is related to the "study of man"; the latter, to the predominant sociology. Interest in "creativity"—overwhelmingly manifested outside sociology—is an element in Pragmatism and in Progressive Education but ranges all the way to sheer cult;¹³ it also connects with important aspects of Existentialism (especially Martin Heidegger), Phenomenology (especially Max Scheler), and also with neo-Freudian developments.¹⁴ Scientism, an element in contemporary sociology, may be defined as "the unempirical faith that science can

give us a complete philosophy for all our human needs";¹⁵ as an "approach which, before it has considered its subject [human life], claims to know what is the most appropriate way of investigating it";¹⁶ or it may seem to be characterized

by three principal dogmas: (1) the assumption that the mathematized science of natural phenomena is a model science to which all other sciences ought to conform; (2) that all realms of being are accessible to the methods of the sciences of phenomena; and (3) that all reality which is not accessible to sciences of phenomena is either irrelevant or, in the more radical form of the dogma, illusionary."¹⁷

Both "creativity" and social scientism may also be characterized by their common function of vicarious attempts at coming to terms with the defects of contemporary society and with the more or less inarticulate discontent over the state of this society. Both lack one of the bases of a corresponding realistic attempt: a theory of this society or, at least, the continuous consciousness of the relevance of such a theory.

An essential feature of the emphasis on "creativity" is the opposition to the compulsory (and often compulsive) "closure" of exploration that is practised and would be imposed by scientism.¹⁸ By its very intent, however, the emphasis on "creativity" ignores historical and sociological analysis. One of its functions thus is that of an escape from the very reality in protest against which it came into being. Preoccupation with creativity, indeed, is politically harmless and hence can be tolerated, even utilized, by any political system.

The escapist character of social scientism can best be introduced by a moment's consideration of natural science. Natural science is an asset to the material power and welfare of any society. The destructive application of nuclear physics, however, has called the attention of many people, foremost the physicists themselves,¹⁹ to the fact that nobody, and neither the physicists nor the social scientists, has been trained to handle the problems attendant on this application. The natural scientists have not been trained because natural science is understood to be a "specialty" whose practice is not taken to include action following from responsibility for the implications and consequences of this practice; and the social scientists have not been trained because their severe schooling in the avoidance of "value judgments" has been very successful. But this avoidance of "value judgments" is one feature of social scientism. It renders the social science which practices this avoidance, politically as harmless, and hence as tolerable and exploitable, as is the preoccupation with creativity. Such a social science is pre-theoretical inasmuch as it has not yet seen the need for a theory which, at least, could serve to defend social science, and the interest in "creativity" is pre-theoretical inasmuch as it has not yet found the need for the theory of a society which would be commensurate with creativity.

3. "AFTER SOCIOLOGY": A POLITICALLY AND SOCIOLOGICALLY ADEQUATE SOCIOLOGY

In abandoning its concern with a historical theory of Western society in which sociology exists, sociology has become historically untrue to itself:

Sociology²⁰ arose in the seventeenth century in opposition to the inextricable mixture of ethical and legal principles in the doctrine of Natural Law. This expression of an *empirical* attitude was an attempt, ultimately successful in certain respects, to distinguish between important elements of social behavior and outlook characteristic of Western society. The preoccupation with Western society constitutes the major unifying theme for problem, research, and theory of sociology throughout its history. It is reflected in many otherwise heterogeneous instances: in Hobbes' psychological approach to European politics; in Montesquieu's [what might now be called] "structural-functional" examination of laws; in Comte's "positivism" set against the "negative" lingering-on of the French Revolution; in Spencer's elaborate doctrine of progress with its apologia for Victorian England; in Marx's concern with the redemption of industrial society; in Weber's puzzlement over its essential features—capitalism, rationalization, bureaucracy; or in the involvement of American sociology with "social problems" such as racism, immigration, and urbanization.

The rise of "scientific sociology" in the present century . . . has modified somewhat this major concern with the West. Emphasis has shifted toward general laws of social relationships, processes, and forms, and away from involvement with the nature of Western society . . . [But] the injection of "science" contains an element of disguise and confusion: while professing to search for general laws, the sociologist continues indulging his concern with his own society, but as a "scientist," does not admit it. The positivistic phase of sociology thus belies the historical mission of the field: an *empirical* analysis of the nature and future of the Western world.²¹

The pivotal concept, which has a quite specific, though widely held and little analyzed meaning, is "empirical."²² Let one question about it be settled: let the term refer to attitude, rather than subject matter. Let us speak of an empirical attitude, without raising the issue of the empirical or non-empirical character of the world that is to be investigated. Essential among the various characteristics of the empirical attitude is its detachment from subject matter. Even if the subject matter is feelings, involvements, passions, decisions, the social scientist's attitude remains that of the observer of what is outside him, external to him. He does not look at his subject matter in order to find out how he is and how we, his readers, are and, in one process, should be. He has long and well learned to separate the Is from the Ought, although

sense of the word, which includes "is" ethically and politically. This would make his subject matter and his attitude, if it is commensurate with his subject matter, empirical in a truer than the positivistic sense.²⁷ This attitude must be informed by the desire to get hold of the nature of the society in which he lives; and if he can argue its good, rather than its defective features, still, as a sociologist, he can do so only to the extent that he implements his desire by exploration.²⁸ A concrete beginning might be the question: What is important to investigate?²⁹ This immediately leads to an unaccustomed seriousness and introduces unaccustomed concerns.

In the diagnosis of sociology presented, sociology emerges as uneasily plodding between the dimly perceived and vaguely outlined "creativity" and its related philosophies (as well as "value philosophy"), on one side, and the much closer service of the world "as is" (a *real pun*), on the other. Out of a contemplation of this vision arise these propositions: (1) The situation of sociology just suggested is a historical situation; (2) it can be overcome by being recognized; (3) one hope, or the hope, of approximating such a recognition lies in the effort toward a historical theory of society (on which only some remarks could be made in this paper); (4) only by embarking on such an effort can sociology become politically and sociologically adequate; for (5) no matter how far we may be from the theory envisaged, we should know that a politically naïve sociologist is, at this point in history, a contradiction in terms.

NOTES.

¹ I am deeply indebted to Miss Josephine L. Burroughs and Professors Herbert Marcuse and Alfred Schutz for critical readings of an earlier draft of this paper and for very pertinent suggestions.

² The following pages will show, by implication, that this applies to students of other subject matters as well.

³ Georg Simmel, *Fragmente und Aufsätze* (ed. by Gertrud Kantorowicz), Munich, 1923, p. 4; quoted in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (transl., ed., and with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff), Glencoe, Ill., 1950, p. xx.

⁴ Kurt H. Wolff, *Loma Culture Change: An Introduction to the Study of Man*, Columbus, O. (Ohio State University; mimeographed), 1952, pp. 22, 23-24, 25.

⁵ Cf. *id.*, "The Unique and the General: Toward a Philosophy of Sociology", *Philosophy of Science*, 15: 192-210 (1948).

⁶ Perhaps it need not be emphasized that the discussion of "surrender" by no means covers all "pre-scientific" phases of study but only one that is possible. On the other hand, it should be re-emphasized that, in turn, the pre-scientific relevance of surrender is not at all its only one. Other implications of the idea of surrender are of ontological, epistemological, moral, and therapeutic kinds. (Some of them are treated in the introduction to the previously quoted *Loma Culture Change*.) To act as if "surrender" were exhausted by its pre-scientific function—especially to say that it is a conceptualization or formulation of the "muddle" that precedes the stage of clear-aimed, well-structured investigation—is to render it harmless by incorporating it, as an "interesting" addition, into the inventory of received notions; it is to rob it of both its critical character and its threat.

⁷ This is a second meaning of "pre-scientific." The position sketched—no more than sketched—thus is not in conflict but in agreement with the Phenomenologist conception of the "scientific" (as against the "natural") "attitude." Cf. Alfred Schutz, "On Multiple Realities," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, vol. v, 533-576 (1945), esp. 563-575; and "Common-Sense and Scientific Interpretation of Human Action", *ibid.*, vol. xiv, 1-38 (1953); also Kurt H. Wolff,

"The Sociology of Knowledge: Emphasis on an Empirical Attitude", *Philosophy of Science*, 10, 104-123 (1943), esp. 114-116, 118.

⁸ At least in the sense most relevant here. In another sense, it is biographical; in still another, processual. This is one of the many matters, however, that cannot be developed in this paper.

⁹ But it also applies (though this will remain hardly more than implied) to the other social sciences and even to aspects of the humanities.

¹⁰ Cf. Albert Salomon, "Prophets, Priests, and Social Scientists," *Commentary*, June, 1949, and Reinhard Bendix, "The Image of Man in the Social Sciences," *ibid.*, February, 1951.

¹¹ Cf. Wolff, *Loma Culture Change*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 29-30, 40-41.

¹² It will become clearer later on what is meant by such a theory, which inspires the work of most earlier sociologists, whether Comte's or Marx's, Spencer's or Durkheim's; and in the form of the de-politicalized and—in this sense at least—de-historicized concept of "culture," it still characterizes contemporary cultural anthropology. On various problems touched upon here, cf. Herbert Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution*, New York, 1954; Reinhard Bendix, *Social Science and the Distrust of Reason*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951; Albert Salomon, *The Tyranny of Progress*, New York, 1955; many articles in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (later *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*), 1932-41; C. Wright Mills, "I.B.M. plus Reality plus Humanism Equals Sociology," *Saturday Review of Literature*, 37: 22-23 (1953); John W. Bennet and Kurt H. Wolff, "Toward Communication between Sociology and Anthropology," *Yearbook of Anthropology 1955*, New York, 1955, pp. 329-351.

¹³ There is the "creative" adult, "creative" camping, capitalism, chemistry, demobilization, education, experience, expression, freedom, intelligence, knowledge, man, mind, moments, music, personality, power, re-education, society, spirit, theatre, unconscious, will, writing, and youth—among others. From the title catalog of Widener Library.

¹⁴ Cf. Max Horkheimer, *Eclipse of Reason*, New York, 1947; *id.* and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, Amsterdam, 1947; Adorno, *Minima Moralia*, Berlin and Frankfurt, 1951; Herbert Marcuse, "The Social Implications of Freudian 'Revisionism'," *Dissent*, 2: 221-240 (1955).

¹⁵ Eliseo Vivas, *The Moral Life and the Ethical Life*, Chicago, 1950, p. 19.

¹⁶ F. A. Hayek, *The Counter-Revolution of Science*, Glencoe, Ill., 1952, p. 16.

¹⁷ Eric Voegelin, "The Origins of Scientism," *Social Research*, 15: 462-494 (1948): 462-463. The Phenomenologist stress on the scientific as one among other attitudes constitutes another criticism of scientism. See the papers by Alfred Schutz cited in note 7; also Alfred Schutz, "Concept and Theory Formation in the Social Sciences," *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. LI: 257-273 (1954). For a critique of what in the context of this paper is the scientific nature of contemporary social science, especially sociology, see also George Simpson, *Science as Morality*, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1953, especially chapters I and III.

¹⁸ "Obscurantism is the refusal to speculate freely on the limitations of traditional methods. It is more than that: it is the negation of the importance of such speculation, the insistence on incidental dangers. . . . The obscurantists of any generation are in the main constituted by the greater part of the practitioners of the dominant methodology. Today, scientific methods are predominant, and scientists are the obscurantists." Alfred North Whitehead, *The Function of Reason*, Princeton, 1929, pp. 34-35. "Scientists" in the last sentence may also be replaced by "scientifists."

¹⁹ See editorials and articles in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 1945 ff.

²⁰ Cf. Albert Salomon, *History of Sociology, Abstracts* (n.p., n.d.; mimeographed), Abstract I, p. 1; Karl Mannheim, "The Problem of a Sociology of Knowledge" (1925), in his *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (ed. by Paul Kecskemeti), New York, 1952, pp. 139 ff.

²¹ Bennett and Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 330. Italics added.

²² Social scientists, especially cultural anthropologists, know that the empirical, in its non-technical meaning of "profane" (as against "sacred"), practical, or common-sense, and the like, varies widely in its application, though by no means without limits. The technical meaning of the term emerged relatively late in the history of Western science and philosophy (c.f. George de Santillana and Edgar Zilsel, *The Development of Rationalism and Empiricism*, Chicago, 1941). Here we are interested in what by comparison is a much more minute problem: the changes in the meaning of "empirical" in modern social science as not only proclaimed in

methodological writings but also exhibited in empirical studies (cf. note 24). To my knowledge, this analysis has yet to be undertaken. (It goes without saying that it cannot be done in the present paper.)

²³ Max Weber, "Der Sinn der 'Wertfreiheit' der soziologischen und ökonomischen Wissenschaften" (1913-17), in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, Tübingen, 1922, p. 466. Italics added. Cf. the translation by Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch, "The Meaning of 'Ethical Neutrality' in Sociology and Economics," in *Max Weber on the Methodology of the Social Sciences*, Glencoe, Ill., 1949, p. 15.

²⁴ That Weber was not "free from value judgements" in his "empirical" studies (either), especially in his investigations in the field of the sociology of religion, and that he could not be, has been shown by Leo Strauss in "The Social Science of Max Weber," *Measure*, 2: 204-230 (1951), and in *Natural Right and History*, Chicago, 1953, chap. II, "Natural Right and the Distinction between Facts and Values."

²⁵ Space limitations forbid further explication of this conception of the nature of society and of the scientist's several relations to society.

²⁶ Space limitations also prohibit fuller statements on social philosophy, social science, their interrelations, and their connections with the matters touched upon in the preceding paragraph.

²⁷ A related way of formulating the present situation of sociology as diagnosed in this essay is to say that there is a conflict between two types of sociological inquiry. The first is motivated by spontaneous concerns—say over problems connected with the horrible and puzzling phenomenon of totalitarianism (read Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind*, New York, 1955, and Carl J. Friedrich, ed., *Totalitarianism*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954): here the investigator can endure much frustration because of the importance his topic of study has for him. The second type is motivated by institutionalized concerns, such as the desire to "show results": here the goal is reduced to compatibility with minimum frustration (endurance of frustration probably being proportionate to the importance of the goal for the investigator). The unsatisfactory situation of sociology (as reflected, e.g., in the dissatisfaction observed among certain graduate students) would be caused by the suppression of the first type of inquiry by the second. This is the individual-psychological side of the situation which the present paper tries to recognize more from the historical and sociological angle. The weight of the first type of inquiry might increase to such an extent as to force a revision of sociology, perhaps in the direction that has been indicated in this essay as desirable. Without such pressure, the reflection on the philosophical bases of sociology—e.g., the recognition of society as essentially existential and normative—might emerge only when forced by unanticipated results of research. This is most unlikely but is a development which physical science seems to have gone through in its "crisis" at the end of the nineteenth century.

²⁸ This is not, as I have come to realize, what the "study of man" does. At this point, I see the significance of the "study of man," or understand its meaning, to lie in the considerably developed (though of course not in this paper: cf. note 6) argument in favor of "surrender" as an approach to reality, an approach which is neither offered nor institutionalized but is fought and punished in contemporary Western society (as is shown by many institutions and practices); and as an experience in learning and in therapy of which there may be others (but which I do not know). I have come to see, however, that the "study of man" must be supplemented by that concern with theory which I have tried to argue in this paper. In other words, the "study of man" lacks the insight that the society hostile to "surrender" and threatened by it can be changed. Or: the idealism and romanticism of the "study of man" must be enriched and corrected by other attitudes and ideas, mainly such as were developed by the Enlightenment, Hegel, and Marx.

²⁹ Training of sociologists is overwhelmingly in the How of investigation; and if in the What, then largely by taking the extant sociology for granted and asking "what" gaps are in it—not in the world. This is similar to the attitude of the physical scientists whose experiments, rather than any philosophical critique, forced the breakdown of the Newtonian system. But to hope for something like it in the social sciences would be ideological; it would be to evince scientific piousness. Cf. end of note 27.

